HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON,

TILL ITS

FINAL SUBJECTION TO THE ROMAN POWER;

IN EIGHT BOOKS.

By JOHN GAST, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, N° 32, FLEET STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXII.

PREFACE.

THE annals of Greece include, perhaps, the moſt intereſting and inſtructive portion of the Hiſtory of Man. They exhibit the gradual progreſs of a people, from the rudeneſs of ſavage life to the perfection of refinement and civility. They mark the ſteps by which this illuſtrious part of mankind advanced to the firſt rank among the families of the earth; although they were inconſiderable in numbers, in riches, and in the extent or fertility of territory. Surmounting the diſadvantages of their ſituation, they diſputed the prize of empire with the great powers of Aſia; and bore away the palm of arts as well as arms from the nations of the Eaſt, who for ages had poſſeſſed it unrivalled and uncontrolled. But while we admire the Greeks as diſtinguiſhed by ſignal atchievements, and dignified by every noble exertion of the human mind, we remark with pain, even in

the

the zenith of their glory, the approaching decline of public virtue, and are led to contemplate the bold encroachments of venality and diſcord, which reduced by degrees this extraordinary people to the moſt abject ſtate of ſervitude and inſignificance.

STRUCK with theſe revolutions of fortune, we cannot fail to derive from them an ample ſource of inſtruction. They point out and illuſtrate the ſure means of advancing the proſperity and happineſs of nations. The age of glory to Greece was the age of virtuous manners. Corrupted by ſucceſs, her proſperity departed from her. The diverſities of her ſtory, amidſt the paſſions they excite, beſpeak forcibly the ſuperintendency of a Divine Providence, and inculcate the important truth, that happineſs is the reward of virtue, and miſery the conſequence of vice.

WHEN ſurveyed in a proper light, the hiſtory of antient times is the ſchool of wiſdom. To form a juſt eſtimate of the manners and inſtitutions of nations now ſubſiſting, is a taſk which is always difficult, and often invidious. In judging of events too near the preſent day, we are apt to be miſled

by our prejudices. The ſprings of action are, in general, hid from our obſervation; and we are under the neceſſity of reaſoning from views that are confined and partial. The tranſient operation of ſome incidental circumſtance is often miſtaken for a firſt cauſe; and we praiſe or condemn meaſures of which we know not the principle, and cannot aſcertain the tendency. The caſe, however, of nations who have run their career is very different. We have before us the whole line of their hiſtory. We behold the riſe, the progreſs, and the termination of their fortunes. We diſcover the advantages and the defects of their polity, and can unfold the miſtakes of their rulers. We obſerve the coincidence of conduct and ſucceſs which exalted them to power; and can trace the degeneracy and misfortunes which haſtened their decline. Unbiaſſed by connection, and undiſtracted by oppoſition of intereſts, truth alone becomes the object of our curioſity and ſearch. Unawed by ſtation, we call to account the proudeſt prince; and unſuſpected of flattery, we beſtow upon every gallant deed the full portion of glory which it merits.

But while theſe advantages apply to the tranſactions of the Greeks, there is another favourable circumſtance which attended them. Greece abounded in excellent writers; in generals, philoſophers, and ſtateſmen; and by theſe the memorials of her hiſtory have been tranſmitted to poſterity. Of ſuch men the compoſitions cannot be ſufficiently eſteemed. They enjoyed a ſhare in the councils of their country; they acted a part in the ſcenes they deſcribe; they were fully informed concerning the laws and the conſtitutions of the ſtates whoſe fates they record; they had the honeſty and the boldneſs to detect and expoſe the errors from which any public misfortune had ariſen; and often, at the peril of their lives, they reſiſted and repreſſed the paſſionate exceſſes of a capricious and miſguided multitude.

There are five periods into which the Hiſtory of Greece may be divided.

I. The firſt period, during which Greece may be conſidered as emerging into life, extends from the earlieſt accounts of the foundation of its ſtates to the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidae; and includes

a ſpace

a ſpace of about ſix hundred years. In this period, independently of the Argonautic expedition, and of many heroic atchievements which are involved in the darkneſs of fable, there are comprehended the inſtitution of the Amphictyonic council, the Trojan war, the legiſlations of Minos, of Lycurgus, of Solon, and what chiefly contributed to form the Grecian character, the eſtabliſhment of the liberties of Athens.

II. The ſecond period is properly the age of glory of the Grecian people; and takes in about ſixty years. It commences with the ejection of the Piſiſtratidae, and cloſes with the death of Cimon. It is adorned with the noble exertions of the Greeks againſt the Perſian power, at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plateae, and Eurymedon.

III. The third period compriſes about one hundred and fourteen years, from the death of Cimon to that of Philip of Macedon. Here the proſpect is obſcured. The power and opulence which Greece had purchaſed by her victories, introduced oſtentation, luxury, and inſolence. Her ſtates, relieved from the terror of a foreign enemy, di-

 vided

entry of the Romans into Greece, there elapsed one hundred and twenty-four years.

V. The period which closes the melancholy prospect of the Grecian decline, comprehends the several plans of avowed hostility and of disguised perfidiousness, which the Romans employed in order to subject and accustom this illustrious people to the yoke of servitude. It includes their wars, affected lenity, and insidious conventions with the princes of Macedon, until they had brought that kingdom to a final submission; their treatment of the Aetolians, and of the Epirots; their memorable treachery to Achaia; the burning of Corinth; the utter extinction of liberty in Greece; the various calamities which flowed from Roman oppression, or the incursions of barbarians, during the long period of sixteen hundred years, till the taking of Constantinople by the Othmans delivered this unfortunate country into the hands of other tyrants; and finally, the condition in which the abject race, who now bear the name of Greeks, are to be found at this day, under the cruel and humiliating scourge of despotism.

The two laſt of theſe periods compoſe the ſubject of the preſent undertaking, upon which the Author has employed the pains and the induſtry that correſpond with its importance. It does not, however, become him to affirm, that his abilities were equal to the taſk in which he has been engaged; and while he ſubmits himſelf with diffidence to the judgment of the public, he knows and reſpects its impartiality. During the courſe of his labours, he has pleaſed himſelf with the reflection, that a ſincere deſire of contributing to the proſperity of his country was impreſſed upon his mind; and he felt himſelf to be animated with the hope, that the errors and miſfortunes of other nations and other times might induce his fellow-citizens to ſet the higher value upon a conſtitution which has freedom for its object, and which protects and ſupports the natural and inherent rights of mankind.

CONTENTS.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

Character and death of Philip of Macedon—State of Macedonian affairs, foreign and domestic, at the accession of Alexander—His activity and vigour in surmounting the difficulties with which he was surrounded—Appointed Captain-general of Greece against the Persians—Humbles the northern borderers—Executes exemplary vengeance on the Thebans, who had revolted upon a report of his death—Settles his European affairs—Passes the Hellespont—Defeats the Persians on the banks of the Granicus—Reduces the lower Asia—Advances into Silicia—Is detained at Tarsus by a dangerous illness—Recovers—Meets Darius in battle at Issus—Defeats him—Takes the Persian camp, with the wife and daughters of Darius—Behaves nobly to the captive princesses—Damascus surrenders to him, with the Embassadors, formerly sent by some of the Grecian States to Darius—His treatment of them—Lays siege to Tyre—Takes it—Spares Jerusalem—Takes Gaza—Enters and reduces Egypt—Visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon—Tampers with the priests of the Oracle, and pretends to be a God—Gives battle to Darius at Gaugamela—Defeats him with great slaughter. Page 1

SECTION

SECTION II.

Surrender of Babylon; of Susa; of Persepolis; and of Pasargadae; with their treasures—The effects of this rich plunder—Darius treated perfidiously by Bessus; and murdered by the associates of that traitor—Change in the manners of Alexander—He puts to death Philotas; and Parmenio—Kills Clitus—Feels compunction—Is corrupted by flatterers—Seeks to obtain divine honours—Is opposed by Callisthenes—Resents it—Callisthenes charged with encouraging a conspiracy against Alexander—Is put to death—Alexander finds it necessary to divert the attention of his army to other scenes—Reduces several of the Indian tribes—Is opposed by Porus—Defeats him—Spreads devastation to the Hyphasis—Proposes to pass on to the Ganges—And to conquer the whole world—His soldiers refuse to proceed—He is highly displeased—Obliged to yield to their wishes—His vanity. — Page 56

SECTION III.

Alexander visits the Indian ocean—Returns by the inhospitable tract of Gadrosia—The loss he sustains—Iniquitous conduct and punishment of the governors he had appointed—His army mutinies—He reduces them to obedience—Hephaestion dies—Alexander's excesses on that occasion—Returns to Babylon—Is distressed by ill-boding omens—Has recourse to intemperance—Dies—His character—The judgment to be formed of his atchievements; and the benefits of which they have been productive. — 99

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

Alterations, from Philip's accession, in the political system of the several Grecian states—with regard to Persia—and of Macedon—from what causes—Agis of Lacedaemon attempts to vindicate the Grecian liberties against Macedon—his spirited conduct—defeat—a nddeath—Character of Demosthenes, considered as a patriot—his unjust condemnation and banishment—The Athenians exasperated by Alexander's control of their liberties, prepare for war—upon Alexander's death take up arms—recall Demosthenes—march against Antipater—their imprudent confidence—defeated—forced to submit to the Macedonians.—Demosthenes flies to Calauria—dies—in what manner—abasement of Athens after his death. — Page 133

SECTION II.

General state of affairs in Asia, from Alexander's death to the battle of Ipsus—Alexander's generals destroy his family, and divide his dominions among themselves—Antigonus, and Demetrius his son, kings of Syria, provoke the other chiefs by their haughty and ambitious claims—are defeated at Ipsus—Antigonus is slain—Demetrius saves himself by flight—is stripped of most of his dominions—endeavours to recover them—in vain—is forced to yield himself a prisoner to Seleucus—dies in confinement—his character—and various fortunes. — 157

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

View of the domestic state of the kingdom of Macedon, under the administration of Antipater—Polyperchon—Cassander—and Demetrius Poliorcetes—Misfortunes—and final overthrow of Alexander's whole family. — — Page 193

SECTION II.

Lysimachus gets possession of the throne of Macedon—his character—is slain by Seleucus—Seleucus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus—Ptolemy Ceraunus, by the Gauls.—The Gauls lay waste Macedon—attempt Delphi—are repulsed—and retire.—Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, lays claim to the kingdom of Macedon—and obtains it—is attacked by another body of Gauls—defeats them.—Pyrrhus of Epire invades Macedon—defeats and dispossesses Antigonus—attacks Sparta—is repulsed—marches to Argos—is slain—his character. — — 220

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

Macedonian and Grecian affairs under Antigonus—his son Demetrius—and Antigonus the second, kings of Macedon.—Origin of the republic of Achaia—it's decay—re-establishment—aggrandisement, and prosperity—from what causes. — — 251

SECTION II.

The Aetolians—their character—jealous of Achaia—excite Cleomenes, king of Sparta, against the Achaeans—character of Cleomenes—his abilities and success—the Achaeans distressed by Cleomenes—call in the aid of Antigonus king of Macedon—Antigonus marches against Cleomenes—defeats him—Cleomenes escapes to Egypt—Antigonus returns to Macedon—fights the barbarians—obtains a complete victory—dies—his character. — — — Page 277

BOOK V.

SECTION I.

Philip, the last of the Macedonian kings of that name, succeeds to the kingdom upon the death of the second Antigonus—prosperous state of Macedon at his accession—he enters into a confederacy with the states of Achaia against the Aetolians—entertains thoughts of reducing the several Greek republics—prevented by Aratus—endeavours to weaken the influence of Aratus—fails—affects to treat him with confidence—his ministers grow jealous of Aratus—and seek his destruction, though to the ruin of their master's affairs—Philip discovers their treasonable practices—proceeds with severity against them. 319

SECTION II.

Philip treats Aratus with diſſimulation—forms a connection with Demetrius of Pharos.—The hiſtory and character of Demetrius—he prevails on Philip to aim at the ſubjection of all Greece; and to join Hannibal againſt the Romans—Philip finds his ſchemes oppoſed by Aratus—has him taken off by poiſon—and behaves to his ſon in a manner ſtill more cruel and flagitious—prepares a conſiderable force to act againſt the Romans—his puſillanimity—defeat—and flight.—The Romans ſtir up the Aetolians againſt him—the fatal conſequences of this meaſure to Greece.—Philip makes peace with the Aetolians—and with Rome—with what view—conſpires with Antiochus to deprive the infant king of Egypt of his paternal kingdom—beſieges Abydos—is reproved and threatened by an embaſſador from Rome—his haughty anſwer—dreadful ruin of Abydos. — — — Page 349

BOOK VI.

SECTION I.

Second Macedonian war—Sulpicius the conſul enters Greece—Villius ſucceeds him—Flamininus is appointed to the conſulſhip, and conduct of the war—his abilities—vigour—ſucceſs—detaches the moſt conſiderable of the Grecian ſtates, particularly the Aetolians and Achaeans, from their connection with Macedon—draws Philip into an engagement—defeats him—compels

him

him to accept of peace on terms highly disadvantageous—ingratiates himself with the Grecian states, by making a pompous proclamation of their freedom, at the Isthmian and Nemaean games—insidiousness of this grant—the Aetolians avow their jealousy; condemn the peace with Macedon; and charge the proconsul with entertaining unfriendly designs against Greece—under a pretence of a zeal for liberty, he proposes making war on Nabis tyrant of Sparta, lately his confederate against Philip—the Aetolians object to this war—the other Grecian states cooperate with Flamininus.—Nabis attacked, and reduced to extremity—Flamininus, against the opinion of his Greek confederates, concludes a treaty with him; and by artifice extorts their consent—his motives—he returns to Rome, having first obtained the freedom of all the Romans who were in slavery throughout Greece. — — Page 383

SECTION II.

Antiochus king of Syria—his prosperity—the Romans, jealous of his power, seek to reduce it—which he resents—resolves to attack the Romans—enters into alliance with the Aetolians—invades Greece—meets the Romans in battle—is defeated at Thermopylae—and afterwards at Magnesia.—The Romans turn their arms against the Aetolians—compel them to submit to what conditions they are pleased to impose—Achaia and Macedon active in behalf of Rome.—The treacherous manner in which the Romans requite their services. — Rome endeavours to break the strength of the commonwealth of Achaia, by seducing it's confederate states—by the intrigues of Roman emissaries, a party of Messenians take up arms against the Achaeans—Philopoemen hastens to suppress the insurgents—falls

falls into their hands—is put to death—Flamininus suspected of having encouraged this flagitious action—grounds for this suspicion.—Flamininus's conduct to Cato. Page 430

SECTION III.

Injurious conduct of the Romans to Philip of Macedon—he is required to evacuate Aenos and Maronea—his violent resentment—causes the Maronites to be massacred—is threatened by the Romans—sends his son Demetrius to Rome—his success.—Philip's suspicions of the connections Demetrius had formed in Rome—encouraged in his suspicions by Perseus—is imposed upon by a forgery—believes Demetrius guilty of designs against his crown and life—causes him to be put to death—discovers his innocence—dies of a broken heart.—His character. — — — 475

BOOK VII.

SECTION I.

Perseus ascends the throne of Macedon—begins his reign with some appearance of vigour—courts the affections of the Macedonian people, and the friendship of the neighbouring states.—The Romans jealous—prefer sundry complaints against him, and invade Greece.—Perseus, with advantages in his favour, loses the benefit of them by his avarice and pusillanimity.—Suffers himself to be over-reached by the Romans—neglects to improve the repeated opportunities, which, during the space of three years, the incapacity or the corruption of the Roman commanders presented to him. — — 507

SECTION

SECTION II.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus elected conſul, and appointed to conduct the Macedonian war—reſtores and improves the diſcipline of the Roman army, which had ſuffered from the miſmanagement of the preceding commanders—advances againſt Perſeus—forces him from his entrenchments on the Peneus—engages, and defeats him at Pydna.—Perſeus flies to Pella—to Amphipolis—to Samothrace—ſurrenders himſelf to the Roman admiral—is brought to Rome—produced before the triumphal car of the victorious Roman, and dies in wretchedneſs.—Humiliation of Macedon under the Romans—their inhuman treatment of the people of Epire—the people of Aetolia—and moſt of the other Grecian ſtates.—Cruel deſigns entertained by them again Achaia, not carried into execution—for what reaſons. Page 556

BOOK VIII.

SECTION I.

Inſidious deſigns of the Romans againſt Achaia.—The Achaean chiefs tranſported into Italy—with what views—and how treated.—Perplexed ſtate of the Achaean councils—the perplexity encreaſed by the policy of Rome.—Affairs of Oropus.—The Achaeans take up arms againſt Sparta.—The Roman commiſſioners attempt to diſunite Achaia from the ſeveral ſtates not originally belonging to the Achaean body.—An inſurrection is made at Corinth.—The Romans diſſemble—and from what reaſons.—New war in Macedon.—Andriſcus pretends to be the ſon of Philip—his ſucceſs—and the termination of his fortunes.

fortunes.—Another pretender ascends the throne of Macedon—is overthrown—and escapes into Dardania.—A third pretender appears—is defeated—and slain. — — Page 593

SECTION II.

The Achaeans, provoked by the perfidiousness of Rome, take up Arms — Metellus marches against them—defeats them—is superseded by Mummius—who continues the war—obtains a decisive victory—takes, and burns Corinth—puts an end to the Achaean Commonwealth, and to the liberties of Greece.—The principal causes that produced the decline and final overthrow of the Grecian states. — — 620

SECTION III.

Greece threatened by the Cimbri—joins Mithridates.—Character and views of that prince.—Siege and ruin of Athens by Sylla.—Sylla overthrows the armies of Mithridates—close of the fortunes of Mithridates.—Greece ravaged by the Cilician corsairs—involved in the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey; between the republican party and the avengers of Caesar's death; between Octavius and Mark Antony.—Abject condition of Greece under the Roman Emperors.—Irruption of the Goths.—Reigns of Constantine—Constantius—Julian—Jovian—Valentinian—Valens—Gratian—Theodosius—Arcadius, and Honorius.—Overthrow of the Roman empire in the West.—Ruin of Greece by the Barbarians.—Decline and fall of the empire of Constantinople.—Present state of Greece. 646

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Character and death of Philip of Macedon—State of Macedonian affairs, foreign and domestic, at the accession of Alexander—His activity and vigour in surmounting the difficulties with which he was surrounded—Appointed Captain-general of Greece against the Persians—Humbles the northern borderers—Executes exemplary vengeance on the Thebans, who had revolted upon a report of his death—Settles his European affairs—Passes the Hellespont—Defeats the Persians on the banks of the Granicus—Reduces the lower Asia—Advances into Silicia—Is detained at Tarsus by a dangerous illness—Recovers—Meets Darius in battle at Issus—Defeats him—Takes the Persian camp, with the wife and daughters of Darius—Behaves nobly to the captive princesses—Damascus surrenders to him, with the Embassadors, formerly sent by some of the Grecian States to Darius—His treatment of them—Lays siege to Tyre—Takes it—Spares

 Jerusalem

Jerusalem—Takes Gaza—Enters and reduces Egypt—Visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon—Tampers with the priests of the Oracle, and pretends to be a God—Gives battle to Darius at Gaugamela—Defeats him with great slaughter.

Book I. Sect. I.

Abilities of Philip of Macedon.

THE deep policy of Philip of Macedon, and the artful use he made of the mutual jealousies and contests of the several Grecian States, of the venality of their orators and leaders, and of that decay of public spirit which was become general throughout Greece, had, during the course of his reign [1], raised the Macedonian kingdom to a degree of power far beyond what its late humility of fortune seemed to promise. His military character was little inferior to his political. And if, to the sagacity of the statesman and the vigour of the warrior, he had joined those virtues which give to the regal dignity its brightest lustre, all remains of independence had probably been lost to the Grecian people.

His private character.

PHILIP's own misconduct prevented it. Intemperate in the pursuit of sensual gratifications, he had, for some time before his death, rendered his court a scene of strife and distraction. In order to wed Cleopatra, a young Princess of whom he happened to be enamoured, he had endeavoured to throw suspicions on his wife Olympias. His son Alexander, impatient of his mother's wrongs, he had driven from his presence, and forced him to seek for refuge among the enemies of his country. From his partiality to the creatures of his young queen, he had treated with neglect some

[1] He reigned about twenty-four years.

of

Book I. Sect. 1.

of his most faithful servants; and at last, by his iniquitous protection of one of his new favourites, he provoked the blow which put an end to his life. Pausanias, a young Macedonian of noble birth, had been injured in a most sensible manner by one of Cleopatra's kinsmen, and upon applying to the king for justice, had found his complaint disregarded. Pride, mortification, and resentment, rendered him desperate. He marked his opportunity; and as Philip, on a day of public festivity, was entering into the theatre, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are historians who pretend, that he was encouraged to this deed of violence by some of the king's own family; and that his accomplices were numerous[a]. But neither the one nor the other seems to be true. Possibly some persons, obnoxious on other accounts, may have been

His death.

[a] The death of Philip seems to have furnished much matter of accusation, which the voice of faction, of private animosity, and even of ambition, occasionally employed against whatever persons they thought it was their interest to destroy, or to blacken. When Alexander invaded Asia, he charged (Arrian, l. ii. c. 14.) the Persian court with the guilt of it, alledging it as one of the injuries that had called him forth against Darius. At the same time, Alexander himself did not escape; and, in the treatment he had received from his father, and the spirit with which he had resented it, his enemies discovered reasons sufficient for suspecting, that he had shared in a crime, to which he owed his security, and the throne he was in possession of. The like suspicions had place against Olympias; and her passionate excesses strengthened them. Severely injured by the late king, and of a temper violent and vindictive, she saw, with exultation, in Philip's death, the overthrow of a faction which had insulted her, and of a rival whom she abhorred. His fall was her triumph, and she indulged it. With her own hands she placed a golden crown on the head of his assassin, when hanging on the gibbet, and consecrated the very dagger which had drank his blood in the temple of one of her gods. Historians have often pronounced from slighter proofs. Such a decided conduct was considered as an unquestionable argument of her having directed the blow she rejoiced in; of which, however, had she been really guilty, probably she had been more artful in disguising her sentiments.—See Just. l. ix. c. 7.

 involved

Book I. Sect. I.

involved in the ſuſpicion; and, to have rejoiced at the ſucceſs of the crime, which, doubtleſs, was the caſe with many, may have been conſidered as an argument of their having ſhared in the guilt.

Temper of the nations bordering on Macedon, at the time of Alexander's acceſſion.

The abilities and enterprizing ſpirit of Philip, had rendered him the terror of his neighbours. They haſted to avail themſelves of the favourable change of circumſtances, which his death, the defenceleſs ſtate of Macedon, the embarraſſments and the ſuppoſed inexperience of his ſucceſſor, preſented to their view. The Thracian borderers, who had been lately reduced, threw off the yoke. Illyricum followed the example. In Theſſaly, all was in commotion: and ſuch was the ferment throughout the reſt of Greece, as ſeemed evidently to forebode a total revolution of intereſts.

State of affairs in Macedon.

At home alſo, the Macedonian affairs were in much confuſion; moſt of the chief men being either ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, or proſecuting private animoſities one againſt another. The blow which had proved fatal to Philip, was ſuppoſed to have come from a formidable party, of which Pauſanias was only the inſtrument. The princes of the blood had each their pretenſions. Olympias had her adherents: the young queen Cleopatra hers. And the uncle of the latter, Attalus, who, together with Parmenio, had the command of the forces in Aſia, was ſaid to entertain the moſt ambitious and criminal views [1].

[1] See Arrian, l. i. c. 1 & ſeq. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Juſtin, l. xi. Plutarch in Alexand. et Demoſthene.

ALEXANDER

ALEXANDER perceived the dangers that threatened him without being dismayed. He began his reign with revenging his father's death; he suppressed different factions that threatened the domestic peace of his kingdom; and contrived to have Attalus taken off, before he could carry his designs, whatever they were, into execution.

Vigorous measures pursued by Alexander.

GREECE employed his attention next. The Thessalians had possessed themselves of the defiles, which lay between their country and Macedon. He eluded them, by passing over the craggy top of mount Ossa; and was already in Thessaly, before it was imagined he had entered upon his march. Without loss of time, he proceeded to the Corinthian isthmus, where the general convention of the States of Greece was held, and laid before them his claim, requiring, that they should appoint him Captain-general against the Persians, with the same powers they had granted to his father. Most of the Grecian States were secretly inimical to his interest. The deputies of Sparta, nevertheless, were the only persons in this assembly who had the firmness to avow their sentiments. "The Lacedæmonians," said they, "are accustomed to lead the "way to glorious exploits, not to follow the lead of others." Their representations, however, had little weight. The presence of the young King, the activity and vigour he had displayed, together with his insinuating address, made all opposition fall before him *.

Baffles the people of Thessaly, and enters Greece.

Is appointed Captain-general against the Persians.

ALEXANDER returned with expedition to the north, in order to secure his frontier on the side of Thrace. The Thracians were

Reduces the Barbarian tribes to the north of Macedon.

* Olymp. cxi. 1. Before Christ 336.

Book I. Sect. 1.

were a fierce people, of remarkable ſtrength of body, whoſe dwellings were in faſtneſſes and mountains exceedingly high, and difficult of acceſs. Alexander attacked and diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſtrong holds; and reduced them to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe. Theſe terms, in appearance void of ſeverity, ſhew, that, to the ſpirit of the young warrior, Alexander had already joined the profound policy of the old chieftain. He required, that their principal leaders, with a choſen body of their braveſt men, ſhould attend his banners; thus ſtrengthening himſelf with the acceſſion of the moſt warlike people then known, and at the ſame time taking with him the ſureſt pledges of their future fealty [5]. The adjacent nations, the Triballi, the Getæ, and the ſeveral Celtic tribes on both ſides of the Danube, he attacked in the ſame vigorous manner, and with the like ſucceſs [6]. Thence he moved on to Illyricum. The Illyrians had aſſembled a powerful force, and ſtood prepared to meet him; they were nevertheleſs totally defeated, and Clytus, their King, who had encouraged the defection, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the neighbouring Barbarians.

Report of his death.

DURING theſe tranſactions, a report prevailed, that Alexander had fallen in battle againſt the Illyrians. The Greeks in general, the Thebans and Athenians eſpecially, received the

[5] Frontin. Stratagem. l ii. c. 11.

[6] Alexander aſked the Celtes, "What they feared moſt?" He expected, it ſeems, a compliment; but theſe rough ſons of freedom made anſwer, "They had "no fear but one, leſt the ſky ſhould fall on them." Pleaſed with their ſpirit, he pronounced them his friends and confederates; adding, however, "the Celtes are "an haughty people." Arrian, l. i. c. 4.

tidings with an eager credulity, and the moſt intemperate joy. At Athens, the event was celebrated as the reſtoration of public liberty; the moſt ſpirited decrees were propoſed; and the Macedonian name was treated with great indignity. At Thebes, they proceeded ſtill farther. Cadmea, the citadel, was garriſoned by Macedonians. The Thebans put immediately to the ſword all the Macedonian officers they could ſeize; and having ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, upon refuſal, laid ſiege to the citadel.

Alexander marches to Thebes;

Alexander had not left Illyricum, when the news of this revolt reached him. He inſtantly marched with the utmoſt expedition; and was within ſight of Thebes before the Thebans would believe that he was alive. At firſt, he was unwilling to proceed to extremities, in hopes, that a ſenſe of danger might induce the Thebans to adopt more moderate councils, and only demanded, that the promoters of the revolt ſhould be delivered up. But perceiving that, inſtead of being reformed by this lenity, they treated him with greater inſult, he at length gave a looſe to his reſentment; and having taken the city by ſtorm, abandoned to military execution all thoſe who were found in arms. The reſt of the inhabitants he ſold for ſlaves; the prieſts excepted, with thoſe to whom the Macedonians were bound by the ties of hoſpitality; the deſcendents of Pindar, and ſuch as had oppoſed the late tumultuous meaſures. It is ſaid, that the number of Thebans thus doomed to ſlavery, amounted to thirty thouſand. The city alſo the victor levelled with the ground, not ſuffering one building to be preſerved, but the temples, and the houſe where Pindar had been born.

takes it by ſtorm,

and levels it.

The

Book I. Sect. I.

Generous conduct of the Athenians.

The manner in which the Athenians acted on this occasion, does them great honour. They were guilty, as well as the Thebans, and had every thing to fear from the victorious Macedonian. They neverthelefs made public lamentations for the overthrow of Thebes, sufpending on that account, even the celebration of the Eleufinian myfteries, the moft highly revered feftival at Athens; and afforded protection to all the Thebans that fled to them, notwithftanding Alexander's exprefs injunction, "that no Grecian ftate fhould "prefume to give them fhelter."

The impreffion it makes on Alexander.

It is probable, the generous compaffion which Athens exhibited to this unfortunate people, made an impreffion on the mind of Alexander himfelf. Hiftorians obferve, that, though at firft he appeared much difpleafed, he afterwards received the embaffy, which they fent to apologize for their difobedience, with marks of fingular efteem. "Your Athe-"nians," faid he to Phocion, "fhould look to themfelves; "for, were any misfortune to befall me, they alone, of all the "Greeks, are worthy to command [7]." The only punifhment he inflicted on them, was, that they fhould banifh Charidemus, and feven other orators, who had been moft active in ftirring up the people. Upon a fecond application, he remitted much even of this, contenting himfelf with the exile of Charidemus, the fharpnefs of whofe invectives had given him particular offence [8]. Charidemus accordingly left Athens, and fled to the court of Perfia. We fhall have occafion to mention him hereafter.

Charidemus the orator is banifhed.

[7] Plutarch in Phocion.

[8] Plutarch in Demofthene.

THE

The fate of Thebes terrifies Greece.

The extreme ſeverity with which the Thebans were treated, is not to be juſtified upon any ground, perhaps, but that of political neceſſity. As an intimidating example, it undoubtedly had its uſe. Greece was thereby completely humbled: for whatever might be the ſecret inclinations of the different States, they ſaw it was not now the time to aſſert their liberties againſt a Prince, whoſe power was not to be reſiſted, and at whoſe hands no mercy was to be expected.

Alexander prepares to paſs into Aſia.

The affairs of Greece being thus compoſed, and the ſecurity of his kingdom provided for, Alexander found leiſure to purſue his favourite plan of carrying his arms into Aſia. Little more than a year had elapſed ſince Philip's death, and already had his ſon, though but twenty years old when he aſcended the throne, ſtruck terror into the moſt formidable of the ſurrounding nations, and diſſipated every league that had been formed againſt him. Upon his return to Macedon, he declared his intention of entering on the Perſian war the enſuing ſpring. Parmenio and Antipater would have perſuaded him to defer it, until he was married, and had male offſpring; but Alexander was too eager for military glory to brook delay. It is alſo probable, that his ſituation did not admit of it. His forces were ripe for action; they had been formed by a ſucceſſion of hardy atchievements; and ſhould they now be ſuffered to ſink into inactivity, they might loſe much of their preſent vigour. His finances, beſides, were nearly exhauſted; and the very means of ſupporting ſuch an army were only to be derived from the conqueſts he had in contemplation.

Book I. Sect. 1.

Settles the affairs of his kingdom.

The intervening winter was employed in making the neceſſary arrangements previous to his departure, and in ſettling the internal concerns of his kingdom. The attention he beſtowed on theſe domeſtic matters, and the wiſdom of his meaſures, ſpeak him not leſs intelligent in the arts of peace than in the buſineſs of war. He had reaſon to fear, that ſome remains of diſaffection were yet lurking in many parts of his dominions; and that the feuds, which had diſturbed the beginning of his reign, might burſt out afreſh. He, therefore, made it his ſtudy to eſtabliſh himſelf in the hearts of his people, to efface, if poſſible, every remembrance of party-diſtinction from among them, and to make them all conſpire in advancing the public happineſs and tranquillity. With this view, he appointed ſolemn feſtivals to be held at Aegae [9], which were celebrated with great magnificence, and to which all Macedon was invited. He afterwards diſtributed his whole patrimony among his friends and principal ſubjects; giving to one a village, to another a diſtrict of land, to a third a portion of the royal revenues. "What then do you reſerve "for yourſelf?" ſaid Parmenio to him. "My hopes," anſwered the Prince. "Permit us then, who mean to ſhare "in your dangers," replied Parmenio, "to ſhare alſo in "your hopes;" and refuſed to accept the eſtate which Alexander would have beſtowed on him. There were others who followed the example of Parmenio.

[9] Or Aegeae, *the city of the goats*; ſo called in memory of an old tradition, that Caranus, a prince of the houſe of Hercules, who firſt led a colony of Greeks into this country, and was the founder of the kingdom of Macedon, was conducted thither by a flock of goats, which the oracle had commanded him to follow. Juſtin. L. vii. c. 1.

Alexander next committed the regency of his kingdom to Antipater, an aged nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who had been one of his father's chief counſellors; and provided a ſufficient body of troops to anſwer any ſudden emergency.

Paſſes the Helleſpont.

All things being now in readineſs, he prepared, upon the firſt opening of the ſpring, to paſs the Helleſpont. His whole army amounted to about thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, with proviſions only for one month, and in the military cheſt there was no more than ſeventy talents[10]. Agreeable to this ſlender proviſion was his naval equipment, conſiſting moſtly of tranſports, with a few ſhips of ſtrength: the Macedonians having never had a powerful navy, the expence of which, indeed, they were not able to maintain. Yet from ſo inconſiderable a force as we have deſcribed, was the greateſt empire of Aſia to receive its overthrow.

The effect this expedition had in Greece.

Upon Alexander's paſſing into Aſia, all Greece ſeemed to have paſſed over with him, ſuch an univerſal inactivity ſucceeded to the uſual buſtle of this buſy nation; the hopes or fears of the ſeveral Grecian States turning to that important field, where their fortunes were now to be decided. If Alexander ſuffered diſcomfiture, Greece had ſtill a chance for her liberties; if he proved victorious, her ſubjection was inevitable. The hiſtory of Alexander at this period, is the hiſtory of Greece.

Inattention of the Perſians.

It ſeems amazing, that the Perſians, who could not but have intelligence of his deſigns, and might eaſily have covered

[10] £. 13,562. 10 s. 0 d.—Arbuthnot.

Book I. Sect. 1.

the sea with fleets, made no attempt to interrupt him in his passage. But this devoted people were infatuated; of which their history, at this period, affords frequent instances.

Alexander lands in Asia.

Alexander, having landed without opposition, made it his first business to visit the ruins of Troy, and the monuments yet remaining of those heroes whom Homer had sung; as if to please his imagination with a view of the seat where Greece, in antient days, had triumphed over the powers of Asia. In the same spirit, he caused games to be celebrated, and extraordinary honours to be paid, at the tombs of several of those illustrious Greeks who had fallen in that memorable war; particularly at the tomb of Achilles, whom he numbered among his progenitors, and whose military character he affected to imitate. His situation, it might be imagined, called for other thoughts. But to a mind of such a temper as Alexander's, these scenes afforded allurements too powerful to be resisted.

Darius's generals are divided about their plan of operations.

Mean while, Darius's generals were divided in opinion about their plan of operations. Memnon of Rhodes, the ablest and most faithful officer in the Persian service, counselled to avoid battle with the Macedonians; and to lay waste the country, in order to deprive them of subsistence. Had this wise measure been adopted, Alexander had soon found himself in great perplexity. But the vain confidence of the other commanders, and their jealousy of Memnon, saved the Macedonians. Arsites, satrap of the lower Phrygia, vaunted that, "not the smallest village in his government should "suffer inconvenience on account of this contemptible band "of adventurers."

Resolve to dispute the passage of the Granicus.

It was accordingly determined to wait for the Macedonians at the passage of the Granicus. And, if a battle was to be fought, it must be owned, the Persians could hardly have chosen their ground more advantageously. The Granicus is a deep and rapid river; its banks are steep; the soil crumbling; and its bottom, from the nature of the mud that covers it, exceedingly slippery [11]. Across this river lay the way into Upper Phrygia. The Persians, besides, were far superior to Alexander in horse; and it was not supposed, that the Macedonian infantry could perform much service, from the unavoidable delay that must be incurred in their passing the river.

Alexander, who had exact intelligence of the motions of his enemy, nevertheless held on his march [12]. On sight of the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank, and of the difficulties to be surmounted before he could close with them, his generals began to be apprehensive of the issue, and would have dissuaded him from the attempt; beseeching him, at least to delay the attack till next day. But Alexander saw, how disreputable to his arms, and, therefore, how prejudicial to his affairs, any appearance of hesitation must prove at this juncture; and moving forward with his cavalry, he immediately commanded the forlorn hope to enter the river; he himself, amidst the acclamations of his army following at the head of the right wing, whilst Parmenio, at the same time, advanced at the head of the left. That his men, however, might not have both the rapidity of the current and the weight of the enemy to contend with, he, with great judgment,

[11] See Tournefort Voyage au Levant, Let. 22.

[12] Olymp. cxi. 3. before Christ 334.

instructed

instructed them not to go directly across, but to march obliquely down the stream, in order to have leisure to form, before they reached the opposite bank.

Battle of the Granicus.

The Persians were not wanting to themselves; and, assisted by their situation, pressed on the Macedonians with such vigour, that the foremost ranks of the latter, found it impossible to carry the bank, and were falling back in confusion. Alexander observed their distress, and rushing amidst the thickest of the enemy, restored the battle, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Persians; who disputed the ground inch by inch, opposing man to man, and horse to horse; and having marked where the King fought, poured their bravest troops towards that quarter. Accordingly, several of the King's guards, and those nearest his person, were slain; and he himself, had it not been for the quickness and address of Clitus, had lost his life. For Rhoesaces, a Persian officer of distinction, having discharged his faulchion on the King's helmet, and cut off part of his crest; as Alexander turned upon him, Spithridates, another noble Persian, came up behind, which Clitus perceiving, he sprung forward, and with one blow severed the Persian's arm from his body, at the instant it was raised to strike the King. The perils to which Alexander had been exposed, served only to inspire him and his Macedonians with fresh ardour. They were now irresistible; and, bearing down all before them, obliged the Persians, who were breaking on every side, to betake themselves to flight. One body of infantry only remained, of about ten thousand Greek mercenaries; who, whether through amazement at the sudden discomfiture of their friends, or in hopes of obtaining favourable terms, continued

tinued on the field of battle. But Alexander, having commanded his troops to surround them, put most of them to the sword, after they had, for some time, made a gallant resistance. Two thousand were taken prisoners, whom Alexander condemned to slavery and transported into Macedon to be employed in the public works; to intimidate by this act of severity the Greeks from serving in the armies of the Persian King; whose best troops he knew were composed of such mercenaries.

The Persians defeated.

WHAT the numbers of the Persians were, upon this occasion, historians are not agreed; some making them amount to an hundred thousand; some to six hundred thousand. Arrian, whose relation seems to deserve most credit, makes the account much lower. According to him, the Persian cavalry amounted to twenty thousand, and their infantry nearly to the same number: of whom were slain two thousand five hundred of the cavalry; and of the infantry, ten thousand.

Their strength.

ON the side of Alexander, there were five thousand horse, who, together with a few of the light-armed infantry, were the only part of the Grecian army that engaged; for the battle appears to have been over before the Macedonian phalanx had crossed the river.

The numbers of the Macedonians.

ALEXANDER took care, that his troops should see the sense he had of their gallant behaviour. One hundred and fifteen Macedonians had fallen. Orders were issued, that their families should enjoy the most ample privileges, and be for ever exempt from service and tribute. Of this number, twenty-five were of the King's guards, who fell in the

Alexander's gratitude.

beginning

Book I. Sect. 1.

beginning of the action, fighting around his person. Their memory he honoured in a particular manner. Their statues were cast in brass, and placed at Dium in Macedon; where Metellus, when the Romans subdued that country, found them, and removed them to Rome.

Honours paid to the Greeks who had fallen.

Recompenses the living.

The rest of the army were not forgotten. They received every recompence, which a victorious and grateful general could bestow; public acknowledgments, military honours, pecuniary rewards. He even visited in person the wounded, taking care that they should be treated with great attention and tenderness.

Sends trophies to Greece.

He was also ambitious, that Greece should be fully informed of the success of his arms. Presents of the richest of the spoils were sent to Olympias and his Macedonian friends; and three hundred complete suits of armour to Athens, with suitable inscriptions, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva.

Gallant behaviour of some of the Persian chiefs.

In justice to Alexander, it must be confessed, that to his conduct and spirited example, this victory is chiefly to be ascribed. It appears also, that many of the Persian chiefs acquitted themselves with great courage, and might have turned the fortune of the day, had they been properly supported. Memnon and his sons distinguished themselves among the foremost combatants, and for a time rendered the issue doubtful. That gallant commander, though the action had been brought on contrary to his sentiments and opinion, did what valour could perform, and retired only when he saw that all was lost. Arsites, by whose counsel

the

the battle had been fought, was so deeply affected at the unfortunate event, that he laid violent hands on himself.

Several of the provinces of Lower Asia submit.

This victory was attended with important consequences. Sardis, the chief city of Lycia, and once the royal seat of the Lydian kings, submitted immediately. The several cities likewise of Phrygia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Caria, Ionia, opened their gates to the conqueror, Miletus and Halicarnassus excepted; and of these also he soon made himself master, though vigorously defended, the latter even by Memnon. Within the course of a few months, therefore, from his passing the Hellespont, he had reduced most of the provinces of the Lower Asia.

Soon after the reduction of Miletus, he dismissed his fleet; a measure seemingly rash, but the result, nevertheless, of mature deliberation. A naval armament required an expence, which he could not well defray; with the utmost pains, he would, after all, have found it impossible to maintain a superiority at sea against the powerful navies of Phœnicia and Cyprus: and to have attempted an engagement, and been defeated, though nothing worse had followed, would probably have encouraged the Greeks to rise against him. His only road to victory was, therefore, by land; and, if all the sea-ports were once subdued, the shipping must, in the end, be his also.

The wisdom of Alexander, in improving the advantages obtained.

His wisdom, in improving the advantages [13] which his arms had obtained, was not less conspicuous than his valour

[13] See Chandler's Travels in Lower Asia, chap. ix.

Book I. Sect. 1.

had been in obtaining them. He took care that agriculture and civil government ſhould ſucceed to the devaſtations of war. Thoſe Macedonians in whom he could beſt confide, he appointed governors over the ſeveral provinces; inſtructing them to ſtrengthen the new eſtabliſhments by the lenity of their adminiſtration; and to make the nations over whom they were to rule, feel the difference between the Grecian laws, and the arbitrary oppreſſions under which they had recently groaned. In the Greek cities, he reſtored the democratical form of government, to which the citizens were fondly attached, recommending it to them, that, whatever wrongs they had ſuffered under the late adminiſtration, they ſhould not ſeek for revenge. At the ſame time he viſited in perſon thoſe places which ſeemed to demand his preſence, attentive to what the circumſtances of each people required, and ſtudious to heal the breaches that yet remained; impoſing no new tribute, and even lightening the burden of thoſe who appeared to want relief [14]. Theſe noble cares employed him until the return of the ſeaſon fitted for military [15] operations.

Gordian knot.

It was in the courſe of this progreſs, that he is ſaid to have performed the famed achievement of the Gordian knot. At Gordium in Phrygia, the capital city of old Midas, in one of the temples was the yoke of a chariot, ſuſpended to a beam, the knot of which was contrived with ſuch

[14] At Epheſus particularly, he applied the tribute which the citizens were wont to pay, to the rebuilding of the temple of Diana, the favourite Goddeſs of the Epheſian people, which had been conſumed with fire on the night on which he was born.

[15] See Arrian, L. ii. c. 3. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 1.

art,

art, that it was not possible to discover the ends. And, "to "the person who should unloose it," said the Barbarians, "the oracles had destined the empire of the world." Alexander, according to some historians, cut the knot; determined, if he could not fulfil the oracle, that no other person should. But Aristobulus, who accompanied the King, relates the story in a different manner. The pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, was passed through the knot: the pin, therefore, taken out, the charm was dissolved, and Alexander drew out the yoke without difficulty. If the incident is true, it is plain Alexander did not disdain to avail himself of the superstition of the vulgar, as well as of the artifice of the priests, from whom, doubtless, he had received instructions before he ventured on an attempt in which it had been dangerous for him to have failed.

Memnon dies.

Mean while, Memnon died. This was the severest loss Darius had yet sustained [16]. Previous to his death, that General had formed a plan, the only one that could have saved the Persian empire, and of which his royal master had approved, to remove the war into Greece. In order to effect this, he had already begun to reduce those islands, which had revolted to the Macedonians, and was before Mitylene at the time of his death. From thence he was to have passed into Euboea, and from Euboea into Peloponnesus, where having formed a confederacy with the several Grecian States to whom the Macedonian was become formidable, he was to have poured the war into Macedon, and

His advice to Darius.

[16] See Arrian, L. ii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. L. xvii.

Book I. Sect. 1.

have obliged Alexander to attend to the defence of his hereditary dominions. But the supreme Arbiter of events had pronounced, that the empire of the Medes and Persians should be no more; and removed from Darius the only resource he had left to avert the blow.

The consequence of his death.

While Memnon lived, Alexander had confined his attention to the security of the Lower Asia. Upon his death, as if relieved from all farther apprehensions on that side, he declared his resolution of penetrating into the upper provinces. What enabled him the better to attempt it, was, that the returning spring had brought him large reinforcements. At the close of the former campaign, he had granted to his army an indulgence, from which he now derived considerable benefit. In the spirit of the Jewish law (of which, probably, he had information from Aristotle, who could not but have some acquaintance with the sacred Writings) he had given his Macedonian soldiers, who were lately married, permission to return home, and spend the winter with their wives[17]. In the effusion of their gratitude, they had reported the King in so advantageous a manner, and spread such splendid accounts of the exploits achieved, and the rich conquests made, that numbers crowded to a service, in which such noble rewards were to be obtained.

Darius marches against Alexander.

At the same time Darius, who had no general whom he could employ in the place of Memnon, had determined to

[17] Arrian. L. ii. c. 25.

march

march in perſon againſt the enemy, and prepared to leave Suſa.

Book I. Sect. I.

Pageantry of his march.

The ſplendor, or rather pageantry, that Darius affected on this occaſion, gives us the higheſt idea of the wealth and of the folly of the Perſian monarch. His army numbered ſix hundred thouſand men. Their dreſs, the trappings of their horſes, the ornaments of their elephants, their very armour, exhibited, we are told, the moſt coſtly diſplay of ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones. The chariot of Darius, its materials and curious workmanſhip, the richneſs of his royal mantle, veſt, and tiara, and the profuſion of jewels with which he was covered, were ſuch, that hiſtory has not diſdained to record them particularly [18]. The retinue by which he was attended, was ſuitable to this ſtate. He carried in his train, in the greateſt abundance, all thoſe miniſters and implements of luxury, in which the Aſiatics have been always known to delight. Their women made part of their military train; and beſides Darius's mother, wife, and children, he had with him three hundred and ſixty concubines. It may be ſuppoſed, that the officers of his army but too faithfully copied their maſter's example.

Charidemus ventures to adviſe Darius.

Charidemus was among the attendants of the Perſian King. He had been obliged, as we have ſeen, to leave Athens, and enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of the royal favour. Darius, full of confidence in his numbers, and who beheld, with great complacency, the gay appearance they made, aſked him, "What he thought would now become of Alexander and his

[18] See Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 3.

3 handful

Book I. Sect. 1.

handful of men?" The generous Greek, though an exile, though ſeverely injured by the King of Macedon, and a daily witneſs of the abject ſervility with which, whatever fell from Darius, was received, could not ſuppreſs his honeſt indignation. He told him, "He was much miſtaken, if he imagined, that this vain parade could avail againſt the men whom he was marching to attack; the rough Thracians, the hardy Illyrians, the reſolute and well-diſciplined Greeks; men, to whom no dangers were new, and who had been long inured to every kind of toil—that, if he hoped for victory, inſtead of laviſhing his vaſt treaſures in the ſupport of this effeminate multitude, he had better ſend to Thrace, to Illyricum, to Greece, for forces which he might ſafely oppoſe to thoſe of Alexander, as they had the ſame hardineſs, the ſame vigour, the ſame expertneſs in arms—that, would he vouchſafe to intruſt him, he was ready to undertake the charge; and, if he was only enabled to raiſe among thoſe valiant nations, an army equal to one ſixth part of the numbers which the King had with him, he would chearfully ſtake his life on the iſſue." Darius, it is ſaid, heſitated. He felt the truth of Charidemus's obſervations. But his courtiers got the aſcendant over him. They repreſented Charidemus as a dangerous perſon, who had perfidious views. He was weak enough to believe them; and was at laſt prevailed on to have him put to death[19]. Darius, like moſt unfortunate princes of his character, perceived his miſtake when it was no longer to be repaired.

Darius's hiſtory;

Darius was, nevertheleſs, accounted a ſenſible, brave, and generous Prince, at the time he aſcended the throne of

[19] Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 2.

Perſia;

Perſia; and this was only the fourth year of his reign[20]. His name, before he was King, was Codomannus. He was deſcended originally from a diſtant branch of the royal family, and for ſome years in a very humble ſtation, having been reduced to accept of the office of *Iſtanda*, or royal courier. His life was even, for ſome time, in great danger, Ochus, the king then reigning, having put to death the father of Codomannus, with moſt of his family. How Codomannus eſcaped, hiſtorians do not ſay. He afterwards obtained the government of Armenia for his gallant behaviour againſt the Caduſians, with whom Ochus was at war: A champion belonging to the enemy had challenged any Perſian to ſingle combat; and Codomannus engaged and ſlew him. Soon after this, Ochus was taken off by Bagoas, his favorite eunuch; and Arſes, his youngeſt ſon, was placed on the throne, Bagoas having put all his other ſons to death. But Bagoas, who thought to govern the young King, finding himſelf in danger of being diſappointed, cauſed him to be murdered, and advanced Codomannus to the throne, in hopes that the favour which he had conferred on him, would fix him his dependent. Codomannus, nevertheleſs, apprized of his guilt, held him in abhorrence; and judging from his former treaſons what he had to expect, watched him ſo narrowly, that he detected him in the very act of attempting his life by poiſon, and compelled him to ſwallow the potion he had prepared.

Book I. Sect. 1.

But, whatever had been the virtues of Codomannus, or Darius, as we ſhall now call him, in a private ſtation, the

and character.

[20] Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Juſt. L. x. c. 3.

Book I. Sect. 1.

corrupted manners of the Persian court, and the seductions of flattery, had soon taught him other sentiments. History has even charged him with practices, that speak great baseness of mind. He scrupled not to suborn traitors against Alexander, offering large rewards to the person who should kill him; and he had nearly succeeded. The assassin was Alexander, the son of Aeropus. He owed his life to his master's clemency, having lain under the suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy against Philip, for which his two brothers had suffered. The King had conferred many favours on him, and had lately appointed him to the command of the Thessalian horse, an office of great trust and dignity. But it would appear, that the offers which Darius had caused to be made to him, of ten thousand talents (near two millions sterling) and the kingdom of Macedon, had seduced him from his allegiance. And the treason was on the point of being carried into execution, when it was discovered by the sagacity of Parmenio [21].

Suborns a traitor to kill Alexander; who is discovered.

Alexander advances into Cilicia.

WHILST Darius was on his march through Assyria, Alexander had advanced into Cilicia as far as Tarsus. Cilicia forms a large plain, extending itself from the foot of Mount Taurus to the sea; on the south, it is washed by the Aegean; its other sides are bounded by mountains, which have three openings or narrow passes, named by historians *The gates of Cilicia.* One pass, to the north-west, opens into Cappadocia; the other, to the east, into Syria; and the third, to the north-east, into Assyria, by the side of the mountain Amanus, and it is therefore known by the name of

[21] Arrian, L. i. c. 26.

of the *gate* or *paſs of Amanus.* Alexander had marched through this paſs, which leads from Cappadocia. A ſmall body of men might have interrupted him; and a ſufficient force had been placed there accordingly. But his very name defeated all oppoſition. As ſoon as they heard that Alexander was approaching, they fled. Entering Cilicia, he gave orders to Parmenio to ſeize the paſs on the Syrian ſide, purpoſing to march on with all poſſible expedition in queſt of Darius.

Is dangerouſly ill at Tarſus.

An accident delayed him at Tarſus. Through this diſtrict runs the river Cydnus, remarkable for its beauty and exceeding coldneſs. Alexander, to whom, as to all the Greeks, it was cuſtomary to throw himſelf, however warm, into whatever river was neareſt, had, immediately upon his arrival, when in a glow of heat, promoted by his march and the ſultry ſeaſon, plunged into the Cydnus, the cold of which ſtruck through him in ſuch a manner, that his life was deſpaired of. The whole army remained in the deepeſt conſternation; and what rendered their ſituation the more alarming, advice had been received, that Darius was approaching.

Philip of Acarnania offers to relieve him;

Among the attendants of Alexander was Philip of Acarnania, a phyſician of eminence. In the general perplexity, he offered to prepare a potion, exceedingly violent in its operation, but from which he had reaſon to expect the moſt ſalutary and ſpeedy effects. Alexander, impatient of confinement, deſired the experiment might inſtantly be made; and already was the medicine prepared, when diſpatches arrived from Parmenio to the King, "not on any account to truſt Philip, for he had ſold himſelf to the Perſians."

is ſuſpected.

Book I. Sect. I.

Magnanimity of Alexander.

ALEXANDER, with magnanimity ſuperior to all praiſe, concealed the pacquet under his pillow; and the potion being brought him, ſwallowed it without emotion, delivering at the ſame time, Parmenio's diſpatch into the hands of Philip, marking his countenance as he read it. The firmneſs and honeſt indignation with which he peruſed it, fully ſatisfied the King; he embraced him, aſſuring him in the warmeſt terms, of the entire confidence he had in his fidelity. Whilſt Philip, with the moſt ardent proteſtations of his unalterable attachment, conjured the King to aſſiſt the operation of the medicine, by keeping up his ſpirits, and baniſhing every gloomy doubt [22].

Recovers.

THE ſtrength of the medicine, notwithſtanding, having overpowered him, he remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs, diſcovering ſcarcely any ſigns of life. But the faithful Philip, who watched every change, ſoon relieved him, and in three days he was enabled to ſhew himſelf to the Macedonians, whoſe diſtreſs did not abate until the King appeared before them.

Confidence of Darius.

ALEXANDER's illneſs had encreaſed the confidence of Darius [23]. His courtiers had aſſured him, that the Macedonians would not dare to meet him in battle; and their not appearing, confirmed him in this vain belief. He now looked upon it as certain, that the Greeks were flying; accordingly, he prepared to purſue them through Cilicia, and had entered the paſs of Amanus at the ſame time Alexander

[22] Arian, L. ii. c. 4. Juſt., L. xi. c. 8. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 6. Plutarch in Alexand.
[23] Arrian, L. ii. c. 7 & ſeq.

had

had ſtruck off by that of Syria, and was thus leaving Darius behind him. When advice of the enemy's motions was brought to Alexander, he would ſcarcely give credit to the report. But finding it ſufficiently authenticated, he began with thanking the Gods, who had confounded the counſels of Darius, and by ſhutting him up in theſe defiles, had delivered him into his hands. He then commanded his troops to march back into Cilicia, and to prepare for battle.

His terror.

DARIUS had already croſſed the Pinarus, which divides Cilicia, and was encamped near the city of Iſſus. When the Perſians found that Alexander, of whoſe flight they entertained not the leaſt doubt, was advancing againſt them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion. Pent up within narrow defiles, they found themſelves deprived of all the advantages which they expected to derive from their multitudes, and in a manner reduced to fight upon an equality with the enemy. Darius particularly, who ſome hours before was elated with confidence, was now ſtruck with ſuch terror, that he commanded the banks of the river to be fortified with ſtakes, leſt the Greeks ſhould break in upon him. This cowardly precaution, Arrian tells us, provoked the ſcorn of the Macedonian ſoldiers; "He has already," ſaid they, "the ſpirit of a ſlave in him[24]!" But, whatever cauſe Alexander might have to hold the Perſians in contempt, it did not make him negligent of any one of the duties of a general. With conſummate ſkill he extended his front from the foot of the mountain to the ſea; ſo that the Perſians ſhould not have it in their power, by their ſuperiority of numbers, to ſurround him: ſome of their detached

[24] Τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. Arrian, L. ii. c. 10.

Book I. Sect. 1.

parties had occupied the heights above him; he ſent a body of archers to diſlodge them previous to the engagement: he examined attentively every diſpoſition the enemy had made; and wherever he ſaw their beſt troops placed, he added to the ſtrength of that part of his line which was to oppoſe them. He then rode through the ranks, reminding thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any former exploit, of what atchievements they had performed, and calling by name upon every brave ſoldier, to ſupport, on that day, the glory he had already acquired.

Battle of Iſſus.

The command of the left wing, which reached to the ſea, he aſſigned to Parmenio; and began [25] himſelf the attack at the head of the right, directing his men to move up ſlowly, until within a certain diſtance of the enemy, and then to ruſh vigorouſly on, before the Perſians ſhould have time to diſcharge their miſſile weapons. This manœuvre had the deſired effect. The foremoſt ranks of the enemy, finding their arms, in which they were moſt expert, rendered uſeleſs, and preſſed by the violent onſet of the Greeks, who charged them ſword in hand, fell back on the ranks behind them; theſe likewiſe on thoſe next to them, until the confuſion ſpread throughout the whole left wing; the Macedonians ſtill urging on with dreadful execution. Darius, who was only conſpicuous by the height of his ſplendid chariot and the richneſs of his dreſs, ſeeing his left wing broken, and that the ſlaughter began to threaten the ſpot where he was ſtationed, turned from the field of battle, and fled with the foremoſt.

[25] Olymp. cxi. 4. Before Christ 333.

The

Greek mercenaries.

The Greek mercenaries, who compofed the main body of the Perfian army, ftill bravely maintained their ground, though againft the Macedonian phalanx. But Alexander, after routing the enemy's left wing, having taken them in flank, they were at length worfted with great flaughter.

Total difcomfiture of the Perfians.

On the right wing the Perfians had confiderably the advantage at the beginning of the engagement, their cavalry on that fide being much ftronger than the Greeks, until a feafonable reinforcement of Theffalian horfe enabled Parmenio to turn the fortune of the day againft them; when feeing the general difperfion, they confulted their fafety by flight.

Alexander purfues them.

The purfuit which Alexander, though wounded in the thigh, continued till the clofe of day, proved not lefs fatal to the Perfians than the battle, on account of their multitudes, and of the narrow defiles and rugged mountainous paths through which they had to pafs. So that Ptolemy, the fon of Lagus, who accompanied Alexander on this occafion, declared, that through the whole way they had trodden on nothing but dead carcaffes. As for Darius, he remained in his chariot for fome time; but his fears fuggefting to him, that this method was not fufficiently expeditious, he alighted, and relinquifhing his royal mantle, mounted on horfe-back, and fled with the utmoft precipitation, hardly ftopping for refrefhment, until he had got beyond the Euphrates.

Darius efcapes.

The Perfian camp, and Darius's family, taken.

Of the Perfians there fell, according to Arrian, ninety thoufand foot and ten thoufand horfe. Of the Greeks, if Dio-

dorus

dorus may be depended on, only four hundred and fifty. The Persian camp was taken; in which were found the mother and wife of Darius, with his son and two daughters. The greater part of the baggage and treasure of the enemy had been left at Damascus. The plunder, however, was very considerable, every part of the camp affording proofs of Asiatic luxury and opulence. The tent of Darius, especially, the Macedonians beheld with amazement. Its spacious apartments were laid out in the most elegant manner, adorned with costly furniture, and on every side were placed vases of gold, from whence the richest odours issued; sumptuous preparations also for bathing and for the royal banquet, awaited Darius's return from the battle; and the officers of the household, splendidly attired, attended in their respective stations.

Magnificence of Darius's tent.

Alexander's opinion of it.

It was thought proper to reserve this piece of magnificence for Alexander himself. He viewed it with much indifference, and having smelled the rich essences, turning to his followers, "This then," said he, "it was to be a king[26]!" Out of all the precious things he selected only a casket, ornamented with jewels and of curious workmanship, in which Darius was wont to keep perfumes. "I use no perfumes," said he, "but I will apply it to a nobler purpose;" and accordingly used it as a case for Homer's Iliad, a copy of which, corrected by Aristotle and Callisthenes, he always

[26] Dacier and others understand Alexander's words, as if spoken in admiration of what he saw. Dr. Langhorne considers them as the words of indignation. And this idea, which seems the most natural, and gives to the passage a peculiar beauty, is accordingly the one here adopted. See Langhorne's Plutarch.

carried about with him. Hence is this copy of Homer, which appears to have been in high eſtimation among the ancients, known by the name of *the copy of the caſket* [17].

His noble conduct.

Historical writers make the moſt honourable mention of the temperate manner in which Alexander enjoyed his victory. To Darius's family he behaved with ſingular magnanimity. He took care, that their perſons, and whatever belonged to them, ſhould be ſaved and ſecured from inſult. The night ſucceeding the battle, hearing of their diſtreſs upon the ſuppoſed death of Darius, whoſe mantle one of the eunuchs had ſeen in the hands of a ſoldier, he immediately ſent Leonnatus to aſſure them, that Darius was living, and that themſelves, though now captives, ſhould enjoy the ſame royal ſtate to which they had been accuſtomed in their higheſt ſplendor. The enſuing day he viſited them in perſon, his friend Hephaeſtion only accompanying him. As they entered, Syſigambis, the mother of Darius, fell at Hephaeſtion's feet, ſuppoſing him to be the king; but one of the attendants having informed her of the miſtake, ſhe in great confuſion, turning to Alexander began to excuſe herſelf. "You are not greatly miſtaken, madam," replied he, raiſing her up, with great affection, "for *he* alſo is Alex-"ander.".

His generous demeanor to the family of Darius.

From that day, to avoid every injurious ſuſpicion, he laid it down as a law, never to viſit the wife of Darius more; who, it is ſaid, was the moſt beautiful woman of her time. So that, as Plutarch obſerves, ſhe and the reſt of the

[17] Ἡ ἐκ του ναρθηκος. Strab. L. xiii. Plutarch in Alexand.

Book I. Sect. I.

princesses "lived, though in an enemy's camp, as if they "had been in some holy temple, unseen and unapproached, "in the most sacred privacy." Sysigambis particularly, was treated by him with a respect and attention not less than she could have expected from Darius himself. He permitted her to order the funeral honours that should be paid to those of the royal family who had fallen in the action; and often afterwards granted favours at her request, even forgiving, upon her intercession, some Persian lords, who had deservedly incurred his displeasure.

Damascus surrenders.

The victory of Issus was followed by the surrender of Damascus [18]; the governor, without waiting to be attacked, having delivered up to Parmenio the city, and the treasures it contained, to a vast amount; together with thirty thousand prisoners, among whom were the wives and daughters of the first nobles of Persia; and, what is worthy of notice, embassadors, deputed from Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, to Darius, who had taken up their residence here, as in a place of security.

Grecian embassadors found there.

Alexander's treatment of them.

Alexander commanded the embassadors to be immediately sent to him. Two of them, Thebans, he treated with remarkable lenity. "He wondered not," he said, "that they should be found among the enemies of "Greece, deprived, as they had been, of their native home, "and driven to seek for refuge in a foreign land." From this and other instances it is evident, that Alexander repented of his severity to the Theban people, and sought to remove the unfavourable impressions which that rigorous

[18] Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

procedure

procedure had left on the minds of most of the Greeks. Another of the embassadors was Iphicrates of Athens, son to the illustrious general of the name. He forgave him also. "He had known," he said, "and honoured his father. The "respect, besides, that he had for Athens, would not permit him "to shew resentment to her citizen, though employed in so "improper a business." But the fourth, Euthycles, the Spartan, he ordered immediately into confinement. "The "Spartans were his professed enemies, and deserved no favour "at his hands." In a little time, however, he released him[29]. The truth is, Alexander was sensible, that he was far from enjoying the affections of the several States of Greece; and was cautious of exasperating them. He well knew, that it must be a matter of much difficulty to make that republican spirit, with which they were animated, submit to the chains to which he had destined them. And should he declare his purpose at once, and avow himself for their lord and master, it might be the means of forcing them to unite in defence of their common liberties, and of provoking an opposition, with which he was not yet in a condition to contend. We shall see him assume a very different deportment after the final destruction of Darius.

Alexander reduces the maritime nations of Syria, &c.

Alexander had now the prize of empire before him, and resolved to employ his utmost vigour in pushing on the pursuit. He proceeded first to reduce the maritime nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and the islands adjacent. This was an object to him of considerable moment. They were powerful at sea; he wanted a navy to secure and to extend his con-

[29] Arrian, loc. cit.

BOOK I. Sect. 1.

quests; and by reducing them into subjection, he cut off from Darius many important resources he derived from them. The success corresponded to his expectations. Byblus, Marathus, the prince of Aradus on the Phœnician coast; and, of more moment still, the people of Sidon, revolted to him. The Sidonians particularly hated the Persian yoke; they had suffered much oppression in the days of Ochus; and hailed Alexander as their deliverer.

The Tyrians refuse to admit Alexander.

THE Tyrians also made a shew [30] of submitting, and presented him with a golden crown. But he found they meant [31] to preserve their independence. Confiding in their situation and naval strength, they thought they had little to fear, and refused to admit any Macedonians within their walls, whilst the fate of the Persian empire was yet in suspence. Alexander, on the contrary, was determined, that the proudest power of Asia should not defy him with impunity.

Strength of Tyre.

To reduce Tyre was, nevertheless, a work of difficulty. It was seated on an island at the distance of four furlongs from the Phœnician shore; it was surrounded with walls, remarkable for their height and solidity; and the sea, where it washed the foot of these walls, was of the depth of three fathoms. The Tyrians besides were strong in men, hardy, experienced, well-appointed; they were the boldest mari-

[30] The King of Tyre, Azelmicus, was at this very time on board the Persian fleet with Autophradates, one of Darius's admirals. Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

[31] Arrian, L. ii. c. 17 & seq. Plutarch in Alex. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 2. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 4.

ners then known, and possessed immense wealth from the extensive commerce they had long enjoyed; from their numerous fleets, they had the means both of annoying at pleasure the enemies that should attack them, and of receiving constant supplies of whatever was necessary for their defence: And they had a right to expect powerful succours from their several colonies.

Siege of Tyre.

ALEXANDER was not to be intimidated. He began by running a mole from the continent to Tyre, in order to have firm ground on which to raise machines and carry on his works. Laborious as the undertaking was, the soldiers, inspired by the presence and example of their Sovereign, thought no fatigue too severe; earth, timber, and every necessary material, were collected in abundance; and the mole soon appeared above the surface of the sea. Whilst the Macedonians wrought near the shore, they met with no obstruction; but as they approached towards Tyre, they found themselves so much exposed to attacks from the enemy, and so sharply galled by the stones and missile weapons, which their engines discharged against them, that Alexander was obliged to raise wooden towers to protect his work, and to cover the workmen. The Tyrians, on their part, lost no time. They prepared a ship filled with combustible stores, and towing her to the place where the towers were reared, set them on fire with the other machines which the Macedonians had constructed, whilst armed men from the city, in small boats, attacked the mole on every side, and laid it in ruins.

Book I. Sect. 1.

Alexander ſummons the maritime powers to his aſſiſtance.

BAFFLED in this attempt, Alexander found it neceſſary to alter his plan. He determined to give his mole more breadth, that, by having it in his power to raiſe a greater number of towers on it, he might provide the more effectually for its defence. Obſerving, that without a ſufficient naval force, it muſt be impoſſible to keep the Tyrian fleet in awe, he ſummoned the ſeveral maritime powers which had lately ſubmitted, to furniſh him with ſhips. They obeyed. Even Cyprus joined him. That iſland had hitherto followed the fortunes of Darius; but, deterred by the ſucceſs of the Macedonian arms, declared now for Alexander. The Tyrians, who had been preparing for a naval engagement, were aſtoniſhed to behold the ſea covered with the veſſels of the enemy, and retired within their ports.

Obſtinate defence of Tyre.

THE Macedonians, thus reinforced, completed their mole; and urged on the ſiege with great activity. But the more vigour they exhibited, the more ſpirited was the defence which the Tyrians made, as if reſolved to preſerve their liberties or periſh. A continual diſcharge of deſtructive and deadly weapons poured from every part of their walls upon the ſhips or men that dared to approach them. And whatever inſtruments of offence the enemy invented, the Tyrians ſtraitway contrived others to diſappoint their effect. The Greeks had conſtructed towers of wood equal in heighth to the battlements of the city, which they moved cloſe to the walls, ſo as to fight the beſieged hand to hand, and ſometimes, by throwing ſpontoons acroſs, paſſed on to the very battlements. The Tyrians prepared hooks and grappling irons, with which they caught hold of the ſoldiers that ap-

peared

peared on these towers, and dragged them off. Those, who attempted scaling-ladders, had poured on them vessels of scalding sand, which penetrated to the bone. Against whatever place the battering engines were directed, green hides or coverlets of wool were instantly spread, to render ineffectual the blow. And if in any part of the walls an opening was made, a number of combatants immediately rushed forward to guard the breach.

The aids of superstition employed to encourage the Macedonians.

THE siege had now continued seven months. And it is likely the Macedonians began to be tired out; if we may judge from the extraordinary artifices, which it appears were made use of to raise their drooping spirits. One while, an account had been received, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened him to his pedestal with golden chains, to prevent his elopement. At another, it was said, that Hercules had appeared to Alexander, and invited him to pass into Tyre. And again, the King dreamed, that a Satyr [32] was playing before him, and, as he endeavoured to lay hold of him, eluded his grasp; but that at last, won by his solicitations, he surrendered to him. The Augurs, in whom the Macedonian army had been taught to place implicit faith, and who were, therefore, Alexander's general resource in his difficulties, affirmed, that these

[32] One can hardly forbear smiling at the paltry equivoque, with which we are told the Augurs satisfied their employers on this occasion. The Greek word Σάτυρος, *a Satyr*, may be divided into two syllables, Σὰ Τύρος, *Tyre is thine.* "'Tis the "very interpretation of the King's dream;" pronounced the Augurs. "The appearing of the Satyr says, *that the gods have delivered Tyre into thy hands.*" Plutarch (in Alexand.) relates this solution as a notable piece of ingenuity. Probably, both the dream and the interpretation were the contrivance of the Augurs themselves.

were

Book I. Sect. I.

were all notices from Heaven, that Tyre was on the point of falling into his hands.

A general aſſault.

It was thought adviſeable to take advantage of the confidence which theſe aſſurances produced in the minds of the ſoldiery. Large breaches had been made in the walls. And it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the long fatigue, and many ſharp engagements, which the Tyrians had ſuſtained, muſt have diminiſhed their numbers conſiderably. Alexander accordingly determined to make another effort, and gave orders for a general aſſault by ſea and land; the Macedonians to penetrate the breaches, and the fleet at the ſame time to attempt the different ports, of which Tyre had two, the one opening towards Egypt, the other towards Sidon.

Tyre taken.

It is difficult to ſay which deſerves moſt the warrior's praiſe, the ſkill exhibited in planning the ſeveral attacks, or the ſpirit with which they were executed; and the Tyrians, notwithſtanding a reſiſtance to which they ſeem to have been animated by deſpair, were at laſt overpowered on every ſide[33]. The gallant defence of the beſieged had exaſperated Alexander. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms, ſhould be put to the ſword, and the reſt of the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves[34], thoſe excepted who had taken refuge

Cruel treatment of the Tyrians.

[33] Olymp. cxii. 1. before Christ 332.

[34] There was the *Old Tyre* and the *New*. The Old Tyre, known by the name of Palaetyrus, was ſituate on the continent of Phœnicia, and by means of its extenſive trade, roſe to ſuch power, that it held out a ſiege of five years againſt Salmaneſer, king of Aſſyria, who was at laſt obliged to raiſe it. It was again beſieged by Nebuchadnezzar, who took it, after a ſiege of thirteen years, and overthrew it. Upon

refuge in the temple of Hercules, the patron god of Tyre; in gratitude, doubtleſs, for the viſion with which he wiſhed to have it believed the god had honoured him. The Sidonians, however, in compaſſion to their kindred city (for Tyre was originally a Sidonian colony, and is therefore called by the prophet *the daughter of Sidon* [35]) ſecreted a number of the inhabitants, to the amount of fifteen thouſand, and carried them off in their ſhips. By theſe, Tyre was afterwards raiſed from her ruins [36]. Some hiſtorians have recorded, that Alexander's cruelty went beyond what we have related, and that he crucified two thouſand of this unhappy people. If ſo, Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs Arrian compiled his hiſtory, choſe to paſs this action over in ſilence; for there is no mention of it in Arrian. Probably they were aſhamed of ſuch horrid barbarity [37].

Darius applies to Alexander.

Darius found, that Alexander was becoming every day more formidable, and ſought to engage him to an accommo-

Upon which, the Tyrians built them a new city, that which we now treat of, on an iſland oppoſite to old Tyre.

Commentators are not agreed, whether the propheſies of Iſaiah xxiii. and of Ezekiel xxvi. and xxvii. relate to the calamities they ſuffered from Salmaneſer and Nebuchadnezzar, or to thoſe which Alexander brought on them. Grotius ſupports the former opinion. Prideaux the latter. Biſhop Newton (Diſſertat. xi.) thinks that theſe propheſies relate both to the one and to the other.

[35] Iſaiah, xxiii. 12.

[36] Tyre ſoon recovered; for in about nineteen years after, it was able to withſtand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and to ſuſtain a ſiege of fifteen months before it was taken. It owed this wonderful encreaſe of ſtrength to its commerce, and chiefly to its purple trade; the purple ſhell-fiſh being found on this coaſt in great abundance.—See Strabo. Caſaub. L. vi. p. 521.

[37] See Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 4.

dation. He had applied to him ſoon after the battle of Iſſus; but the manner was ſuch, that Alexander thought himſelf rather inſulted by it. He ſummoned him, " to behave to the Princeſſes he held captive, as it became a King to behave to a King, and to deliver them up immediately to Darius."—He reproached him with " having undertaken the preſent war, unprovoked by any wrongs; whereas Darius had armed in defence of his hereditary realms;—adding, that " he nevertheleſs offered Alexander his friendſhip, and was ready to accept of his, whenever it was properly tendered."

Alexander's anſwer.

ALEXANDER replied, by " ennumerating all the griev-ances, real or imputed, which Greece had at any period of time ſuffered from the Perſian Kings, demanding reparation at the hands of Darius for them all;—that, if he had any boon to aſk of Alexander, he ſhould come in perſon, and ſolicit it;—that, if he entertained any doubt, there ſhould be given ſufficient hoſtages for his ſecurity; and his wife and children ſhould no longer be withheld from him;"—he concluded with " requiring, that, ſhould he henceforth write to him, to remember he was writing, not to his equal, but to the lord of Aſia and of Darius; that, if he was unwilling to admit the claim, Alexander was ready to ſupport it by force of arms."

Darius applies again.

DARIUS now uſed an humbler ſtyle [38]. He offered him " his daughter in marriage; a ranſom of ten thouſand talents for the reſt of the Princeſſes; and the ceſſion of all the provinces of Aſia, from the Helleſpont to the Euphrates."

[38] Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

Parmenio,

without success.

Parmenio, we are told, advised Alexander to accept of these terms: "*I* would," added he, "were I Alexan-"der"—"And so would I," replied Alexander, "were *I* "Parmenio." Alexander answered Darius, "That he stood not in want of any treasures Darius had to give; that the provinces which he proposed to cede, were no longer his to offer; that nothing less could now be accepted of, than the cession of the whole empire. With respect to marrying his daughter, Alexander, regardless of the consent of Darius, would consult only his own inclination; and that the last resource of the Persian King was, to surrender himself to Alexander, and make trial of his clemency."

Alexander advances towards Jerusalem, with hostile purposes; is pacified at the sight of the high-priest;

From Tyre [39] Alexander directed his march towards Jerusalem. The Jews had offended him. Under pretence of fealty to Darius, they had excused themselves from furnishing him with provisions during the late siege, and at the same time had sent supplies to the Tyrians. When they heard, that Alexander was approaching, Jaddua, the high-priest, instructed by an heavenly vision, arrayed himself in the sacerdotal vestments; and, together with the other priests in their sacred habits, and the rest of the people clothed in white, went forth to meet Alexander. The Macedonians beheld them, in earnest expectation of what would follow;

[39] Josephus, in whose writings the account of the high-priest Jaddua is found, supposes, that Alexander did not set out for Jerusalem till after the taking of Gaza; but Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says, he went thither from Tyre. Archbishop Usher (consult Usserii Annal. p. 301.) is of the same opinion. And this is entirely consonant with what Arrian expressly says, that, before he set out for Gaza, on his way to Egypt, he had brought into subjection all Palestine; ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα της Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη. Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

Book I. Sect. 1.

they knew the King to be violent in his resentments; and imagined this humiliation would avail little. When, all at once, Alexander stepping forth, prostrated himself before Jaddua. Parmenio, amazed, would have stopped him. "What!" said he, "shall you, whom all hold in veneration, prostrate "yourself before a man!"—"Not before a man," replied the King, "but before the God whose minister he is. "When at Dium in Macedonia, the same venerable person-"age whom I now see, appeared to me, and commanded "me to pass into Asia, promising, that the God whom he "served should be my conductor [40]."

why.

Shews favour to the Jews;

Embracing then the high-priest, he held on his way towards Jerusalem, where he spent some days, shewing himself exceedingly gracious to the Jewish nation, and granting them a confirmation of their several privileges; particularly, of their exemption from all tribute on every seventh year, or year of the Sabbath, on which, according to their law, they were neither to sow nor reap.

Sees the prophesies of Daniel.

Josephus [41], from whom we have taken this account, tells us, that the Macedonian saw at Jerusalem the prophecies of Daniel [42], in which was foretold, "the overthrow of "the Persian empire, by a Prince of Greece;" which the high-priest took care to explain to him [43].

The

[40] See the authenticity of this whole account fully vindicated in Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies. Dissert. xv.

[41] Consult Josephi Antiq. L. ii. c. 8. Sect. v. p. 504. Edit. Huds.

[42] Dan. viii. 7. 20, 21.

[43] It may seem strange to some, that Alexander, after having had such convincing proof of the power of the True God, should have continued an idolater, and especially

Histreatment of the Samaritans.

The Samaritans, whose jealousy and hatred of the Jewish people are well known, and who had distinguished themselves in the service of Alexander, applied for the same favours as the Jews had received; but he declined listening to the request, excusing himself for want of leisure, on account of Egyptian affairs, which occupied his attention.

Takes Gaza by storm.

On the road to Egypt, at the entrance of the desart that divides it from Phœnicia, stood Gaza, a city strong and well garrisoned, of which Batis was governor. The cowardice or infidelity of other Persian governors were no examples to him. He defended the city against the whole Macedonian army for the space of two months; and when at last it was taken by storm, he and his men continued fighting to the last gasp of life, not a man surviving [44]. Alexander,

cially have pursued his visionary plan of having himself acknowledged for the son of Hammon. But, in the first place, *the incompatibility of the worship of the True God with that of the gods of the nations*, was a doctrine which few of the Pagans could be brought to apprehend rightly, and from which even the better-informed nations of Israel and Judah were but too apt to depart, debasing often the worship of the Almighty with the mixture of heathenish rites. And, in the second place, Alexander's real motive for claiming divine honours, was not any idolatrous principle (for it was an impious violation of the very religion of his own country) but merely the lust of conquest, which in him was so strong, as to absorb all other considerations. It was not possible he should ever have brought himself to believe sincerely, that he was a god. But it is very possible he might wish, that others should believe him one; because such a belief was an useful instrument for the establishing of that empire which he had in view.

[44] Quintus Curtius (iv. 6.) in express contradiction to Arrian, tells us, that Batis (Betis, he calls him) was yet alive when taken, though grievously wounded; and that Alexander, after loading him with reproaches for the gallant defence he had made, fastened him to his chariot by cords passed through his feet, and, in imi-

tation

ander, however, provoked partly by this obſtinate defence, and partly by ſome ſlight wound he had received in the courſe of the ſiege, wreaked his vengeance on the women and children, all of whom he condemned to ſlavery.

Egypt ſubmits.

Egypt was ſoon reduced. Even before Alexander's arrival, the Perſians were held in abhorrence there, on account of their late oppreſſions and profane treatment of the Egyptian gods, in the reign of Ochus[45]. Alexander cultivated theſe favourable diſpoſitions; he ſhewed particular attention to the proſperity of the country; and laid the foundation of a great city, to be called after his own name; the ſituation of which, he ſaid, had been pointed out to him by Homer[46], and which proved the principal ſource of that immenſe opu-

tation of what Achilles is ſaid to have done to the dead body of Hector, dragged him, while life yet remained, round the walls of Gaza. Probably this is fabulous.

[45] He had profaned the moſt revered rites of their national religion, and had even ſlain their god Apis. See Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah xix. 1.

[46] According to Plutarch, a perſonage of venerable aſpect appeared to him (ſo at lea[illegible]rted the voice of Flattery) and repeated the following lines (Odyſſ. iv.)

> Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἐστὶ πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
> Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε (Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσι.)

> High o'er a gulphy ſea, the Pharian iſle
> Fronts the deep roar of diſemboguing Nile.—Pope.

The difficulty is, in the lines that follow, Homer places the Pharos at the diſtance of a day's ſail from the continent; and, on the contrary, it is generally allowed, that the Pharos is only ſeven ſtadia, ſcarcely a mile, diſtant from Alexandria. To reconcile the matter, Mr. Pope would ſuppoſe, that the Poet meant to ſpecify the uſian mouth of the Nile, from which the Pharos ſtands a day's ſail.

lence,

lence, of which the Egyptians became possessed in succeeding ages.

Temple of Jupiter Hammon.

His next atchievement was of a different kind. In the depths of Lybia was situated the oracular temple of Jupiter Hammon. What was the origin of this superstition, is an enquiry foreign to the present purpose. It is sufficient to notice, that the antiquity of the establishment, which seems to have had its beginning in very remote and ignorant ages, together with the situation of the place, where the priests were secured from observation and controul, and where every circumstance promoted the amazement and reverence of those votaries who resorted thither to worship, naturally contributed to the propagating of the many strange fictions concerning it which history has recorded.

Alexander resolves to visit it; for what purpose.

Alexander formed the plan of rendering these fictions subservient to his views. The way to the oracle lay[47] through a vast desart, inhospitable and pathless; where the intense heat of the climate was rendered tenfold more violent by burning sands, the only footing the traveller had; and where none but persons well acquainted with the dreary wild, could find out the line by which they were to march: From the entrance of the desart to the temple, it was two hundred and thirty miles. Through this desart Alexander undertook to march his army. The very attempt had in it somewhat of prodigy. To give it more strongly this appearance, he with great art concealed from his men, that he had employed any guides to conduct him;

The artifice employed

[47] Arrian, L. iii. c. 3, 4. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 7.

Book I. Sect. I.

in order to diſpoſe them the better to believe that his inſtructions came from heaven, and that the gods themſelves appointed ſupernatural guides; "two dragons," according to Ptolemy, "two ravens," according to Ariſtobulus [48]; the difference between whoſe accounts may be conſidered as a proof, that Alexander kept the matter even from thoſe in whom he confided moſt on other occaſions. Probably his truſty Augurs were the only perſons in the ſecret.

in conſulting the oracle.

Before he reached the temple, he had in like manner prepared every thing for his reception. The prieſts had received their leſſons; and the oracle pronounced what Alexander wiſhed it ſhould. Moſt hiſtorians [49] agree, that the miniſter of Hammon ſaluted him as the ſon of the god; that when he enquired, whether any of the murderers of his father had eſcaped, the oracle replied, that *his* father was not mortal, but that the death of Philip was fully avenged. Upon his enquiring again, whether he was deſtined to conquer the world, the anſwer was, that Jupiter granted him that glory. Arrian omits theſe particular reſponſes, and tells us in general, that Alexander declared, "the god had left him "nothing more to deſire [50]." Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus were perhaps unwilling to diſgrace themſelves, by recording what they knew to be impious forgeries. It certainly appears, that from this period, Alexander began to diſcover to what a chimerical height his ambitious thoughts were ſoaring.

[48] A flock of crows, ſays Plutarch (in Alexand.)

[49] Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. ubi ſup.

[50] Ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγε. Arrian, L. iii. c. 4.

With

With the Greeks, however, for some time at least, he used more caution, not daring to expose his favourite claim to divine honours to the severity of their ridicule.

Statira dies.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed, Statira, wife to Darius, died. His demeanor towards her had been always noble. He paid her memory every honour in his power; expressed the deepest concern at her death, and commanded, that her obsequies should be solemnized with as much magnificence as they could have been, had she died in full possession of royal splendor.

The tidings are brought to Darius.

Tircus[51], one of Statira's eunuchs, upon her death made his escape from the camp, and brought Darius the account. The King, who loved her tenderly, broke out into the most passionate lamentations, bewailing her loss, that she should have ended her days in such an abject state oppressed with the miseries of captivity, and that after death she was likely to be deprived of those honours, which should have graced her obsequies. "Lament not for these things, O King!" said the eunuch; "for neither did Statira, while she lived, nor do any of the royal captives, feel the least diminution of their former fortune, except it be the having lost the light of thy countenance, which the great Oromasdes will again cause to shine upon them: and, far from being deprived of her due obsequies, Statira was honoured with the tears of her very enemies; for, terrible as Alexander is in battle, he is equally mild in using his victories."

[51] Plut. in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 10. Arrian, L. iv. c. 20.

The

His ſuſpicions;

The eunuch's words excited the darkeſt ſuſpicions in the mind of Darius. "Tell me then," ſaid he, taking the eunuch aſide, "if thou haſt not yet revolted to the Macedonians, as the fortune of Perſia has; tell me, as thou revereſt the light of Mithra, and this right hand of thy King, is not the death of Statira the leaſt of what I have to lament? and, amidſt all our calamities, had not our diſgrace been leſs, if we had met with a more ſavage foe? For, what but the tendereſt engagement could induce a young Prince thus to honour the wife of his enemy!"

emoved.

Tircus, humbling his face to the earth, entreated Darius not to harbour a thought ſo unworthy of himſelf, ſo injurious to Alexander, and ſo diſreſpectful to the memory of his excellent Queen; nor to deprive himſelf of that reflection, which muſt adminiſter the higheſt conſolation to him, that Alexander,[c] whoſe ſuperiority in arms he had felt, was ſuperior alſo to human nature; aſſuring him with the moſt ſolemn oaths, that Alexander was even more to be admired for the propriety of his behaviour to the captive Princeſſes, than for the valour he exerted againſt Darius.

Darius's admiration of Alexander.

Darius, lifting up his eyes to heaven, is ſaid to have thus expreſſed himſelf: "Ye gods, the guardians of our births, and who watch over the fortunes of kingdoms, grant me to re-eſtabliſh the State of Perſia, and to leave it proſperous as I found it, that, bleſſed with victory, I may have it in my power to return to Alexander the kindneſſes which my deareſt pledges have experienced from him. But if the fated term of this Empire is now come, and "the

" the glory of the Perſians muſt have an end, may none but
" Alexander ſit on the throne of Cyrus!"

When we meet with theſe ſentiments, we can ſcarcely forbear wiſhing, that the prince capable of having uttered them, had never known the baneful influence of abſolute power.

Some hiſtorians tell us, that upon this event the Perſian King ſent a third embaſſy to Alexander, with much larger offers than before. But neither Arrian nor Plutarch make mention of that particular.

Darius prepares again for battle.

Darius, who ſaw no other deciſion than that of arms was to be expected, and ſtill poſſeſſing the fond notion, that the ſtrength of an army conſiſted in its numbers, ſent to levy forces through all his provinces. There aſſembled, accordingly, a prodigious multitude; a million of foot, ſays Arrian, and forty thouſand horſe, with ſome elephants, and two hundred armed chariots. And as the ſucceſſor of Cyrus had been encouraged to believe, that the defeat at Iſſus was altogether owing to his having been ſhut up within narrow defiles, where he could not avail himſelf of his ſuperiority, he now choſe for his ground a plain of great extent, near the village of Gaugamela [12] in Aturia, a province of Aſſyria; having given directions, that every hillock ſhould be levelled, for his army and chariots to have room to act without interruption.

[12] The name ſignifies *the houſe* or *body of the camel*; ſo called, becauſe Darius Hyſtaſpis appointed this diſtrict for the maintenance of the camel, to which he owed his preſervation in his flight out of Scythia. Strab. xvi. Plut. in Alex.

Book I. Sect. 1.

Formidable appearance of the Persian army.

Alexander was on his march through the Upper Asia [33], and had passed the Tigris in search of Darius, when advice was brought him, that the Persians were near. At sight of them, the Greeks, accustomed as they had been to engage with numerous armies, were in some degree astonished. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but arms, military ensigns, chariots, and all the parade of war. And from every part of the plain below, arose a deep murmur, hoarse as the surges of a tempestuous sea. Alexander had advanced in order of battle. He thought it nevertheless adviseable to encamp, and to postpone the engagement till the ensuing morning, that his men might have an opportunity of viewing the enemy at leisure, and of recovering from the impression which, it appeared, the sight had at first made on them. The remainder of the day, besides performing [34] the proper sacrifices [35], he employed with Par-

[33] Arrian. L. iii. c. 7 & seq. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 12 & seq.

[34] Plutarch says, that, after the Macedonian army were gone to repose, Alexander, attended by Aristander the Augur only, went through certain private rites, and performed a sacrifice Φοίϐῳ to Apollo, as it stands in the printed text; but Amyot, as Xylander informs us, instead of Φοίϐῳ, found in several manuscripts Φόϐῳ to fear. If this is the true reading, as there is reason to believe it is, it shews what Alexander himself thought of the consternation of his army, and what induced Parmenio to give the advice, which we find he afterwards gave.

See Plut. Xylandri in Alex.

[35] It was perhaps on this occasion, that Alexander employed the artifice mentioned by Frontinus (L. 1. c. 11.) by means of some medicated liquor, he inscribed the hand of the Aruspex with certain characters, inverted, importing a promise of victory, which being laid on the warm liver of the victim, left there a legible impression. The miracle was immediately communicated to the army with great success.—See also Polyaeni Stratagem. L. iv. c. 3.

menio in reconnoitring the ſituation of the oppoſite army, and in examining the ground on which the battle was to be fought.

Parmenio's advice.

When he had retired to his tent, Parmenio came to him again, and counſelled him to take advantage of the night to attack the enemy. Parmenio himſelf was doubtful of the event, and thought the boldeſt heart muſt be appalled at encountering ſuch an hoſt of foes in open day. "No, Par-"menio," replied Alexander, "I will not *ſteal* a victory." This ſpirited anſwer, hiſtorians obſerve, though in appearance that of a young man, was the reſult of cool and judicious thought. The enemy, he reflected, might be apprehenſive of ſuch a deſign, and therefore on their guard againſt it; many diſaſters might befall his own men in the dark; they might miſtake friends for foes; they might loſe each other amidſt ſuch a confuſed multitude, and be overpowered; the enemy could not have before their eyes the bold onſet and dreadful execution of his troops; and therefore the darkneſs would be void of terror, which would otherwiſe operate on them with full force: the Macedonians, beſides, were ignorant of the country; and, if ſucceſsful, could not purſue the enemy; if unſucceſsful, they could not eſcape.

Alexander's anſwer: wiſdom of it.

It appeared afterwards [16], that Alexander had conjectured rightly. The Perſians, apprehenſive of a ſurprize, had remained under arms until morning, which very circumſtance was of conſiderable detriment to them. Waſted with fa-

[16] Arrian. L. iii. c. 10, 11.

Book I. Sect. 1.

tigue, and, subdued by repeated alarms in the night, they were less able to execute the business of the ensuing day; whereas the Macedonians, to whose refreshment Alexander had paid particular attention, approached in full vigour of mind and body.

Battle of Gaugamela.

A minute detail of this battle [57] belongs rather to the military science. It will be sufficient to mention the more remarkable incidents.

Darius's plan.

Darius's design was, to inclose the Greeks by his superiority of numbers; and by means of his armed chariots, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx, in which Alexander's principal strength was supposed to consist.

Alexander's judicious arrangements,

Alexander was aware of this intention. He placed, therefore a number of slingers and bowmen in the front of his line, with orders, that as the chariots moved towards them, they should, by frightening the horses, and plying them with stones and darts, endeavour to drive them back on the enemy. If this failed, they were to aim at disabling the horses, or to kill the drivers, in order to get possession of the chariots; but in case any of them still escaped, and reached the phalanx, then the Macedonians were to open to right and left, and permit them to pass to the rear, where there was a corps of reserve appointed to take care of them.

He had also disposed a number of detached parties, whose instructions were, to observe the enemy's flying squadrons, and prevent their taking him in flank.

[57] Olymp. cxii. 2. before Christ 331.

If

If the Persians should carry their point, and inclose him, in that case the extreme ranks, flank and rear, were to face about instantly, to front the enemy on every side. Book I. Sect. 1.

His orders were punctually executed. The chariots bore down on the Macedonians, and they were soon rendered useless. Repeated attempts were made to take him in flank without effect. Whilst Alexander, at the head of the right wing, after having broken the left wing of the enemy, though composed of the Scythian horse, by far the best corps Darius had, turned directly on the main body of the Persian army; and drawing up his men in the form of a wedge [58], upon a small front, supported by a great depth, opened to himself a way into the midst of them, pushing on to the center, with loud shoutings and great slaughter; probably with a view of taking the King prisoner, who, according to the Persian custom, had his station there, and was, as usual, easily distinguished by his magnificent dress and stately chariot. attended with success.

Darius had hitherto preserved [59] some appearance of firmness; but as soon as he saw this torrent of war rushing towards him, his strength of mind forsook him, and he betook himself to flight; which completed the defeat of his army in this part, every man following the King's example. Flight of Darius.

[58] Ὥσπερ ἔμβολον. Arrian Gronov. L. iii. c. xiv. p. 124.

[59] According to Diodorus, Darius for some time shewed both conduct and valour; but his charioteer having been slain, and a report prevailing, that the King himself had fallen, the Persians fled, and Darius was obliged to follow their example.

Alexander

Book I. Sect. 1.

Alexander pursues, but is recalled by Parmenio.

Alexander immediately pursued, and had probably soon come up with Darius, if a courier from his left wing had not brought him back to the field of battle. This wing, of which Parmenio had the command, had been sorely pressed by the enemy, and was giving way. Alexander flew to his general's assistance; but that movement was unnecessary; the dispute was already decided, and a total discomfiture of the Persians had taken place.

Renews the pursuit in vain.

Intent on overtaking Darius, as soon as he saw the victory secure, he allowed his men but a few hours repose, and set off again at midnight, continuing the pursuit as far as Arbela [60], upward of seventy miles from the field of battle; but was at length obliged to desist, Darius having outstripped him.

The Macedonians inferior in numbers.

By the best accounts, the Macedonians had only forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, not a twentieth of the enemy. But on the one side, were a tumultuary multitude, on the other, was experience, and discipline, and valour.

[60] Gaugamela being only an inconsiderable village, and Arbela a place of some note, historians have thought proper to name the battle from the latter, though fought at such a distance from it. Arrian (vi. 11.) ridicules this affectation. "As "well," says he, "might they call the battle of Salamis the battle of the Corinthian "Isthmus."

Archbishop Usher (Annal 312.) thinks, that the distance could not be more than about thirteen or fourteen miles, somewhat beyond an hundred stadia. Arrian, who seems to have been well informed, and with whom the several antient writers agree, affirms expressly, that the distance was not less than from five to six hundred furlongs.

Alexander's discernment and intrepidity.

Alexander himself certainly deserves great praise, not merely for his personal courage, in which he seems generally to have exceeded, but for his discernment and judicious precautions before the engagement began; and especially for that admirable presence of mind, the natural companion of intrepidity, which he appears to have preserved through the whole action. His answer to Parmenio deserves particularly to be remembered: during the heat of the battle, when apprised by Parmenio, that the enemy had fallen on the camp, and were pillaging it. "Bid him not mind them," replied Alexander, "let us make sure of victory; the pillage will of course be ours."

The loss on the side of the Persians, and on that of the Macedonians.

What the loss was on either side, antient writers are not agreed. Arrian relates, that of the Persians there fell three hundred thousand, and that the number of prisoners was greater. Whereas Alexander, he says, lost only an hundred men and a thousand horses; most of the latter being destroyed in pursuing the enemy. But this account seems to be incredible.

BOOK

BOOK I.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Surrender of Babylon; of Susa; of Persepolis; and of Pasargadae; with their treasures—The effects of this rich plunder—Darius treated perfidiously by Bessus; and murdered by the associates of that traitor—Change in the manners of Alexander—He puts to death Philotas; and Parmenio—Kills Clitus—Feels compunction—Is corrupted by flatterers—Seeks to obtain divine honours—Is opposed by Callisthenes—Resents it—Callisthenes charged with encouraging a conspiracy against Alexander—Is put to death—Alexander finds it necessary to divert the attention of his army to other scenes—Reduces several of the Indian tribes—Is opposed by Porus—Defeats him—Spreads devastation to the Hyphasis—Proposes to pass on to the Ganges—And to conquer the whole world—His soldiers refuse to proceed—He is highly displeased—Obliged to yield to their wishes—His vanity.

Book I. Sect. 2.

Consequences of the defeat of Darius.

THE victory of Gaugamela put an end to the empire of Darius. The several nations of Asia [1], who had hitherto followed his fortunes, now considered him as a lost Prince, to whom allegiance was no longer due; and most

[1] Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 1. Arrian, L. iii. c. 16 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 7.

of

of them prepared to pay their homage to the conqueror. Among other persons of distinction, Mazaeus, a Persian satrap of high rank, who, by his gallant behaviour in the late battle, had nearly wrested the victory from Parmenio, made his submission, inviting the King to Babylon, of which he was governor. The peaceable surrender of such a city, the capital of Assyria, the siege of which might have retarded the progress of his arms considerably, and whose example promised to be of extensive influence, could not but be exceedingly flattering to Alexander. He made his entrance into it, in all the magnificence of triumphal pomp, attended by the magi and great men of Babylon, amidst loud acclamations of joy from the inhabitants, who had long borne impatiently the Persian yoke. He spent some days among his new subjects, to whom he made himself highly acceptable, by commanding, that their temples should be rebuilt; particularly that of Belus, which Xerxes had laid in ruins.

Surrender of Babylon:

He then passed on to Susa, which in like manner opened its gates to him. And from Susa he advanced towards Persepolis. The way into Persia lay through narrow streights, formed by the mountains that encompass it. The Uxii, a nation of mountaineers, who had preserved their independence even under the Persian monarchs, had possessed themselves of one of these defiles. The Macedonians soon dislodged them, and would have put every man to the sword, had not Sysigambis interceded in their favour. At her intercession, Alexander contented himself with imposing on them an annual tribute of cattle, all the wealth known among them. At the pass called *the gates of Persia*, Ariobarzanes,

of Susa.

Alexander defeats the Uxii.

Forces the gates of Persia.

Book I. Sect. 2.

with a considerable force, had intrenched himself. But this difficulty the son of Philip also surmounted, and, without further opposition, reached Persepolis.

Enters Persepolis.

Some historians [2] tell us of Alexander's being met here by certain Greeks, whom the Persians, in the course of former wars, had carried into captivity, and had disfigured and maimed with a savage barbarity. But there is reason to believe this account to be fabulous, Arrian not making the least mention of it. Probably it was invented as an apology for those cruel executions of the Asiatics, of which Alexander appears to have been afterwards frequently guilty.

Takes Pasargadae.

The treasures which he found here, and at Pasargadae, a city not far from Persepolis, where the Persian Kings were wont to be inaugurated, together with the riches of Susa and Babylon, surpassed what his most sanguine hopes could have promised him. The silver and gold alone amounted to upwards of thirty millions sterling; besides jewels and precious things of inestimable value, in so vast a quantity, that, if Plutarch [3] may be believed, there was sufficient to load twenty thousand mules and five thousand camels. He also found at Susa the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which had been carried away from Athens by Xerxes: Alexander took care to have them sent back to that city.

Treasures found:

their effect on Alexander and the Macedonians.

This excessive opulence had been a source of corruption and ruin to the Persians; and it now proved fatal also to the

[2] Diod. Sic. Quint. Cur. [3] In Alexand.

Greeks.

Greeks. The rough Macedonians began to have a relish for Asiatic luxuries; and many of them, in the sumptuousness of their dress, the delicacy of their tables, the elegance and number of their attendants, and the profusion and richness of their perfumes, had already assumed more of the appearance of effeminate satraps, than of the leaders of a warlike nation [4]. Alexander himself, however he may be said to have censured these excesses, had given but too much occasion for them; the profuse manner in which he had bestowed those treasures among his servants, furnishing them with temptations to voluptuous indulgences, and with the means of enjoying them; thus making wealth the reward of military merit, which must always, in the end, prove destructive of it.

His own conduct also, after some time, was far from displaying an example, which a good Prince should exhibit to his people; and, whether from natural inclination, or corrupted by Asiatic manners, he appears to have been too often fond of mixing in scenes of revelry and intemperance.

The palace of Persepolis burnt.

It was on such an occasion, as Plutarch informs us, that he was prevailed on by Thais, the courtezan, to set fire to the royal palace of Persepolis; a structure held in universal admiration for its beauty and magnificence, even in that country, where the eye was familiarized to such objects.

[4] See Plutarch's Alexander.

Book I. Sect. 2.

at the instigation of Thais.

The King, on a certain day, had made a great entertainment for his friends, to which, such was the indelicacy of manners, women of Thais's character were admitted. When, flushed with wine, "This day," cried Thais, "has made "me amends for all my toilsome travels through Asia, by "putting it in my power to trample on the proud courts of "Persia's Kings. But how much more glorious would it "be, to fire the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in "ruins; and to have it said in future times, that the women "of Alexander's train have more signally avenged the cause "of Greece against the Persians, than all the generals before "him have been able to do!"

The proposal was received with loud applause, and carried into immediate execution; the King himself snatching up the first torch, and leading the way. Arrian [5] makes no mention of Thais. He only tells us, that Alexander laid the palace of Persepolis in ashes, in revenge of what Xerxes had an hundred and fifty years before done to Greece. Parmenio endeavoured to prevent this act of phrenzy. But Alexander would not be controuled; though he afterwards, it is said, repented of it.

Alexander resumes the pursuit of Darius.

It was now time for him to turn his thoughts to Darius, who, assisted by able and faithful servants, might have improved to useful purpose the long interval which Alexander's dissipation afforded him. A report, that the Persian monarch had raised numerous forces, and was preparing to

[5] L. iii. c. 18.

renew the war, called the Macedonian from Perſepolis[6]; possibly the artifice of ſome honeſt Macedonian, who ſaw with concern his preſent inactivity. Book I. Sect. 2.

Beſſus's perfidy.

The unhappy Darius had the fate which all deſpotic princes in their fall generally meet with. Beſſus, who attended him in his flight, under a ſemblance of zeal, concealed the moſt treacherous deſigns. He had adviſed him to take refuge in Bactriana, of which he was governor, where he promiſed powerful reſources, that would enable him to diſpute the prize of empire once more. His real deſign was, to keep poſſeſſion of his perſon, and, under ſanction of his name, to uſurp the regal authority, ſecure of removing him out of the way, when no longer neceſſary. Darius, ſoon found reaſon, in the inſolence with which he was treated, to ſuſpect Beſſus, and refuſed to follow him. Provoked at which, the villain, throwing off all diſguiſe, had the aſſurance to put his ſovereign in chains, and to force him along with him.

Such was the ſtate of things, at the time Alexander reſumed the thought of purſuing Darius[7]. Before he had proceeded far, he received information of the treaſon of Beſſus; and, immediately taking with him a body of light horſe, gave directions for the reſt of his army to haſten after him, and preſſed the purſuit with the utmoſt expedition. He had proceeded in this manner ſome days, when a Macedonian, named Polyſtratus, found Darius in his chariot at a ſmall diſtance from the road, pierced with wounds and

[6] Arrian, ubi ſup.

[7] Ibid. Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 13. Plut in Alexand.

bathed

Book I. Sect. 2.

Darius murdered by his subjects.

bathed in his blood. It seems Satisbarzanes and Barzaentes, two Persian lords of Bessus's party, had shot him through with their darts, because he did not hasten on with that precipitation which their fears made them think necessary; and had disabled the cattle, and killed the servants that drove them. The only attendant he had left was a favourite dog, whom he had bred[8]. He had just strength enough to ask for some drink to quench his thirst. And Polystratus having brought water from a neighbouring spring; "Now "indeed," said the unfortunate Prince, "do I feel myself "completely wretched, since I am not able to reward thee "for this act of kindness. But Alexander will not let thee "go unrewarded. The gods also will recompense Alexander "for his humanity to my mother, my wife, and my children. "Tell him, I give him my hand, for I give it to thee in "his stead;" so saying, he expired. When Alexander came up, he lamented affectionately over him; and, covering the body with his robe, commanded it to be removed to Persia, and interred in the royal sepulchre.

Fate of Bessus:

Alexander continued his pursuit of Bessus, who had assumed the ensigns of royalty, together with the name of Artaxerxes[9]; a circumstance which probably made him appear still more guilty. It may be sufficient here to observe, that vengeance at length overtook this perfidious traitor, and in a manner worthy of his crime. After flying from province to province, and using every artifice to elude his pursuers, his associates in guilt delivered him into the hands of Ptolemy, by whom he was brought to Alexander; who

[8] Aelian. hist. animal. L. vi. c. 25.

[9] Arrian, L. iii. c. 25.

took care to vindicate the majesty of kings by the exemplary punishment inflicted on him [10]. It is, however, matter of surprise, that Satisbarzanes, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, was, upon his submission, pardoned and promoted. Are we to think, it was not so much the shedding of Darius's blood, as the usurpation of sovereignty, that Alexander thought himself interested in punishing?—The reader will, doubtless, have pleasure in being informed, that, notwithstanding this favour, Satisbarzanes did not escape unpunished. He proved as perfidious to Alexander, as he had been to his own prince; and fell, as he deserved [11].

of Satisbarzanes:

There is one circumstance [12] in the close of Darius's fortunes, which deserves notice. At the battle of Guagamela, he had near him a body of Greek mercenaries, mostly Phocians. When, urged by his fears, he fled from the field of battle, this faithful band continued to attend him; and not only rejected the proposals, with which Bessus and his accomplices endeavoured to gain them over to their party, but even made offer to Darius, if he would intrust his person to them, to defend him, at the hazard of their lives, against the violence which they perceived was in agitation; but that unfortunate and too generous prince refused to be indebted to strangers for a protection, which he could not obtain from his own subjects;

of Greek mercenaries in Darius's service.

[10] Arrian, L. iii. c. 30. Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs Arrian wrote, relate his death differently. Plutarch also, and Quintus Curtius, give us a circumstantial account, but altogether different, of the manner of his death.

[11] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 25 & 28.

[12] Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 12.

thinking,

Book I. Sect. 2.

thinking, perhaps, that to avow his distrust of Bessus would only precipitate matters, and serve as an excuse for the treason he meditated. When these gallant Greeks perceived that Darius's fate was not to be prevented, they declined to have farther connection with the traitors, and struck into another road[13]. They proceeded afterwards to Alexander, who, in consideration of their noble spirit, forgave them, and employed most of them in his service.

Fidelity of Artabazus and his sons.

It is also remarkable, that of all the Persians, none preserved their allegiance inviolate to Darius in his misfortunes, but Artabazus and his sons. Their fidelity had its recompence. Alexander received them at his court, and held them ever after in the highest esteem.

Alexander reduces a number of extensive provinces.

Bessus seemed to be the principal object of the expedition in which Alexander was now engaged, the important purposes of conquest[14] were, however, not forgotten. In the course of his progress, Alexander saw a succession of extensive provinces still opening before him; and he took care, as he passed through them, either to accept the submission of the several nations, or to reduce them to obedience[15]. Of this number were the inhabitants of Hyrcania, Bactriana,

[13] Arrian, L. iii. c. 18.

[14] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 23 & seq.

[15] It was in the course of this expedition, when he was at Zadracanta in Hyrcania, that he is said by certain romantic writers of his history, (See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 5.) to have had an interview with Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, who, drawn by the fame of his exploits, came with a numerous retinue from the banks of the Thermodon, to visit him, in hopes of having lineage by him. But, besides that neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy make mention of such an adventure, there

Bactriana, Ariana, Drangiana, Arachoſia, Sogdiana, and, in general, of all the countries from the Caſpian ſea to the Indus, as far northward as the river Jaxartes [16], which, in thoſe days, was the Scythian boundary on this ſide. Some of theſe nations, nevertheleſs, ſeem not to have been wanting in natural courage, and to have had the advantage of ſtrong holds, which might have bidden their enemies defiance. The rock of Sogdiana, particularly, and that of Chorienes, in the country of the Paraetacae, (if the accounts of antient hiſtorians may be depended on) ſeem to have been nearly impregnable. They were both of an amazing height, and of ſo ſteep an aſcent, that (even when there was no enemy) the foot could ſcarcely find a ſtep to reſt on; and being ſurrounded alſo by rapid torrents and by vaſt precipices, in which the winter ſnow remained collected to an immenſe depth, whoſoever ſlipped in attempting the dangerous path, fell, never to riſe again. Theſe rocks, beſides, were well garriſoned, and ſupplied with proviſions for a length of years. Alexander, however, partly by ſtratagem, partly by the terror of his arms, got theſe and every other place of ſtrength into his power; the wretched inhabitants, wherever he met with reſiſtance, being put to the ſword without mercy. It were of little uſe to follow him

there is good reaſon to doubt, whether ſuch a people ever exiſted. The fable, it ſeems, was the invention of Oneſicritus, who ſerved in theſe very wars, but was fond of the embelliſhments of fiction. One day, when he was reading this part of his hiſtory to Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's chief captains, at that time King of Thrace, "Where was I," ſaid he, ſmiling, "when all this happened?"—See Plutarch in Alexand. Conſult alſo Arrian, L. vii. c. 13; and Strabo Caſaub. L. xi. p. 348.

[16] The Greeks miſtook it for the Tanais. Arrian, L. iii. c. 30.—Conſult Strabo, L. xi. p. 356, 357.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

through all the ſcenes of carnage and deſolation, of which his plan of operations was productive. It may be ſufficient to ſay, that not only thoſe, who might be ſuppoſed to have ſhared in Beſſus's crime, but alſo every people, who appeared to be in poſſeſſion of any portion of liberty, and had the ſpirit to defend it, felt the utmoſt ſeverity of relentleſs war [17].

Attempts the Scythians:

THE Scythians, famed as they were for their poverty and ſimplicity of manners, could not eſcape. This people, known ſince by the name of Tartars, occupied, as ſome of their deſcendents ſtill do, a vaſt tract of country to the north and north-weſt of Europe and Aſia; and were ſaid to have been victorious over every nation, that had attempted to ſubdue them. And, what might have induced the Macedonian the more to peace, their adjoining tribes had ſent him an embaſſy with a tender of friendſhip. In return, he commiſſioned certain perſons to paſs into Scythia, and to report their manner of living, and in what way he might moſt effectually reduce them into ſubjection. With this view, he built a city on the Jaxartes, by means of which he might have commanded, at pleaſure, a paſſage into their country. But his wonted ſucceſs failed him here. After making repeated inroads into their borders, and deſtroying a few of their towns, he ſaw it availed nothing. They drew him into ſituations, where he and his troops were in danger of periſhing: they harraſſed him by the abruptneſs of their attacks, and the quickneſs of their retreats: they ſurrounded parties of his men, when they leaſt expected it, and cut

baffled by them.

[17] Arrian, L. iv. c. 1 & ſeq.

them

them in pieces without mercy[18]: and if ever he joined battle with them, though victorious, he found it impracticable to penetrate those deep desarts, of which none but Scythians could tell the extent, and in which they were always secure of finding refuge. Arrian[19] says, they at last offered peace, which Alexander accepted. If such an offer was ever made, there is reason to believe, that a few only of the least considerable of their tribes, were concerned in it. Probably Alexander was not displeased to have a pretence, whatever it might be, for turning his arms against other nations, less capable of resistance.

Becomes haughty, suspicious, and tyrannical.

Whilst the son of Olympias was employed in adding to the number of his conquests, he was losing ground in the affections of his people. Many causes contributed to this; the haughty port he assumed; his absurd ambition of being accounted a god; the contempt he affected to have for Macedonian manners; the pleasure, which he seemed to take in the servile honours he received from the Asiatics; and, above all, that suspicious and cruel disposition, which now began to appear strongly in him, and of which he had lately given fatal proofs in the case of the unhappy Philotas, and especially in that of Parmenio. This melancholy transaction happened soon after Darius's death, when Alexander was on his expedition in pursuit of Bessus; and was then omitted,

[18] In one action, it appears from Curtius (vii. 7.) he sustained such loss, that it was made death to those who survived, to divulge what had happened. Probably, this is the action spoken of (Arrian, iv. 6.) in which he tells us, only forty horse and three hundred foot escaped.

[19] Arrian, L. iv. c. 15.

Book I. Sect. 2.

that it might not break in upon the narrative of the operations depending on that expedition. It may, not improperly, have its place here.

Character of Parmenio:

PHILOTAS was ſon to Parmenio, who had ſerved with great diſtinction under Philip, and had been always honoured with particular marks of confidence by his royal maſter. When Alexander paſſed into Aſia, Parmenio, in like manner, continued on every occaſion to approve himſelf a faithful and zealous ſervant; and he enjoyed ſo large a ſhare of confidence, that in the three great battles, which completed the overthrow of the Perſian empire, it was to him the command of the left wing was intruſted, whilſt the King himſelf charged at the head of the other. In all theſe actions, the only imputation that ever lay againſt him was, that his anxiety for his maſter's ſafety ſometimes betrayed him into over-cautious counſels. He was at this time upwards of ſeventy years of age; of three ſons, he had only Philotas left (the two others having fallen in the ſervice of Alexander;) and he had been lately ſent to command in Media, which office he diſcharged with the ſtricteſt vigilance and moſt unblemiſhed integrity.

of his ſon Philotas.

WHAT Parmenio had been in his days of vigour, Philotas was now; of acknowledged courage; generous; poliſhed; perhaps ſomewhat too magnificent in his manner of living; beloved by the ſoldiers; and highly in favour with Alexander, who had advanced him to the firſt military honours.

A CERTAIN

Philotas suspected on slight grounds:

A [20] CERTAIN Macedonian, named Cebalinus, had informed Philotas of some design carried on against Alexander's life by one Dymnus [21], and other persons unknown, desiring he would acquaint the King with the particulars. Philotas promised he would; but whether he thought the information frivolous, or whether, as his enemies pretended, from worse motives, he neglected to perform that promise. Cebalinus, discovering this neglect, contrived to have his information conveyed to the King through another channel; at the same time acquainting Alexander, that he had first made his application to Philotas, but without effect.

THIS account had already raised doubts of Philotas in Alexander's mind, when an unlucky incident added to them. Dymnus, the accused person, was sent for; who, to prevent the extorting any confession from him, laid violent hands on himself. This indication of guilt convinced the King, that some dark purpose had been in agitation; and not knowing on whom to fix his suspicions, he turned them on Philotas, whose motive for concealing the information was now interpreted into an argument of his being privy to the treason. Philotas had nevertheless owned his fault to the King, with the strongest protestations, that his imprudence arose altogether from his mean opinion of the informer; and, in appearance, had satisfied Alexander of his innocence.

[20] Arrian, L. iii. c. 26. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 7 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 8.

[21] Quintus Curtius, according to custom, has set off this story with many romantic circumstances.

It

It was exceedingly improbable, that a person, with such means in his power as Philotas possessed, should, during two whole days (for this time had elapsed between the first and second information) have remained altogether indifferent about the matter, had he really been engaged in such a conspiracy; and should have taken no step either to remove Cebalinus, or to apprize Dymnus and his accomplices of the danger that threatened them.

tortured,

But his services and merit were too conspicuous, to be seen without attracting envy. Some officious counsellors, among whom history mentions even Craterus, under pretence of concern for Alexander's personal safety, took advantage of the King's weak moments, and prevailed on him to have Philotas examined by torture. He bore this cruelty at first with great fortitude, and persisted in asserting his innocence. His enemies, nevertheless, were too much interested in his destruction, to permit him to escape. They renewed the question, with every circumstance of barbarity, which that inhuman mode of examination admits of: exhausted by anguish, he confessed whatever they would have him confess, and probably what never had existed, and was instantly shot to death.

and put to death.

Parmenio put to death.

Parmenio, Philotas's aged father, still remained. It was thought expedient to involve him also in his son's guilt. Some historians [22] relate, that Philotas had criminated his parent when in the agonies of torture; but the falsehood of this appears from Arrian [23]. There were, however, power-

[22] See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 11.

[23] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 26; and Plutarch in Alexand.

ful

ful reaſons why Parmenio ſhould not eſcape. He was a man of exalted character; adored by the army; and had been injured in ſuch a manner, that it was not to be imagined he could ever forgive it.

The treachery employed againſt him.

The mean ſtratagem, indeed, made uſe of in order to haſten his deſtruction, proves abundantly, that the King himſelf was conſcious of his innocence. The perſon pitched upon to go into Media on this errand, where Parmenio commanded, was Polydamas, Parmenio's friend! of whom the old general could not entertain ſuſpicion. To effect his purpoſe the more ſecurely, he received directions to arrive at an hour when Parmenio might be ſuppoſed to have retired to reſt; and, before he ſaw him, to communicate his inſtructions to certain truſty perſons, who might be eaſily wrought upon to aſſiſt in the bloody buſineſs which was meditated.

Thus prepared, in the morning he waited on Parmenio, as if juſt arrived, and delivered him a letter from the King, and another as from his ſon, the King having ſealed it with Philotas's ſignet. The King's letter Parmenio, from reſpect, opened firſt, which, being written in his uſual ſtyle of regard and confidence, he read with much pleaſure; and, turning to Polydamas, "Will the King," ſaid he, "never put an end to his toils! he tells me, he purpoſes "marching againſt the Arachoſians." He was then preparing to open the letter from Philotas, when Polydamas, and the aſſaſſins who had accompanied him, plunged their poniards into his body, and laid him dead at their feet. A few ſoldiers at a diſtance were ſpectators of the deed; who ſpread-

Book I. Sect. 2.

ing the alarm among the troops, they were ready to tear Polydamas, with his aſſociates, in pieces; and could hardly be reſtrained, even when convinced that it had been done in obedience to the King's orders.

Alexander gloomy and violent;

In what light the Macedonians regarded theſe proceedings, was no ſecret to Alexander. It was ſtill in his power to have removed much of the odium, under which he laboured, by aſſuming a more gentle and conciliating deportment. But his pride would not permit him. The more he found himſelf the object of cenſure, the more gloomy and irritable did he become. He even perſiſted in avowing his diſregard of the Macedonian cuſtoms, by the change of his dreſs, appearing now generally in the pompous garb of an eaſtern monarch. And, what rendered his conduct yet more offenſive, he married a ſtrange woman, Roxana, induced to it merely by the exterior charms ſhe poſſeſſed; though in her ſituation there was ſomewhat exceedingly humiliating: ſhe was among the priſoners taken at the ſurrender of the Sogdian rock; and was daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian, one of the aſſociates [14] of the perfidious Beſſus. Theſe ſeveral circumſtances the Macedonians did not fail to dwell upon with aggravation—A ſtrange woman! a Barbarian! and the daughter of a traitor!

Such was the general temper of his army, when Alexander's violence betrayed him into another action [15], which, though it had not the ſame guilt of premeditation as that

[14] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 28.

[15] Arrian, L. iv. c. 8 & ſeq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. viii. c. 1.

against

againſt Parmenio, was attended with circumſtances not leſs aggravating.

provoked by Clitus,

Clitus has been already mentioned. He was a general of approved valour, and had ſaved Alexander's life at the Granicus. His ſiſter, alſo, had nurſed Alexander. On theſe accounts he was particularly dear to his maſter, notwithſtanding his retaining all the roughneſs of the Macedonian character, which well became the gallant ſoldier, and in which the now prevailing Aſiatic mode had not the power of making the leaſt alteration. It was now a cuſtom with the King, to give frequent entertainments to his officers, at which the laws of ſobriety were not often obſerved. To one of theſe Clitus had been invited. When warmed with wine, the King's flatterers began to extoll his exploits above thoſe of all the ancient heroes and chieftains of Greece, aſcribing every ſucceſs, that had attended his arms, to him alone, and, at the ſame time, depreciating whatever Philip and his Macedonians had atchieved. Clitus was fired. He anſwered them. Alexander, meanly enough, ſupported the ſycophants. And Clitus again, without due regard to the condition in which he ſaw the King, retorted with great aſperity; reproaching his maſter with his Perſian robe, and the favour now ſhewn to barbarians, without whoſe intervention, he ſaid, Macedonians could not even have acceſs to their ſovereign; "and yet, deſpiſed as we are," continued he, "it was this arm that ſaved you from the ſword of "Spithridates; and theſe very Macedonians are the men, at "the expence of whoſe blood you are now become ſo great, "as to diſdain to own Philip for your father, and to pretend "yourſelf the ſon of Hammon."

Book I. Sect. 2.

Alexander became transported with rage; and, looking round for a weapon, had instantly wreaked his vengeance on the offender, had not their common friends compelled Clitus to retire. But he, not to be restrained by any representations, forced in again; when Alexander, wresting a javelin from the hand of one of his guards, smote him with it as he entered.

kills him.

Alexander's compunction.

The bloody deed was no sooner committed, than Alexander recollected himself. The guilt of the action rushed upon his mind with all its aggravations—he had killed, with his own hand, his friend! his preserver!—and, snatching the javelin out of Clitus's body, he would have pierced himself with it, had not his guards interfered.

Improper means employed to pacify him.

Every means that humanity or adulation could suggest, were employed to pacify the King. Even the aids of superstition were called in. It was Bacchus [26], they told him, who had wrought the mischief. The King, it seems, had omitted certain sacrifices usually celebrated in honour of this god; and, in resentment for the neglect, he had taken this method of punishing him. Of what the King, therefore, seemed to have done, the god was the author. Wretched the state of princes, when even their crimes are thus explained away! and the sources of instruction stopped up!

Wise representations of Callisthenes.

There was, however, on this occasion, an instance still more affecting, of the pernicious influence of servility and

[26] See Arrian, L. iv. c. 9, 10.

flattery.

flattery [17]. Among the King's attendants were two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The first was a man of rigid virtue. He had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, as a valuable sage, on whose wisdom and integrity he might safely depend; and he appears to have supported this character, though his austere manners were not always acceptable to his master. At this conjuncture he behaved to the King with much tenderness, but without disgracing his principles. Incapable of attempting to justify the excesses, of which Alexander had been guilty, he endeavoured to bring him back to a proper sense of what he owed to the dignity of the regal office, with which he was invested, and to convince him, that the only reparation he had now to make was, to be more on his guard in future, against those fatal violences into which he had been hurried.

The servile flattery of Anaxarchus:

THE other, Anaxarchus, rather a vile sophist than a philosopher, talked to his master as if he sought to erase from his mind every humane and generous sentiment. "What!" said he, "is the King cast down thus! Does not Alexander "know, that justice is what he wills it to be? that his "pleasure is the measure of right and wrong? *and therefore have the poets feigned*, that JUSTICE IS SEATED ON THE "THRONE OF JUPITER, because, wherever *Supreme Power* "is, *Justice* is there also." Historians have observed, that Anaxarchus succeeded but too well. Alexander readily believed what the flattering sycophant inculcated, and became every day more haughty and more despotic.

[17] Arrian, ubi sup. Plutarch in Alexand.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

Its effects on Alexander.

FROM this time, he certainly appears to have expected from the Macedonians themselves, a more abject submission, than he had hitherto ventured to require. The adventure of the temple of Hammon shews, even at an early period, what his views were. He could not seriously suppose himself a god; but he wished that others should believe him one. And in this idea, he had suffered himself to be fortified by the mean adulation of the sophists he was surrounded with, and by the servile prostrations with which the slavish Persians approached him.

Anaxarchus proposes that Alexander should receive divine honours;

IT was agreed [18] to try, whether the Macedonians might not be prevailed on to imitate the example. Accordingly, at a royal banquet, when the company began to be elevated, and every heart to open to festivity and chearfulness, the proposal was made in form by Anaxarchus. "There was "no doubt," he said, "but such glorious exploits as Alex-"ander had atchieved, challenged every honour the Mace-"donians had to bestow. Neither Hercules, nor even "Bacchus, had equalled what he had performed; and yet "Macedon numbered them, though both of foreign ex-"traction, among her gods. How much more justly "might the like honours be paid to a prince, who was "their own, and in whose glories they were directly in-"terested? — When he was removed from among them, "divine honours must of course be his; and there-"fore to pay them now, was only an anticipation of "zealous homage, which must be the more acceptable to

[18] It is evident from Arrian, (L. iv. c. 10.) that the matter had been concerted with Alexander.

"Alexander,

"Alexander, as he ſhould thereby have an opportunity, "whilſt preſent with them, of enjoying their grateful "adoration." Book I. Sect. 2.

Surprise and indignation ſat painted on the countenance of every honeſt Macedonian. Whilſt the perſons who had been appointed to be the principal performers in the farce anſwered Anaxarchus's propoſal with a burſt of applauſe, and were preparing to carry the ſcheme into immediate execution; when Calliſthenes interpoſed:

Calliſthenes oppoſes it.

"Whatever [19] honours can be paid to mortals, are, I con- "feſs, O Ariſtarchus, juſtly due to Alexander. Among all "the commanders recorded in the annals of time, he is, I "acknowledge, the firſt in counſel, the firſt in valour; and "of all the princes of the earth, he is beyond compariſon "the moſt illuſtrious. But ſtill the immortal gods are far "above him; and very different are the honours due to "them. It were blaſphemy to confound the one with the "other. What would Alexander himſelf ſay, ſhould any "perſon preſume to uſurp thoſe exalted honours of royalty,

[19] Speeches of this kind are often conſidered as the wanton ſportings of the hiſtorian's fancy. This ſpeech deſerves to be thought of differently. From the principles avowed in it, and the fate of Calliſthenes in conſequence of thoſe principles, we are warranted to conjecture, that Arrian had it from thoſe reſpectable memoirs of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, which are known to have been the ground-work of his hiſtory. The cauſe, which Calliſthenes pleads here, was in fact the cauſe of Greece, that thoſe ſons of freedom ſhould not have their necks bent down to the ſame ſerviſe yoke, to which the Aſiatics had been ſubjected; and therefore it was a cauſe to which thoſe two officers, at leaſt at that time, muſt have wiſhed well, and the defence of which they muſt with pleaſure have recorded.

This noble monument of Grecian manners, the learned reader will find at length in Arrian, L. iv. c. 11.

Book I. Sect. 2.

" which belong to him. And ſhall the gods be leſs jealous " of what belongs to them, and neglect to vindicate their " majeſty?—Were it even to be ſuppoſed, that the King " could be capable of entertaining ſuch preſumptuous " thoughts, you yourſelf, O Anaxarchus, who are admit- " ted to ſhare his private hours, ſhould be the firſt to re- " claim him from an error ſo prejudicial to his fame, ſo in- " conſiſtent with his piety.—You ſurely muſt have forgot- " ten, who he is, to whom you propoſe to pay adoration; " not a Cambyſes, not a Xerxes, but the ſon of Philip, " the deſcendent of princes who governed Macedon, not " with arbitrary ſway, but according to the rule of law.— " If, however, O Alexander, you are taught to believe, " that you owe regard to the cuſtoms of thoſe numerous " Aſiatic nations among whom you are; and that we Greeks, " becauſe few in number, are to be looked upon as of no " account, let me recall to your remembrance, that this " war was undertaken by you, not that Greece ſhould be- " come dependent upon Aſia, but Aſia the dependent of " Greece.—Conſider beſides, in what difficulties ſuch claims " muſt involve you, when you return home. For is it " to be imagined, that the gallant Greeks, thoſe ſpirited " ſons of liberty, will ever fall proſtrate before you? or, is " this reproach meant only for your Macedonians? or, ſhall " the barbarians alone honour you as a god? and, from all " the reſt of your empire, will you be content to receive " what a mortal ought to be content with?—Neither " let the practice of the princes of this empire tempt " any one to imitate them. Cyrus, they tell us, had di- " vine honours paid to him. Admit that he had; god as " he was, the Scythians, poor but free, chaſtiſed his inſo-

"lence. Others of the ſame nation put Darius, though "equally honoured, to flight. Xerxes, revered likewiſe as "a god, eſcaped with difficulty from the vengeful arms of "Athens and Sparta. Clearchus and Xenophon bade defi- "ance to Artaxerxes, who, like his predeceſſors, was alſo "adored; and the laſt Darius, before whom ſo many na- "tions proſtrated themſelves, has our Alexander, though "but a mere mortal, brought to deſtruction."

Alexander's conduct on that occaſion.

THE ſeverity of this remonſtrance made Alexander himſelf ſhrink beneath it. The mention of the chaſtiſement of the Perſian Kings by the Scythians; by thoſe very Scythians who had checked the arms, and tarniſhed the glory, of the ſon of Philip, ſunk deep into his mind. He read, at the ſame time, in the faces of thoſe Macedonians around him, who had not yet bowed their necks to the yoke, the ſame independent ſpirit, and the ſame free principles. He ſaw the danger of preſſing the unmanly propoſition. His haughtineſs forſook him. He whiſpered to his creatures to wave the point. They were to confine their endeavours to perſonal and private ſolicitation; and he appeared to content himſelf with the proſtration of thoſe alone, who ſeemed willing to debaſe the dignity of human nature.

His reſentment againſt Calliſthenes.

IT was, however, evident, that the diſappointment mortified Alexander ſeverely. He refuſed to Calliſthenes the kiſs, with which it was cuſtomary for the King, at the concluſion of the banquet, to honour his gueſts. "Then," ſaid the philoſopher, "I retire one kiſs the poorer." And one of his principal officers having ventured to ridicule ſome perſon, who, in the act of adoration, beat his chin againſt the

Book I. Sect. 2.

the ground, by bidding him "strike with more fervency," the pleasantry had nearly cost him his life; the King with great difficulty having been prevailed on to forgive him.

Hermolaus severely treated by Alexander;

conspires against him.

Callisthenes soon felt the effects of the King's resentment. There was a band of youths of the first families of Macedon, whose office it was to attend the King's person, from which corps they were advanced, as they grew up, to some military command. One of these, named Hermolaus, had, in the heat of the chace, struck down a boar just as the King was taking aim at him. Provoked at which, Alexander commanded him to be scourged, and his horse taken from him. The indignity sunk deep in the mind of the youth; and, having communicated his grief to some of his intimates, he prevailed on them to assist in revenging him on the King.

Callisthenes accused of having encouraged the conspiracy,

The conspiracy having been discovered, it was suggested to Alexander [50], that Hermolaus and his fellows were admirers of Callisthenes, and often resorted to him. This was enough for Alexander. "His instructions," said he, "have taught them to conspire against me." The philosopher was immediately taken into custody, and, unconvicted, un-

[50] Some writers, among whom Arrian mentions Aristobulus and Ptolemy, say, that Hermolaus and his associates, in the agonies of torture, charged Callisthenes. Others deny this, and impute his condemnation to the resentment Alexander had conceived against him, on account of his freedom of speech.—See Arrian, L. iv. c. 14.

heard,

heard, was ſentenced to death. There is reaſon to believe he was executed privately[31]. The manner in which Hermolaus had behaved at the time of his death, made Alexander cautious of venturing another public execution. Undaunted at his approaching fate, he keenly reproached the King with all his late violences and exceſſes, which had diſgraced him—his condemnation of Philotas, upon preſumption of guilt, unſupported by proof—his murder of Parmenio—his killing of Clitus—his affectation of Perſian faſhions—his arrogant and inſulting deportment—his frequent and diſſolute banquetings—his contempt of the laws of his country.

put to death.

Hermolaus's boldneſs at the time of his execution.

Alexander invades the Indies.

Alexander ſaw the expediency of drawing the attention of his ſubjects away from theſe gloomy ſcenes, which but too plainly diſcovered to their view the fierce deſpotiſm he was preparing for them. The occupations and buſtle of war were now become a neceſſary reſource. After having therefore provided for the peace of the newly-conquered provinces, by quelling domeſtic inſurrections, and ſecuring their frontiers againſt the inroads of the neighbouring Scythians, he determined to employ his arms in the reduction of the Indies; an expedition which ſeemed to promiſe a large field for adventure and enterprize, and was alſo well calculated to

[31] This may be collected from the different accounts we have concerning the manner of his death. Plutarch relates it one way; Diogenes Laertius in another; Quintus Curtius in another; Ptolemy, Arrian tells us, pretended he had been put to the rack, and then crucified. Ariſtobulus ſaid, he had been kept in chains for a conſiderable time, and at laſt died a natural death. Conſult Arrian in the place laſt quoted. Conſult alſo Diogenes Laertius in Ariſtotele.

Book I. Sect. 2.

soothe the vanity of the Greeks. An idle report was propagated, that this country had been visited by Hercules and Bacchus [32], and that here many of their atchievements had been performed. Alexander took care, at entering upon the present expedition, to encourage this belief. The city of Nyssa, they were told, had been founded by Bacchus himself. In one place was shewn to them the identical boundaries that Hercules had set up; and in many parts they met with the descendants of the Greeks who had fought under the banners of these deified heroes.

Fictions concerning the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules.

Alexander's successes.

It does not appear, however, that Alexander respected much these pretended traces of Grecian lineage. He reduced into subjection every people he visited; sparing none who presumed to oppose him. At Massaga particularly, the chief city of a nation called the Assaceni, he carried his cruelty to an excess, which those historians, who favour him most, find it difficult to palliate. He met here with a vigorous resistance, the city being of some strength, and the sovereign of the country having called in a reinforcement of seven thousand mercenary Indians. At length Alexander compelled him to surrender, the garrison having first stipulated, that they should *march out* in safety. They *marched out* accordingly;

[32] It seems difficult to fix, with any degree of precision, who the Indian Hercules was: it only appears from Arrian (Hist. Ind. 9.) that he was posterior to Bacchus by fifteen generations. Probably he was Tirbakah, king of Ethiopia (Strabo, L. xv. calls him Tearcon.) His invasion of the Assyrian provinces was prior to Alexander's by about 400 years.

The Bacchus of the Indies is supposed to have been Sesostris or Sesac king of Egypt: his expedition into India was about 650 years before that of Alexander.

See Sir I. Newton's Chron. of Ant. Kingdoms.

when Alexander basely pretended, that his promise extended no farther, and had them afterwards, when at some distance from the city, surrounded and cut to pieces. Arrian [33] says, they had engaged to enter into his service, and that he was informed they meant to escape back into their own country. Plutarch allows [34] that this transaction has left a lasting stain on the memory of the conqueror. Book I. Sect. 2.

Takes the Aornos:

But of all his exploits, that which flattered Alexander's vanity most, was the taking of the Aornos [35], a vast rock, near the sources of the Indus. The Greeks had given it this name, on account of its stupendous height, which, together with its situation, and the steepness of its ascent, seemed to render it impregnable. Hercules himself, fiction related, had failed before it. The most warlike of the inhabitants of the country had, besides, stationed themselves here, with every means of defence within the compass of their military science. Alexander, notwithstanding, did what Hercules could not perform. After some attempts of little moment, the Indians, struck with wonder at the execution of the machines which the Macedonians used, and the boldness of their works, abandoned the place [36].

[33] L. iv. c. 26, 27. [34] In Alexand.

[35] This word, evidently of Greek extraction, is probably a translation of the Indian name, *beyond the flight of bird*; an exaggerated manner of expression, which, from what little we know of their language, seems to have been familiar to them.

[36] See Arrian, L. iv. c. 28.

Book I. Sect. 2.

Character of the inhabitants.

The people, against whom all these martial terrors were employed, are nevertheless represented [37] to have been strictly just; humane; peaceable; inoffensive; and such religious observers of the rights of mankind, that the name of slavery was unknown among them. They were remarkable for their police; the whole nation being divided into seven *casts*, or distinct professions, which were continued down from father to son, no person being permitted to pass, or even to marry into another. Of these, they who were employed in the cultivation of the land, or the tending of flocks, were held in particular honour, and enjoyed a perpetual exemption from military service. Over the several *casts* inspectors were appointed, who reported to the King the conduct of each individual, and who, says Arrian, administered their trust with such unblemished integrity, that no instance had ever been known of their having been guilty of a malicious representation. The modern [38] traveller sees with admiration, the remains of this order of establishments subsisting at this day among the tribes of Hindostan. But neither from the wisdom of their institutions, nor from the innocence of their manners, could they obtain protection.

The Indian chieftains, from the Indus to the Hydaspes, submit to Alexander.

That portion of India, which was the scene of Alexander's operations, lay far to the westward of the Ganges, and, according to Arrian, may be divided into three parts; that situated to the west of the Indus; that between the Indus and the Hydaspes; and that between the Hydaspes and the

[37] Arrian Hist Ind. c. 10 & seq. See also Strabo, L. xv. p. 484 & seq.

[38] See L'Abbé Raynal, Hist. Phil. L. i. c. 4.

Hyphasis. The first of these districts Alexander soon reduced, the natives being unable to make much resistance; the fate of two or three of their cities having intimidated the rest. He then passed the Indus. Taxiles reigned here. He appears to have been a warlike prince, and possessed of an extensive and powerful kingdom; but the fame of Alexander's arms had already subdued him. He submitted himself and his dominions to be disposed of as the conqueror pleased. His neighbour, Abissarus, king of the Indians of the mountains, hastened in like manner to avert the destruction that threatened him: and such was the terror which had fallen on the whole land, that there seemed to be an end of all opposition [39].

Porus resolves to oppose Alexander's progress.

PORUS, who reigned beyond the Hydaspes, had other thoughts. He assembled his forces, and, regardless of the name and power of his foe, resolved to preserve his independence, or to perish in the attempt. Instead, therefore, of seeing him a tame suppliant, Alexander beheld him guarding the passes of the river, at the head of a formidable army, and directing his operations with all the capacity and spirit of an experienced and undaunted warrior. It was now the summer-solstice, when the several rivers under the equator, swollen by the melting of the mountain-snows, and the heavy rains which fall during that season, especially on the higher grounds, overflow their banks; so that the Hydaspes, from its vast breadth, had rather the appearance of a sea than a river. It was, besides, uncommonly deep and rapid, whilst the narrower and more shallow parts,

Alexander attempts to pass the Hydaspes, in vain.

[39] Arrian. L. v. c. 8.

which

Book I. Sect. 2.

which cavalry might have attempted to crofs, were, on the oppofite fide, defended by lines of elephants, to which horfes have a ftrong and almoft invincible antipathy.

He has recourfe to artifice.

After many fruitlefs efforts, Alexander, finding it impoffible to gain his point by open force, determined to try whether he could deceive the enemy [40]. Accordingly, for feveral days he prefented himfelf, as if preparing to pafs over; which, as often as it was done, brought Porus to the edge of the water, threatening a vigorous refiftance. This manœuvre having been repeated time after time, without any farther attempt, was at length confidered by the Indian as a feint, of which the intention was only to harrafs his troops. Inftead, therefore, of following Alexander in all his motions, he contented himfelf with fending parties up and down the river to reconnoitre. In this fituation of things, Alexander fet about the execution of his plan.

His plan.

A few miles higher up, a part of the river ran much narrower, by means of a jutting rock, and the winding of the land; and about the middle of the channel, oppofite to the rock, lay a fmall defart ifland. This fpot Alexander had fixed upon, in hopes, that, if he could get his troops over to the ifland, he might eafily from thence penetrate further. In this view, fome large barges, with a number of rafts, and ftuffed leathern bags, for the purpofe of ferrying over the army, had been privately conveyed at different times to a wood, which fkirted that part of the river, and there lay concealed. Having given directions, that the ufual appear-

[40] Arrian, L. v. c. 10. Plut. in Alexand.

ances

ances should be kept up throughout the camp; that the royal tent, which was within view of the Indians, should have the same parade of guards and attendants, as if he were there in person; and that, as soon as night came on, they should keep the enemy in continual alarm, by lighting fires in different places, by frequent shoutings, and the tumult and trampling of men and horses, as if the army was preparing to cross over; Alexander, towards the decline of day, filed off for the appointed rendezvous, at the head of a considerable body of troops, by a road leading from the back part of the camp, not within observation of the enemy's scouting parties. Fortunately, by the time he got to that part of the bank from whence the attempt was to be made, the night became exceedingly tempestuous, so that, though the river happened to be much deeper, and the passage far more difficult, than he expected, yet the darkness of the night, and the violence of the storm, concealed him so effectually from the enemy, that, before they were apprized of his purpose, he had already reached the island.

From this island, he had imagined the passage to the opposite shore admitted of no difficulty. He now found there was another island to be crossed, and beyond it a considerable gut, in which the swell was so high from the late fall of rain, that the horses were up to their necks. By this time too it was day-light; and the weather having cleared up, he perceived that the enemy had full view of him, and were hastening from every part to oppose his landing.

He passes the Hydaspes;

Notwithstanding

Book I. Sect. 2.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Alexander passed on, and was already on firm ground, when the first detachment of Porus's troops came up with him; whom he instantly charged and cut to pieces.

defeats a party of Indians.

Upon receiving notice of the Macedonians passing the river, Porus, who thought it was only a small detachment of little consequence, had dispatched against them his son with a party of horse and some armed chariots; but a second account informing him, that this party was defeated, his son slain, and the enemy led on by Alexander himself, he immediately formed his army in order of battle, and advanced to meet him.

Porus marches against him.

The intrepid manner [41] of the Indian chieftain, and the skilful disposition he had made, shewed Alexander that he had not a common enemy to contend with. Porus's cavalry, flanked by a number of armed chariots, formed the wings of his army. His infantry, in number about thirty thousand, composed his main body, in the front of which he had placed his elephants, at such distances, that it was not possible for Alexander's cavalry to make impression on this line, the very sight and smell of these animals detering the horses from approaching; whilst the foot, had they attempted to break in upon this disposition, were not only in imminent danger of being trampled down by these tremendous creatures, but were exposed to the deadly aim of numbers of Indian marksmen [42].

[41] Arrian, L. v. c. 15 & seq. [42] Olymp. cxiii. 2. Before Christ 327.

ALEXANDER

Alexander attacks and defeats him.

Alexander perceived at once what was proper to be done. His main body he commanded to halt at some distance from the main body of the enemy; and, having detached Coenus to attack the right wing, with directions to wheel round as soon as possible, and fall on the enemy's rear, he at the same time, in person, charged their left wing. This unexpected operation threw the Indians into confusion. Attacked both in front and rear, their cavalry, in which they were weakest, were soon dispersed; and Alexander, having thus laid open the flank of their main body, pushed on, whilst the Macedonian phalanx, who had now orders to advance, took advantage of the enemy's broken condition, and, getting between the elephants, inclosed them, and either disabled, or drove them back upon the Indian troops.

But what completed the ruin of the Indian army, was a movement of Craterus, who commanded in the Macedonian camp. As soon as he saw the battle incline in favour of Alexander, he instantly crossed the Hydaspes, pursuant to instructions left with him, and pouring in his fresh troops on this fatigued and dispirited enemy, made dreadful havock, and fixed decisively the fortune of the day.

Porus's spirit;

Porus, amidst this general discomfiture, still preserved an unconquered mind; and though wounded, and left almost alone, refused to quit the field of battle. Alexander, who saw his danger, and admired his valour, wished to save him, and sent Taxiles to persuade him to surrender. "Base "betrayer of thy country!" said Porus to him, as soon as he approached; and would instantly have slain him, had he

 not

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

prevailed on to surrender to Alexander.

not saved himself by flight. Meroes, an Indian, who was on terms of friendship with Porus, was then sent, who, having represented how ineffectual any farther opposition was, with the gracious treatment he might be assured of, he at length prevailed on him to approach Alexander. The conqueror beheld the vanquished Prince with admiration. Porus had, as historians tell us, an uncommon dignity in his appearance; his stature was much above the usual size, and his eye betrayed nothing of his present fortune. "How do you require I should treat you?" said Alexander to him. "As a King," answered the other. "As a King, I shall, doubtless," replied Alexander; "the "regard I owe to myself demands it of me. But have you "nothing to ask on your own private account?"—"To be "treated as a King," said the royal prisoner, "implies every "thing." Moved by this greatness of spirit, Alexander restored him to his kingdom, and endeavoured to make compensation for what he had suffered, if any thing could make this Prince amends for the unprovoked slaughter of his people, and the death of his two sons, the second having fallen in the last action. Alexander, however, found Porus ever afterwards to remain one of his most faithful allies.

The devastations committed by Alexander, from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis.

OTHER wars succeeded. There were several princes in the country, who had not yet submitted; and this was a crime which Alexander could not forgive. What Arrian relates [42], seems indeed to exceed all belief; that in this part of India, between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, he subdued seven different nations, and took two thousand cities;

[42] L. vi. c. 2.

of

of these, thirty-seven belonged to the Glausae alone [43], not one of which, says Arrian, had fewer than five thousand inhabitants, and many above ten thousand; besides a number of villages, peopled in proportion. Some were still more populous; seventeen thousand being slain, and seventy thousand made prisoners, at the sacking of Sangala [44], which he laid in ruins, because the inhabitants had the insolence to make a vigorous defence. Allowing even these numbers to be greatly exaggerated, we may nevertheless conclude, that this country must then have been exceedingly populous [45], and in a very high state of cultivation.

Proposes to pass on to the Ganges.

When the Macedonian found there was nothing more for him to subdue on this side the Hyphasis, he proposed to pass on to the Ganges. There, he was told, he should meet with several rich and mighty kingdoms, whose inhabitants were famed for their skill in husbandry, their valour, and their wisdom, and who were possessed of elephants larger than any he had yet beheld. These were powerful incitements for him to make trial of their strength; as if it had been his glory to deface whatever was fair and lovely among men, and, to the decencies and blessings of social life, to substitute horror and devastation.

His soldiers refuse to proceed.

But his soldiers refused to proceed. Worn out with toil, to which they saw no end, and, perhaps, not insensible to

[43] L. v. c. 20. [44] Arrian, L. v. c. 24.

[45] After the reduction of Indostan by the Tartars, the population of the country amounted, according to Raynal (L. iv. c. 11.) to an hundred millions of Indians, and ten millions of Tartars.

BOOK I. Sect. 2.

the miseries, of which they had so often been the instruments, they demanded, that he should now think of returning. Alexander expostulated with them. He laid before them the glorious plan he had formed; the execution of which, he told them, was to give them possession of boundless treasure, and would render their names illustrious to latest times—he proposed "to pursue his conquests to the Ganges; and from thence to make his way to the eastern ocean—thence they were to have the opportunity of passing from sea to sea, and of visiting many unknown lands, one great ocean, he told them, encompassing the whole earth—that afterwards, sailing along the whole coast of Africa, they should return by Hercules's pillars, thus completing the conquest of all the Asiatic and African nations—and that whatever should then appear to be the boundaries of the world, those he would establish for the boundaries of his empire [46]."

His plan of conquering all the nations of the earth.

HAD this visionary project been handed down to us upon the authority of Curtius, we should be apt to consider it as one of those romantic embellishments, which this author has interwoven in many parts of his history; but we have it upon the word of the sober Arrian, who wrote from authentic memoirs of respectable witnesses; to whose charge, if any thing can be laid, it is, that they have sought rather to extenuate the excesses and follies of this firm but vain-glorious Prince.

FROM this account, it is easy to perceive, that Alexander had a view also to Rome. Arrian [47], in another place, con-

[46] Arrian, L. v. c. 25, 26.

[47] L. vii. c. 1.

ſeſſes, it was generally believed that he had. Other writers are more explicit. They tell us expreſsly, that he declared his intentions of carrying his arms into Italy, as ſoon as he had made an end of conquering the other nations of the earth.

He employs ſolicitations to prevail on his army to accompany him;

In order to gain over his ſoldiers, he made uſe of every argument that unſatisfied ambition could ſuggeſt; he deſcended to ſolicitations; he choſe rather, he told them, to entreat than to command; he conjured them to remember, in what manner he had lived among them, in what eſtimation he held their atchievements, how bountifully he had rewarded their valour and fidelity. But his men were not to be moved. When he had done ſpeaking, a ſullen ſilence enſued; the whole army expreſſing by their looks the ſtrongeſt marks of diſapprobation, though fearful of exciting his wrath by an avowed oppoſition.

but without effect.

At length Coenus, an officer of the firſt rank, whom years and ſervices rendered reſpectable, ventured to reply[48]:

Coenus's remonſtrance.

" Since, O King, you are pleaſed to declare, that you " mean not to command but to perſuade, and that you " yourſelf are ready to comply with the wiſhes of your army, " if it ſhall appear there is conviction in the arguments " which they have to offer, I riſe to ſpeak, not in behalf " of us your principal officers, who, diſtinguiſhed by your " favour, ſee ourſelves promoted to the firſt military ho-

[48] Arrian, L. v. c. 27.

" nours;

Book I. Sect. 2.

" nours; for, whitherſoever your orders ſhall call us, we " are ready to obey; I riſe to ſpeak in behalf only of theſe " your faithful ſoldiers.

" Neither in behalf even of them, would I preſume " to ſpeak, were it merely *their* intereſt I had in view. " A much higher regard urges me; a regard to your royal " perſon; a regard to the conſervation of your ſacred " life.

" On many accounts I think myſelf called upon to ſtand " forth on this important occaſion: theſe grey hairs of " mine; the honours you have graced me with; the life " I have lived, amidſt toils and dangers; ſeem all to require " of me, that I ſhould, on this day, honeſtly ſpeak what " I think it is expedient for you to hear.

" The greater our dangers and fatigues have been, the more ' numerous and illuſtrious the exploits atchieved by you " and the troops under your command, the ſtronger reaſon " there is to beſeech you to put an end to our labours, and " to reſt contented with that large portion of glory you " have acquired.

" Cast your eyes around. Of all the Greeks and Mace- " donians that accompanied you from Europe, ſee, how " few of us remain! The Theſſalians, worn out in the " ſervice, you have already diſmiſſed. Numbers of the " other Greeks have periſhed by the ſword and by diſeaſe, " in the courſe of the many wars you have been engaged " in. The greater number of thoſe who ſurvive, you have

" been

" been under the neceſſity of leaving behind in different " parts of Aſia, diſabled by wounds, or weakened by in- " firmity, cut off from the hopes of ever beholding Greece " more: and even the few who yet remain with you, and " ſtill retain ſome appearance of vigour, have neither that " firmneſs of body, nor that ſtrength of mind, which they " had at the beginning. They languiſh for their native home, " looking wiſhfully for the day that ſhall again reſtore " them to their parents, their wives, and their children.

" Wonder not, O King, that this deſire ſhould work " ſtrongly within them. You yourſelf have given it " ſtrength. You have enriched them with wealth; you " have graced them with honours: they long to ſhew " to their neareſt connections, thoſe ornaments which they " have received from you.—Compel not, therefore, men to " follow you, who can no longer have the ſame affection " for the ſervice they once had; whoſe bodies are averſe " from toil, and whoſe minds are ſunk into dejection.

" Think alſo, that you have a parent in Greece, who " anxiouſly waits your return, and a kingdom that demands " your attention. Full of glory, and laden with the ſpoils " of Aſia, you will have the joy of making a people happy, " and a mother bleſt.

" And ſhould you hereafter be diſpoſed to go again to " war, either againſt the Indians, or againſt Carthage and " the Lybian nations, you will have ſoldiers from every part " of Macedon crowding to your ſtandard; not men ſuch as " theſe, bent by years, and ſubdued by labour; but ſoldiers

Book I. Sect. 2.

" fresh and vigorous, who will think lightly of toils they " are not acquainted with, and will chearfully encounter " the sharpest dangers, in expectation of such rewards as " these your old soldiers now possess.

" Moderation, amidst the allurements of prosperity, is " man's highest glory. This glory, O King, be thine. " Success has hitherto attended your arms; you cannot be " assured that it shall always attend them; for, though " with such an army, led by such a King, we bid defiance " to the power of enemies, yet fortune may change on a " sudden, and blast our fairest hopes."

We are indebted to Arrian for this interesting speech. Though the texture of it is evidently the work of the historian, it is nevertheless exceedingly valuable, as it may be supposed to be a just representation, both of the manner of thinking of Alexander's army, and of the many miseries, which his boasted conquests had brought even upon his own subjects; the strength of Greece being wasted in a foreign land, whilst the domestic weal was abandoned to the rage of struggling factions!

The impression Coenus's speech made on the army.

As soon as Coenus had ended, a murmur of applause ran through the whole assembly. And, what was most affecting, the tender sentiments, with which their hearts were impressed, being all awakened by this pathetic oration, most of these gallant warriors appeared bathed in tears [49].

[49] Arrian, L. v. c. 28.

Alexander

Alexander, nevertheleſs, remained unmoved, and flung from the aſſembly, with marks of ſtrong reſentment.

Alexander's reſentment, and reproaches.

Next day he convened them again. "I ſhall go on," ſaid he to them; "but I ſhall not deſire a Macedonian to "follow me. There are *men* who will not deſert their King. "Return home when you pleaſe; and inform your country- "men, that you have left Alexander in the midſt of hoſtile "nations."

Retiring then to his tent, he remained ſhut up until the third day, not even his friends being allowed admittance.

He expected, that the love, which he knew his army bore to him, and the dread of his diſpleaſure, would make them deſiſt from their purpoſe. No ſymptom of this appearing, he endeavoured to intereſt their ſuperſtition. Sacrifices were appointed, and the entrails of victims conſulted; but the prieſts deſerted him on this occaſion. Thus beſet with difficulties, he at length acquieſced; and, to the great joy of his army, gave directions that they ſhould prepare to return[50].

Attempts to work on their ſuperſtitions; fails; ſeems to yield to the wiſhes of his army.

His vanity, however, ſtill diſplayed itſelf. He contrived to have arms much larger than his men could wield, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horſes required, left buried in the earth, or ſcattered throughout the territory that had ſet bounds to his conqueſts. He cauſed alſo twelve altars of an amazing ſize to be raiſed on the

His vanity,

[50] Arrian, ubi ſup.

Book I. Sect. 2.

and folly.

eastern side of the Hyphasis, and a camp to be laid out upon a much larger scale than usual. All this, to induce after-ages to believe, that himself and his men had the might and stature of giants. And on these altars, if we are to believe Philostratus, were left inscriptions suitable to the folly and arrogance of the builder :—" to father Hammon"—" to bro-" ther Hercules"—to brother Apollo [51]."

We are almost tempted to question the veracity of antient historians, when they recite excesses of such palpable absurdity [52].

[51] Philost. de vitâ Apoll. Tyan. L. ii. c. 15.

[52] About this time died Coenus, much lamented by the whole army, to whom he was justly dear, and even mourned by Alexander himself, who could not but honour * the probity and noble spirit of this generous soldier.

* Quintus Curtius puts, nevertheless, a silly jest in Alexander's mouth on the occasion. See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 3.

BOOK

BOOK I.

SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

Alexander visits the Indian ocean—Returns by the inhospitable tract of Gadrosia—The loss he sustains—Iniquitous conduct and punishment of the governors he had appointed—His army mutinies—He reduces them to obedience—Hephaestion dies—Alexander's excesses on that occasion—Returns to Babylon—Is distressed by ill-boding omens—Has recourse to intemperance—Dies—His character—The judgment to be formed of his atchievements; and the benefits of which they have been productive.

IT might well be supposed, that Alexander's busy and lofty spirit would not long remain easy under restraints, to which nothing but the necessity of his affairs had made him submit. His restless ambition began [1] immediately to seek for new objects. And new objects soon opened to his view. The part of India he had traversed is intersected by five great

Book I. Sect. 3.

Alexander, in his way homeward, prepares to visit the Indian ocean.

[1] Arrian, L. vi. c. 1 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 3. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 10.

Book I. Sect. 3.

navigable rivers, which, he was told, after taking their course through many nations, not less rich and populous than those he had visited, discharged themselves into a vast ocean abounding with prodigies. Every circumstance made him eager to attempt the enterprize. The Greeks also, naturally curious, and who were assured they might return by this route into Persia, were not averse from an expedition, which, besides other advantages, seemed to bring them on their way towards their native country.

Falls down the Hydaspis.

A FLEET was accordingly fitted out, and the command of it given to Nearchus, with directions to fall down the Hydaspis, whilst the army moved along its banks; Alexander himself embarking with a party of cavalry and a considerable body of cuirassiers. They had continued their navigation for some days, when an accident, of which he had been apprized by the natives of the country, had nearly put an end to his whole project. The rivers of this part of India fall the one into the other [1], and at every confluence

[1] We have, from the accurate Arrian (vi. 14.) an exact account of these several confluences. The five rivers of this part of India are the Indus, the Hydaspis, the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis. Upon the confluence of the Hydaspis and Acesines, the name of the former is lost, and the river takes that of Acesines; it is afterwards joined by the Hydraotes, and then by the Hyphasis, still retaining the name of Acesines, and at last falls into the Indus; under which name all these waters conjoined empty themselves into the sea. According to Ctesias (See Arrian, v. 3, 4.) the Indus is in one part upwards of twelve miles (an hundred furlongs) in breadth, and upwards of five miles (forty furlongs) where narrowest; and yet is far inferior to the Ganges. According to Onesicritus, who was commander of the ship in which Alexander was, Strabo tells us (xv. p. 482.) that the Indus is in one part two hundred furlongs, about twenty-five miles, in breadth. Besides the rivers above-mentioned, eleven more, making fifteen in all, fall into the Indus. See Arrian, v. 6.

the

the meeting of the waters cauſes a ferment, which few veſſels are able to reſiſt. When, therefore, the Macedonian fleet reached the confluence of the Aceſines and Hydaſpis, ſeveral veſſels found themſelves caught abruptly by whirling eddies; ſome were overſet, and moſt of them ſhattered. At length, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, they got clear by dint of their oars.

Dangers of this navigation.

Hitherto they had ſeen only a few ſcattered Indians, who abandoned their habitations at the firſt approach of an enemy. The Macedonians now began to enter a diſtrict inhabited by a people, who appeared to have more civilized manners, and to be well acquainted with the cultivation of land. Theſe were named the Malli. Alexander immediately landed, and prepared to march againſt them, forming his army into three diviſions, that the natives, who eluded the one, might be intercepted by the other. The Malli were an harmleſs people, of great ſimplicity of life, who had never heard of Alexander or his exploits; who had not even been ſubjected to the Perſian yoke, to whoſe name probably they were ſtrangers; and who, ſince the days of Bacchus, according to their tradition, had lived in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties, conformably to their own laws. Conquerors pay little regard to circumſtances like theſe. The ſon of Olympias ſtill went on, ravaging the country, and ſacking every fortified place that did not open its gates to him. One city ſtill remained unſubdued, which had the advantage of ſome kind of fortreſs; and here a great part of the Malli had taken refuge. Thither Alexander marched his forces; and, finding a more vigorous reſiſtance than his impetuous ſpirit could brook, he commanded ladders to

Attacks the Malli.

be

Book I. Sect. 3.

be applied, and the walls to be ſcaled, mounting himſelf the foremoſt. The ladders being too ſlender to ſuſtain the weight of the numbers who crowded after the King, broke down, juſt as Alexander and three of his guards had reached the top of the battlements. Here they ſtood alone, in a critical ſituation, unable to execute any thing effectual, and expoſed to all the weapons of the beſieged. The danger in which Alexander found himſelf, made him bolder and more reſolute; and, without loſing a moment in deliberation, he undauntedly leaped from the battlements into the city; his three attendants, to whom the King's raſh deed left no choice, following him. They lighted on their feet; but this availed them little. They were at once ſurrounded by crowds of combatants; and though they ſtruck down as many as durſt approach them, a freſh ſupply of enemies ſtill preſſed on; and ſtones, and darts, and javelins, poured in upon them from every ſide. Abreas, one of Alexander's men, was already ſlain, and the two others, Peuceſtas and Leonnatus, dangerouſly wounded, when the King received a javelin in his breaſt, which brought him almoſt lifeleſs to the ground; his two companions, though nearly diſabled by their own wounds, covered him with their ſhields and bodies. The report of Alexander's danger having run through the army, the ſoldiers, frantic at the thoughts of loſing their Prince, burſt into the city at different places; ſome ſcrambling up the walls, others beating down the gates; when, putting to the ſword all they met, without diſtinction of age or ſex, they made their way to the ſpot where the King lay. Their firſt care was to remove him to his tent, and to cut out the head of the javelin, which, being bearded, required a large inciſion to be made. The plentiful effuſion

Is in danger of loſing his life.

of

of blood occaſioned by the operation, threw Alexander into a ſwoon, and for ſome minutes it was doubtful whether he had not expired; but he ſoon revived, and from the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution, and the care taken of him, he was in a ſhort time re-eſtabliſhed, and enabled to ſhew himſelf again to his army, who would ſcarcely believe their Prince was alive, till they were permitted to approach his perſon. All that remained of the Malli, as if to atone for the ſhare they had in the accident, ſubmitted; and their example was followed by the Oxydracae, another nation not far diſtant[3].

The Malli ſubmit, and the Oxydracae.

Alexander's inclination for war and conqueſt was not in the leaſt impaired by his recent unfortunate adventure; he ſtill continued his military operations, marking out for deſtruction every people that dared to reſiſt the power of his arms. What devaſtation this muſt have produced, among nations ſuch as we have deſcribed, fond of freedom, and unacquainted with the Macedonian method of waging war, it is eaſy to judge. Beſides a number of large diſtricts totally depopulated by the flight of the inhabitants to the neighbouring deſarts, not leſs than ſeven great nations[4] were forced to accept whatever terms the conqueror thought proper to impoſe. And Muſicanus, one of their kings, who is ſaid to have been the moſt conſiderable of the princes of the country, having endeavoured to throw off the yoke, was purſued by his foe, taken, and crucified

Alexander ſpreads devaſtation through this part of India; crucifies an Indian king, and his faithful Brachmans;

[3] Moſt of the antient hiſtorians ſuppoſe this adventure to have happened in the city of the Oxydracae. It appears from Arrian (vi. 11.) that they are miſtaken.

[4] Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, tells us, that this country, which he now ſubdued, was three times as large as what he had ſubdued before between the Hydaſpis and the Hyphaſis.

 alive,

Book I. Sect. 3.

alive [5], in the midst of his own territories, together with several of the Brachmans [6], or Indian sages, who, in their zeal

[5] Arrian, L. vi. c. 15, 16.

[6] These Brachmans or Bramins appear to have been a very different order of men from what modern writers represent them. "Tels," says Abbé Raynal, (L. i. c. 4) "sont les descendans des anciens Brachmanes, dont l'antiquité ne parle "qu'avec admiration, parceque l'affectation de l'austerité et du mystere, et le pri-"vilege de parler aux rois du ciel, en impose au vulgaire dans tous les siecles. "C'étoit à eux que les Grecs attribuoient le dogme de l'immortalité de l'ame, les "idées sur la nature du grand être, sur les peines et les recompenses futures—On "regardoit les Brachmanes comme les amies des dieux; parcequ'ils paroissoient "s'en occuper beaucoup, et comme les protecteurs des hommes, parcequ'ils "ne s'en occupoient point du tout." Both Strabo and Arrian speak of them in another manner. Their chief employment was *the public good*; to observe the seasons, and to communicate their observations to the people; and, on all occasions of important and national concern, to deliver their advice with fidelity. The Brachman, who had thrice been guilty of giving counsel that had not proved salutary, was condemned to silence for life. Their discipline, besides, was exceedingly severe; and their tenets concerning the Creator and Governor of the universe, the immortality of the soul, and a future state, were not unworthy of the Grecian school. Their reproof of Alexander is memorable. A number of them were assembled in a field as he passed; and at sight of him began to stamp on the ground with great vehemence. He sent to know the reason. "To every man," they answered, "is "such a portion of earth allotted, as we are measuring out with our feet. Thou, "O King, shalt have no more: and yet, led on by an idle curiosity, and regard-"less of justice, art thou traversing from country to country, without allowing rest "either to thyself or to thy fellow-creatures." He would have prevailed on Dandamis, the principal of the Indian sages, to come to him, bidding his messengers tell him, that he was the son of Jupiter, and had it in his power to reward or to punish him. "I am," replied the sage, "the son of Jupiter as well as he; as "to his rewards, he has none to give; for he has not enough to satisfy himself; "and as for his punishments, the utmost he can do, is, to relieve me from a body "worn out with age, and to remove me to a state of perfect happiness." However, Calanus, another Brachman, was persuaded to attend Alexander, and for some time accompanied him; but being seized by an acute disorder, he raised a pile of wood, and burnt himself on it. It appears, nevertheless, that the Indian Brachmans condemned Calanus, both for departing from that simplicity of manners he had

zeal for their antient liberties, had encouraged him to revolt.

The fleet had now entered the Indus, which, ſays Arrian, after receiving the waters of all the other rivers of this part of India, empties itſelf by two great channels into the Indian ocean. The mariners ſoon diſcovered, by the ſwell of the river, that the ſea was not far diſtant, and gave notice to the King, that they already perceived the breezes of the ocean. Alexander, rejoiced to find that he ſhould ſhortly behold the object of his wiſhes, encouraged his ſeamen to uſe their oars with redoubled efforts. As they were endeavouring to execute theſe orders, they found themſelves involved in a new diſtreſs, which their ignorance rendered exceedingly alarming. Accuſtomed to the gentle ebb and flow of the Mediterranean, they had no notion of the ſtrong ocean-tides. Accordingly, when they ſaw the current bear againſt them, and the waters to riſe on every ſide, and overſpread the banks, they imagined it was an indication of the anger of the gods, and that they were guilty of impiety, in thus attempting to pry into the ſecrets of nature. This, however, was little to the conſternation that followed. The ſea, at the turn of the tide, retreating, their veſſels were left either aground, or ſtuck faſt in the mud, the keels and oars of many of them much damaged, and the ſhores covered with arms and baggage; ſo that the whole had the appearance of a wreck, and they began to deſpair of being ever able to get off. The return of the tide relieved them from their anxiety,

(enters the Indus; reaches the ocean; is ſurpriſed at the ocean-tides;)

had been accuſtomed to, in order to partake of the luxuries of the royal table; and for putting an end to a life over which he had no dominion.

See Strabo, L. xv. p. 490 & ſeq. et Arrian, L. vii. c. 1, 2. et Hiſt. Ind. xi.

ety, and taught them what they were until this time ſtrangers to.

ſends Nearchus to make obſervations;

Alexander ordered himſelf to be rowed into this vaſt ocean, for the purpoſe of making new diſcoveries; and, after doing little more than gratifying an unbounded curioſity, prepared to march his army back into Perſia, whilſt Nearchus was to continue his navigation along the coaſts of the Perſian gulph, and afterwards up the Euphrates, by which he was directed to return. It is ſuppoſed, that Alexander ſpent ten months [7], from the time of his embarking on the Hydaſpis, in this fruitleſs expedition. He cloſed his progreſs on this ſide with a prayer well worthy of remembrance. It marks ſtrongly the extravagant ſpirit of this adventurous and ambitious Prince. He beſought the gods, "that no man "might paſs beyond the limits that he had reached [8]."

prepares to return;

his prayer;

enters Gadroſia;

The route, which he choſe for the return of his army, was of all others the moſt difficult. It lay moſtly through burning ſands, in many parts of which no water was to be found, no ſupply of food to be obtained, nor the track of traveller to be ſeen. The army ſoon experienced all the miſeries to be met with in ſuch a dreary march. Numbers of his men were either overwhelmed in the hot ſands, or periſhed from fatigue or hunger, or both. Their carriages became no longer of uſe, the roads in ſeveral places not admitting them; their cattle periſhed, or were killed for

the difficulties he meets with.

[7] Plutarch ſays ſeven only. Abp. Uſher ſhews he is miſtaken. See Uſſer. Annal. 371.

[8] Plutarch in Alexand.

food;

Book I. Sect. 3.

food; ſo that the immenſe treaſure the army had collected together, at the price of ſo much blood, was now thrown away by the ſoldiers, as a painful incumbrance. This inhoſpitable tract was called Gadroſia. One might be at a loſs to conjecture what could prompt Alexander to ſuch a route, when a much better lay before him. Arrian accounts for it. According to the tradition of the Indians, Semiramis and Cyrus had paſſed this way; and whatever any great perſon had performed, the ſon of Philip was determined not be exceeded in. Semiramis, as tradition bore, loſt her whole army in this deſart, twenty men excepted; and Cyrus had eſcaped with ſeven only. Alexander therefore had an advantage over them: the march coſt *him* but two months, and only three fourths of his army. From Plutarch it appears, that above one hundred thouſand of his men periſhed in this [9] wild expedition.

Alexander's generous conduct;

In the courſe of it, however, there happened an incident, which Arrian [10] relates, much to Alexander's praiſe. Some ſoldiers had gone in queſt of water; and, having diſcovered a little brook, with difficulty procured a ſmall quantity of the element, and brought it to the King: though oppreſſed with thirſt, he refuſed to accept a relief, which he could not ſhare among his army; and, with much commendation of the zeal of thoſe who brought it, generouſly poured it on the ground. Every man found it leſs difficult to ſuſtain

[9] He entered this part of India with an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe, and did not bring back above one fourth part of them. Plutarch in Alexand.

[10] L. vii. c. 26.

 hardſhips,

Book I. Sect. 3.

hardſhips, when he ſaw the King endure them equally with the meaneſt ſoldier. A like ſtory is related by Plutarch, which, poſſibly from miſtake, he aſcribes to another perſon.

he enters Carmania.

The Macedonians at length entered the plentiful country of Carmania, where they were ſupplied in abundance with proviſions of every kind; orders having been previouſly diſpatched to the neighbouring governors, to furniſh all manner of refreſhments, together with carriages and beaſts of burden to replace thoſe that had been loſt. Here Alexander ſpent ſome days in celebrating public ſports, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving for the ſignal deliverance vouchſafed to him and his army. It is, probably, this ſolemnity of which ſome antient writers have given us ſo romantic a deſcription. They would have us believe, that Alexander cauſed his ſoldiers to celebrate a feaſt to Bacchus for ſeven days, in memory of their Prince having, like the god, returned victorious from the Indies; and his whole army, in imitation of the Bacchanals, exhibited a frantic proceſſion through the nations lately conquered, with ſhouts of uproar and riot, and all the ridiculous gambols of which the greateſt intoxication can be productive; the King in perſon leading the diſſolute dance. Had one thouſand ſober men, ſays Curtius [11], attacked this wild multitude, the defeat of the latter had been inevitable. But from Arrian [12] it appears, that this account, though ſupported by no leſs an authority than that of Diodorus and Plutarch, is merely an idle fiction. An inſtructive leſſon, how cautious we ought to be in admitting what many antient writers have recorded.

Fabulous account of the feaſt celebrated here by him.

[11] See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 10.

[12] See Arrian, L. vi. c. 28.

Confused state of the conquered provinces,

Alexander, no doubt, like all founders of a new empire, had pleased himself with the fond idea, that this vast fabric of power, which he was labouring to establish, would last for ages. He now had the fullest evidence of the vanity of his hopes. It was but the eleventh year of his reign, and the fifth since the overthrow of Darius; and repeated accounts were brought to him from every quarter, of the confusion which had already arisen in many of his provinces [13]; in some, from the unsubdued spirit of the people [14]; in most of them, from the oppressive and tyrannical excesses of the governors whom he had appointed over them. These, it seems, expected not that Alexander was ever to return from the Indies; and therefore treated with contempt establishments which he could no longer enforce. Alexander behaved on this occasion with becoming firmness and resentment. He enquired into the several complaints; and, where guilt was found, punished the delinquents with the utmost severity. Proofs were exhibited, of gross dilapidations and acts of violence having been committed by Clitander, Sitalcas, and Heracon, who commanded in Media: they were all put to death [15]. They had assisted in the murder of Parmenio; on which account, historians tell us, the whole army, even many of the King's nearest friends, witnessed their execution with pleasure [16]. "Vengeance for that "innocent blood," said they, "has justly overtaken them."

and from what causes.

He punishes the iniquitous governors.

[13] Plutarch in Alexand.

[14] Philip, whom he had appointed governor of Indostan, had been slain by his own guards. See Arrian, vi. 27.

[15] Arrian, ubi sup.

[16] See Quint. Cur. x. 1.

Book I. Sect. 3.

Abulites, and his son Oxathres[17], to whom the care of Susa was intrusted, had proved unfaithful: they both suffered in like manner. Arxines[18] had plundered the province of Persia, of which he held the government, not sparing even the temples, and putting to death all persons, however innocent, who happened to be obnoxious to him: he was crucified. Even the tomb of Cyrus, which was filled with various treasures of inestimable value, and in which the body of that conqueror lay inclosed in a case of gold, had not escaped the rapacious hand of violence. After much inquiry, it was discovered, that the plunderer was Polymachus[19], a Macedonian of distinction, born in Pella, Alexander's native city: regardless of his quality, the King ordered his execution. In this list of criminals, one of the most remarkable was Harpalus. Alexander, to whom he was particularly dear[20], on account of his attachment to him whilst Philip was living, had appointed him guardian of the treasures in Babylon. This important trust was a temptation which he was not capable of resisting. He abandoned himself to a shameful dissoluteness, and squandered away a considerable portion of the wealth committed to his care. Accordingly, when, contrary to his expectations, he found that Alexander was on his return to Babylon, he collected together a band of mercenaries, and, taking five thousand talents with him, fled into

Harpalus plunders the treasures at Babylon,

and flees to Greece.

[17] Arrian, L. vii. c. 4. Plutarch calls him Oxyartes. According to this historian, Alexander was so enraged against him, that he stabbed him with his own hand. See Plutarch in Alexand.

[18] Arrian, L. vi. c. 30. Quint. Cur. (x. 1.) gives a very different turn to this story. We follow Arrian.

[19] Plut. in Alexand.

[20] See Arrian, L. iii. c. 6.

Greece. The fate, which he juſtly deſerved, ſoon afterwards overtook him. He was killed in Crete, by ſome perſons in whom he confided [21].

His death.

After viſiting the adjacent provinces, and applying what remedies ſeemed moſt expedient in their preſent turbulent ſtate, Alexander directed his march to Suſa, where, upon his arrival, he married Statira, daughter of Darius. Arrian [22] calls her Barſine, or, according to ſome readings, Arſinoe. Her ſiſter, Paryſatis, by ſome named Drypetis, he gave to Hephaeſtion; and at the ſame time diſpoſed of eighty of the principal Perſian ladies in marriage to his chief officers, on all of whom he beſtowed rich dowries, ſuitable to their noble birth. In addition to the public joy, Nearchus, who had the command of the naval expedition, and of whoſe ſafety Alexander had deſpaired, returned to Suſa, with an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage, and of the diſcoveries he had made; which, in the preſent infant ſtate of navigation among the Greeks, were highly celebrated.

Alexander weds the daughter of Darius; gives the principal Perſian ladies in marriage to his officers.

Nearchus returns.

That his whole army might ſhare in the general happineſs [23], he preſented every Grecian ſoldier, who had married Aſiatic women (and theſe amounted to ten thouſand in number) with conſiderable ſums of money. The debts likewiſe of his army he declared he would diſcharge, and deſired to have a ſtate of them laid before him. But, finding many of his men were unwilling to diſcover minutely

Alexander's liberality to his army.

[21] Plutarch in Alexand. et Demoſthene. Athenaei Deipnoſph. L. xiii. p. 594.

[22] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 4. [23] Plut. in Alexand. Arrian, L. vii. c. 5.

how

Book I. Sect. 3.

how their debts had been contracted, he demanded only the names of their respective creditors, and the several sums at large; and in this manner discharged the whole, though the sum amounted to twenty thousand talents. Those, besides, who had distinguished themselves by any particular military exploit, he honoured with rich donatives, such as crowns of gold, and other rewards of great value.

What he had in view.

ALEXANDER'S generosity appears here to advantage; he had, besides, in view to smooth national prejudices, which kept the haughty Greeks at a distance from the Asiatics; and, as the Macedonians and Persians were now governed by one common sovereign, to make them by degrees coalesce into one people: but he soon found this was not so easily to be accomplished.

His plan for the recruiting of his army;

HE had given directions [24] to the several governors to train to military exercise a number of youths in their respective provinces, and to have them disciplined after the Macedonian manner, in order that he might always have a supply of soldiers in readiness, whenever casualties or years should render his own men unfit for service. Thirty thousand of these recruits having accordingly been brought to Susa, he issued orders, that the same number of Macedonians, who were become less able to endure the fatigues of war, should have permission to return home. It had been easy to have given a favourable interpretation to this measure; but to the Greeks, who were already exasperated at seeing the Asiatics possess

[24] Arrian, L. vii. c. 6 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand.

so

so large a portion of the royal favour, it appeared in the most odious light; and a general mutiny immediately ensued. "Their former services," they said, "were no longer re-"membered—no account taken of the dangers they had "encountered, and the toils they had undergone—the ob-"jects of Alexander's regard were now the effeminate Per-"sians—he imitated their dress; he spoke their language; "he adopted their manners—their soldiers were now to be "inrolled among the Macedonian veterans, and to carry "away those honours, which the latter had purchased at the "price of their blood—let us all be discharged together—"we scorn to serve under the banners of a prince, who is "now an alien to his country—and, should he have any more "wars to carry on, let them be carried on by his father "Hammon and himself."

mutiny occasioned by it:

Alexander could contain himself no longer: for, it seems, these bold remonstrances were made in his presence. Starting from his tribunal, with his own hands he seized thirteen of the most guilty mutineers, whom he ordered to instant execution. Then, taking advantage of the consternation into which this act of vigour had thrown his army, in the most spirited manner he reproached them with the ungrateful return they made for all he had done for them; and, at the conclusion of his speech, abruptly left the assembly, retired to his tent, and commanded, that his person should henceforward be intrusted to Persian guards, and that the different corps of Asiatic troops should hold the same rank, and enjoy the same privileges, which the Macedonians had lately possessed.

Alexander quells it by his firmness;

The King's firmneſs on this occaſion had its full effect. The Macedonians were naturally attached to his perſon; and, notwithſtanding the deep ſhades that darkened his character, his brighter qualities, which were moſtly of the popular kind, his bravery eſpecially, and munificent ſpirit, were held in the higheſt eſtimation. Above all, they could not bear to be thus indignantly debarred from his preſence, and excluded from his favour and confidence. For three days, during which time he kept himſelf ſhut up, they remained immoveable around his tent, bewailing, in the moſt affecting manner, their indiſcretion; they threw their arms from them, as if unworthy to carry them longer; and declared, they would never quit the place, until reſtored to their ſovereign's favour and forgiveneſs. Alexander, at length, was prevailed on to ſhew himſelf. At ſight of their Prince, the Macedonians burſt into the moſt affectionate lamentations; Alexander himſelf began to ſoften; he melted alſo into tears; he permitted his people to approach him, to embrace him. What had afflicted his countrymen moſt deeply, they told him, was, that he had withdrawn his regard from them, and admitted the Perſians to be his kinſmen. "You are all my kinſmen," replied Alexander, "and "from this day it is the name by which I ſhall diſtinguiſh "you." By the laws of Macedon, the king's kindred had a right to ſalute him, and they were all accordingly admitted to that honour.

[r]eceives his [a]rmy again [i]nto favour, [u]pon their repentance;

A sumptuous banquet ſealed the reconciliation; the King entertaining nine thouſand gueſts at one time. From the order of the entertainment, of which we have an account in Arrian [25], it appears, that he had not loſt ſight of his

makes a common banquet for his ſoldiers of every nation;

[25] L. vii. c. 11.

favourite

favourite scheme of coalition. In the most honourable place were the Macedonians; next to them the Persians; and after the Persians other nations. In conjunction with the Grecian soothsayers, the Persian magi were employed in offering up vows for the prosperity and union of all the inhabitants of his empire. One common bowl was brought, out of which King and people performed their libations; and at the conclusion was sung a paean, or song of praise to the Immortal Gods, Greeks, as well as Barbarians, joining in the chorus.

in what view;

It was then settled[26], that as many Greeks and Macedonians as were become unequal to the fatigues of the field, should have permission to return home. This permission was attended with every mark of distinction the old soldiers could possibly desire. Not only their arrears were punctually cleared off, they likewise received a talent each, besides money sufficient to defray their expences to Greece. Instructions were, at the same time, dispatched to Macedon, that at all solemnities they should have places of pre-eminence assigned to them; that they should be free from all imposts; and that whatever privileges were conferred on them, should, upon their death, be enjoyed by their children. This grateful remembrance of the services of his brave veterans, exhibits Alexander to us in a very advantageous point of view.

dismisses his disabled veterans in the most honourable manner;

What rendered this notice of the King of greater value, was, the choice of the person to whom his men was given in charge. Craterus was named to this service, an officer of

and appoints Craterus to command them.

[26] Arrian, L. vii. c. 12. Plut. in Alexand.

Book I. Sect. 3.

the first distinction in the Macedonian armies, and who was known to be highly esteemed by Alexander. The appointment of such an officer the veterans considered as a particular honour done to themselves.

The government of Macedon intended for Craterus.

It was the King's intention, that Craterus, upon his arrival in Greece, should succeed Antipater, and that Antipater should pass into Asia. Many think, that the repeated complaints preferred by Olympias, whose ambitious and intriguing spirit was impatient of the control under which Antipater held her, had occasioned his being superseded; and that severe measures were actually in agitation against him. Whatever views Alexander had, he did not live to carry them into execution.

Hephaestion dies;

Soon after this transaction, he lost Hephaestion, who died of a fever in Ecbatana; a loss which Alexander seems to have borne with great agitation of mind. In others he saw the dependents of his fortune, in Hephaestion he possessed a friend. "Craterus loves the King," he was wont to say, "but Hephaestion loves Alexander[27]." This tender connection, subsisting from their earliest years, had never suffered the least diminution. Though he lived with the King on the most familiar terms, and was admitted to his most secret councils, he enjoyed the royal favour without insolence, and, what is still more extraordinary, without exciting envy. How temperately he used his power, may be gathered from the two following instances: A musician, of whom he was fond, had possessed himself of certain quar-

his character.

[27] Plut. in Alexand.

ters,

ters, to which Eumenes, an officer of note, and at this time secretary to the King, laid claim[28]. Hephaestion supported his favourite; Eumenes had the spirit to oppose Hephaestion, and, upon an appeal to the King, carried the point against him. Some time after, Hephaestion differed on some occasion with Craterus[29], and this dispute was conducted with such heat, that, had not the King interposed his authority, it probably had ended fatally. Nevertheless, it does not appear, that either Craterus or Eumenes were afterwards less in favour with Alexander, or that Hephaestion ever employed his influence to their prejudice. He seems, indeed, to have been much beloved by the whole army, not only for those affable qualities, which adorn the courtier, but also for his military abilities, having accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions, and been frequently employed by him in the most arduous enterprizes.

Alexander's passionate excesses on this occasion;

The extravagances, however, of Alexander[30], on this occasion, are not to be justified. When he found that Hephaestion had expired, in a paroxysm of grief he threw himself on the dead body, from which his friends could scarcely remove him. Those persons who had attended his favourite in his last illness, became objects of his resentment, as if it had been owing to them that Hephaestion died. In his phrensy, he accused even the gods for not having preserved a life so dear to him. The sacred fires were extinguished throughout all Asia, which was never before done but upon the King's death; "an "omen of dark import," the Asiatics observed, "to Alex-

[28] Plutarch in Eumene. Plutarch in Alexand. [29] Plutarch. [30] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 14.

"ander

Book I. Sect. 3.

"ander himself." Not contented with celebrating Hephaestion's obsequies with all possible magnificence, and erecting a sumptuous monument to his memory at an immense expence, he sent to the temple of Hammon to enquire, whether Hephaestion ought not to be ranked among the demigods. The oracle, too complaisant not to gratify the King, answered as Asia's monarch wished. Hephaestion accordingly was pronounced a demigod, and had suitable honours appointed to him[31].

he comes to Babylon.

ALEXANDER had now come to Babylon, where a number of embassadors from different nations, in consequence of the fame of his atchievements, were expecting his return[32]. It might be imagined, that to a mind such as his, naturally vain and fond of homage, this kind of pomp must have afforded the highest gratification. He notwithstanding appears to have relished it very imperfectly[33]. The death of Hephaestion, together with certain anticipations of his own approaching fate, had made deep impression on his mind. As he drew near to Babylon, he met certain Chaldean soothsayers, who besought him not to enter the city, which then lay to the west of him; or, if he did, to go round, and to enter with his face to the eastward; otherwise some fatal destiny threatened to overtake him. But the line, which

Gloomy state of Alexander's mind.

[31] Alexander's extravagance upon the loss of Hephaestion, might have been suggested by his progenitor Achilles's behaviour upon the loss of Patroclus.

[32] It appears from Arrian (vii. 15.) that two antient writers of Alexander's history, Aristaeus and Asclepiades, related, that among the embassies to Alexander, there was also one from Rome. Other historians make no mention of it.

[33] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 16.

they

they had pointed out, being found impracticable, his pride would not suffer him to return back, and he ventured into Babylon by the very way which was forbidden[34]. Anaxarchus, the philosopher, had endeavoured to reason with his master against idle apprehensions, and to ridicule the boasted skill of these pretended diviners: the King seemed to listen to him with some degree of attention; but it was evident, that his mind enjoyed neither ease nor composure.

He endeavours to dissipate his melancholy

In order to dissipate these melancholy thoughts, Alexander began to meditate an expedition against the Arabians[35], who had been guilty of the insolence of sending him no embassy; and to set on foot a number of new works for beautifying Babylon, now intended for the seat of empire. Among other undertakings, he proposed to confine the Euphrates to its natural bed. The waters of this river had, for some ages, been suffered to overflow its banks; the adjacent country was greatly damaged, and this province, once the loveliest of Asia, was declining fast into an inhospitable morass. That he might judge what works were necessary, Alexander

by an excursion from Babylon;

[34] The rich revenues belonging to Belus were enjoyed by the Chaldeans, until his temple was re-built; and therefore they endeavoured to keep Alexander from entering Babylon, lest he should urge on a work which it was not their interest to have finished. As to the King's going round, and entering with his face to the east, they well knew, that the fens on that side had made the road impracticable. See Arrian, L. vii. c. 17.

[35] It appears from Arrian (vii. 20.) that his principal view in this expedition was, to compel the Arabians to acknowledge him for one of their gods; they had, he had been told, only two gods; *the heaven*, on account of its being the abode of that beneficent luminary the sun; and *Bacchus*, on account of his exploits in the Indies; "and therefore," said he, "as my exploits have not been inferior to "those of Bacchus, I likewise have a right to be worshipped by them."

Book I. Sect. 3.

had a number of vessels prepared, proper for passing the guts, and sailed himself along the several banks to the place where the breach, according to report, had first been made. This excursion, far from administering to him that amusement which he expected, took a very different turn. In the course of his expedition, a gust of wind blew the royal fillet from the King's head to some distance, where the monuments of the antient Assyrian kings were erected, and it fell intangled among the reeds that grew round the sepulchres. One of the sailors leaped into the river, and, having recovered it, fastened it inadvertently round his own head [36], in order to bring it back with greater safety.

fails.

His melancholy encreases;

THESE incidents, of little moment to a mind sound, and properly instructed, the superstition of the times pronounced to be omens full of terror; and the King's imagination, already distempered, failed not to lay hold of them.

he returns to Babylon;

IN this dejected state he re-entered Babylon, where a similar train of dire presages still pursued him. Over his head, as he approached the city, was fought a battle of crows, some of whom fell dead at his feet [37]; one of the largest lions kept in Babylon, had been kicked to death by an ass. The governor of Babylon had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning his sovereign, and the liver of the victim was found not to have a head. What threatened disaster

meets with sinister omens;

[36] To avert the omen of this casual usurpation of the diadem, the Chaldean soothsayers, according to some historians, directed, that the officious sailor should be rewarded with a talent, and afterwards put to death.

[37] Plutarch in Alexand.

more

more than all, the King having undreſſed, as was cuſtomary to him, for the purpoſe of partaking in ſome athletic ſports, when his attendants went to fetch his clothes, they found a ſtranger (ſome lunatic, probably, who had eſcaped from his keepers) ſitting in profound ſilence on their maſter's throne, dreſſed in his royal robes, with the diadem on his head; who, upon examination, pronounced, that the god Serapis had conducted him thither, and had ordered him to array himſelf in that attire, and to ſit there in ſolemn ſilence. This madman, by the direction of the ſoothſayers, was put to death[38].

From all theſe circumſtances, the anguiſh of Alexander's mind encreaſed more and more, as if, to uſe Plutarch's words, in deſpair of the ſuccours of heaven[39]. And ſo ſtrongly had fears and anxieties taken hold on him, that every thing which happened, in the leaſt degree ſtrange or unuſual, he converted into an evil ſign or prodigy. *is diſtreſſed by them;*

What remedies the religious notions then prevailing directed the uſe of, expiatory rites and ſacrifices, were employed profuſely. The court ſwarmed with purifiers and prognoſticators, all exerciſing their talents in behalf of the royal perſon. But theſe affording little relief, he endeavoured to drown reflection in a courſe of banqueting and intemperance, to which he had of late been much addicted. He had ſpent one day and part of the night in this manner[40], and was returning home to reſt, when Medius, who was now much in his favour, requeſted the King to honour him at an en- *has recourſe to intemperance;*

[38] See Arrian, L. vii. c. 18. et Plut. ubi ſup. in Alexand.

[39] Δύσελπις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.

[40] Arrian, L. vii. c. 24 & ſeq.

Book I. Sect. 3.

tertainment he had just prepared. With Medius he continued carousing the remainder of the night; and, after a short repose, renewed the same scene of riot. The consequences of such irregularity might have been easily foreseen.

is seized with a fever in consequence of it;

Before Alexander left the company of Medius, he had contracted a fever. He, however, slighted it, and for some days continued to receive the reports of his chief officers, and to canvass with them the schemes he was meditating. On the ninth day the violence of his distemper had risen to such an height, that his recovery began to be despaired of. His principal officers, alarmed at their situation, pressed him to name a successor, in case it was their misfortune to lose him.

his vague manner of appointing his successor;

"The worthiest," he answered; but he "foresaw, that his obsequies would be obsequies of "blood."

affection of his army towards him;

It being now spread abroad, that the King was dying, the soldiers insisted on being admitted to take a last farewell of their beloved master. He was unable to speak; but, raising himself up, offered his hand as they passed, expressing by his looks, notwithstanding his melancholy situation, the pleasure he took in these marks of their affection.

he dies,

On the eleventh day he expired [41], having, some minutes before, delivered his royal signet to Perdiccas, which by many was considered to be a tacit appointment of him as his successor. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, being exactly twenty at the time of Philip's death. He left only one son, Hercules, by Barsine,

[41] Olymp. cxiv. 1. Before Christ 323.

daughter

daughter to Artabazus, and widow to Memnon. But his wife Roxana was far advanced in her pregnancy; and Statira alſo was ſuppoſed to be in the ſame ſituation.

Remarkable completion of the prophecies concerning Alexander;

It is here highly deſerving of notice, how exactly what the prophet foretold of Alexander had its accompliſhment. This Prince had been deſtined to overthrow the empire of the Medes and Perſians; which, as ſoon as he had performed, we ſee his power brought to an end, and in the very way the prophet [42] had predicted; *his kingdom broken, and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled.* What is not leſs remarkable, it had been pronounced by the Almighty, that Babylon ſhould be a deſolation, and the temple of Belus *broken unto the ground* [43], never to riſe from its ruins. At the very time Alexander, with every thing in his power for executing what he deſigned, is preparing to raiſe the temple of Belus again, and reſtore Babylon [44] to its ancient ſplendor,

[42] See Daniel viii. 5, 6, 7, 20, 21, 22, and xi. 4. [43] See Iſaiah xxi. 9.

[44] In antient days, Babylon was famed for its commerce and naval power. Originally, the country was a flat moraſs, often overflowed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. Semiramis, the ſuppoſed foundreſs of the Babylonian greatneſs, has the glory of having improved the country, by cutting a number of drains through it, and raiſing embankments to confine the Euphrates within its channel: by theſe labours the river was rendered navigable; and ſhe is ſaid to have had on it a fleet of three thouſand galleys. Nebuchadnezzar carried the improvement much farther; he cauſed two canals to be cut an hundred miles above the city; the firſt on the eaſtern ſide, by which the Euphrates was let into the Tigris, ſo that the city was ſupplied with the produce of the whole country to the north of it, as far as the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and enjoyed alſo the trade of the Perſian gulph, into which the Euphrates opened; this canal was called Naharmalea, or *the Royal River:* the other canal was on the weſtern ſide, and was called Pallacopas, or Naharaga, *the River of the Pool*, by which the redundant waters were carried into a vaſt lake, forty miles ſquare, contrived not only to leſſen the inundation, but alſo as a

 reſervoir,

Book I. Sect. 3.

splendor, his purpose is defeated, and the breath of life taken from him.

suspicions of his having been taken off by poison, ill founded;

The opinion, that this conqueror was taken off by poison, which several of the antient writers have adopted, appears from Arrian to be altogether groundless. Probably, the precarious state of Antipater's affairs at this juncture, from the suspicions said to be conceived of him, and the powerful inducements he might be supposed to have, to attack a life from which he had every thing to fear, first gave rise to this report; and the report might be encouraged afterwards by Olympias, who held Antipater and his house in utter detestation, and who wished his destruction.

variety in the accounts we have of him.

Of all the great personages of antiquity, whose fortunes and exploits have so frequently employed the historical pen, and of

reservoir, to water the barren country on the Arabian side. Cyrus, in his siege of Babylon, by turning the whole river into the lake by the Pallacopas, laid the channel, where it ran through the city, almost dry, so that his army entered it both above and below by the bed of the river. From the great quantity of water admitted into the lake, the sluices and dams were much damaged; and the Persian monarchs, residing in their own country, paid no attention to the inconvenience; and besides, to prevent any invasion by sea on that part of their empire, purposely obstructed the navigation of both rivers, by making cataracts in them, that is, by raising dams across the channel, and making artificial falls. Alexander began to restore the navigation of the rivers, by removing the cataracts upon the Tigris, and repairing the breaches in the Pallacopas; but did not live to finish his great designs. From his time, the Euphrates, which in summer always swells from the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia, has been suffered to waste its waters on the neighbouring country: so that this province, once the loveliest and richest part of Asia, has by degrees declined again into an inhospitable morass, in which not the least vestige of its former splendor is to be found. So exactly has the word of the Almighty had its completion. See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, 202, 207, 208. See also Huet, Histoire du Commerce, ch. xi. and Arrian vii. 21.

whom

whom romantic, and often oppoſite accounts have been delivered to poſterity, there is none more diſtinguiſhed than Alexander. The chaſteſt and moſt conſiſtent of his hiſtorians appears to be Arrian; and yet in him there are matters liable to objection. It is remarkable too, that Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs chiefly Arrian compiled his hiſtory, and who attended Alexander in perſon in all his expeditions, are not always agreed about facts, of which they might be ſuppoſed to be well informed. Poſſibly they ſought to caſt a ſhade over ſome tranſactions, which, for obvious reaſons, they wiſhed had never exiſted.

His character;

What judgment is to be formed of him, may be gathered from the preceding pages. Military glory was certainly his ruling paſſion. And accordingly the virtues, or, to ſpeak more properly, the ſhining qualities, for which he is celebrated, appear to have been moſtly ſuch as belong to the military character—boundleſs munificence—an open frankneſs of diſpoſition—generous attention to the ſituation and wants of his men—an excellent foreſight—daring courage—admirable preſence of mind in the midſt of danger—and a wonderful quickneſs, to ſeize every advantage in the day of battle.

ſhining qualities;

advantages of body;

Together with theſe qualities, he poſſeſſed all the advantages of body, which florid health, natural ſtrength of conſtitution, and conſtant exerciſe, are wont to beſtow. He was patient of fatigue; and in agility, horſemanſhip, dexterity in the management of every warlike weapon, and in capacity for enduring hunger and thirſt, heat and cold, he ſtood without a rival.

Nor

humane disposition;

Nor was he wanting in the softer virtues which embellish the human character. He was capable of all the tenderness of friendship: of an easy, cordial, affectionate deportment to all who approached him; and, notwithstanding the roughness of martial life, he retained, for a considerable time, that elegance of sentiment, which Grecian manners, and the early study of philosophy, were calculated to inspire. He proved his refined feelings in the delicacy with which he treated the princesses of the house of Darius. He shewed it in the extraordinary care he took to protect the Asiatic nations, whom he conquered, from that rapacity and licentiousness of which the lower military orders are frequently guilty.

faults;

But the Macedonian Prince was soon to degenerate from these promising beginnings, was to become insolent, oppressive, and vain, barbarous, cruel, and the sport of intemperance and pusillanimity.

causes whence they proceeded.

It was Alexander's misfortune, that conquest was his darling passion; and the success he met with encouraged him to proceed. His first expedition against Darius bore an air of justice. The servitude to which the Grecian colonists had been reduced; the repeated attempts made by the Persian monarchs against the liberties of Greece; and, when the superiority of the Grecian arms had forced them to desist from avowed hostilities, the artful manner in which they had endeavoured, by intrigue and corruption, to divide the Greeks among themselves, and thus to bring the whole nation into a state of humiliation and dependence, furnished at least a decent pretext for retaliation: according, therefore, to the usual maxims of human policy, his invasion of Persia might be vindicated. But, when he had a fair op-

portunity

portunity of confining the Persian monarch within narrower bounds, and of giving independence to all the nations of the Lower Asia; when he even overthrew the Persian monarchy, and saw himself seated on the throne of Cyrus; he had not wisdom to stop at this point; the lust of conquest hurrying him on from nation to nation, and from climate to climate, where he had not even the pretence of wrongs to vindicate, or of injuries to redress. And probably, had his life been spared, there was not a part of the globe to which he would not have carried his arms, and involved in the ravages of war; and "had he not found a man left to contend with," says Arrian, "he had fought with himself."

There is reason to believe, that this martial disposition grew up the stronger in Alexander, from the impressions he received in his youth. The reign of Philip had been a series of wars; and the manners of his court, and even the language spoken in it, were all in the military style.

Alexander, besides, had taken an early predilection for the character of Achilles, which, even in his riper age, appears to have operated powerfully on his mind. Aristotle, to whom the care of his education was intrusted, had with great judgment recommended to him to make the writings of Homer his particular study, as containing the most useful precepts, both for forming a prince and for the government of a people. But, unluckily, among the many illustrious personages, whose manners the father of poetry has delineated, the young prince fixed upon Achilles for his model. He did not consider, that it was far from the poet's intention

tion to propoſe to us "the violent, implacable warrior, to "whom every claim is juſt that can be ſupported by force "of arms," as a perfect model for imitation. The poet only meant to ſhow what devaſtation the fierce paſſions make in the nobleſt minds, and of what fatal ills, to the human ſpecies in general, they are productive. But Achilles, Alexander had been told, was one of his progenitors; and therefore he viewed theſe exceſſes with partiality. Poſſibly alſo it may be ſaid, that he was the more ſtruck with his character, on account of the reſemblance it bore to his own. They were the features of Alexander, which he admired in Homer's hero.

BUT, whatever were the cauſes that contributed to ſtrengthen in him this turn to military glory, it is certain, that, indulging it in the wanton manner he did, and the repeated ſcenes of carnage it engaged him in, produced, by degrees, that fierceneſs of diſpoſition and character, which is the reproach of his latter years. Accuſtomed to have ſubmiſſion yielded to the terror of his name, he began to look on every reſiſtance to his arms as treaſon, which he was authorized to puniſh, putting frequently whole nations to the ſword, merely becauſe they had families, whom they ſtrove to defend, and rights, which they were unwilling to ſurrender. The ſervility, alſo, with which he was treated by thoſe whom he had brought into ſubjection, inſpired him with a vanity of which Greece had ſeen no example. It was the cuſtom of eaſtern nations to adore their princes; and Alexander would be adored. Some of the heroes of old had been deified by their uninſtructed followers. The Macedonian would be

deified

deified alſo; and, becauſe his Grecian veterans, who were accuſtomed to other manners, and were ardent ſupporters of liberty, oppoſed theſe inſolent pretenſions, he forgot he was their king, he attempted to become their tyrant. His temper, naturally violent, became impetuous. All who would not ſubmit to abject ſervility and compliance, he pronounced diſaffected; and ſacrificed to his ſuſpicions, and to his jealouſy, the moſt faithful and moſt worthy of his ſervants.

His ſuperſtitious fears;

What appears moſt extraordinary, in a prince, conſpicuous, as the ſon of Philip was, for courage and firmneſs of mind, is the vulgar ſuperſtition which marked the latter period of his days. It has been obſerved by ſome authors [45], that he was always ſuperſtitious; and certainly he was, if revering the gods of his country, and endeavouring to conciliate their favour by thoſe means which he had been taught to think of moſt efficacy, can properly be deemed ſuperſtition. What affected his lateſt days was of a different nature, and ſeems to have ariſen from another cauſe. Appalling fears had ſeized his imagination, and, in ſpite of all his efforts, had ſubdued his mind. What theſe were, antient writers have not informed us. It may not, perhaps, be too bold a conjecture, that the outrages which he had committed upon his own ſubjects, embruing his hands in the blood of Clitus, the baſe and more criminal aſſaſſination of Parmenio, and the death of the virtuous Calliſthenes, had a conſiderable ſhare in exciting thoſe horrors, to which, in the end, he fell a victim; for to them, ſurely, was owing that intemperance in which he at laſt fatally took refuge.

and whence, probably, they aroſe.

[45] See St. Evremond Jugement d'Alexandre et de Ceſar.

How far he advanced the happineſs of the nations he conquered, or even of his own people.

Should it be aſked, if civilization and happineſs was the reſult of his exploits to thoſe nations whom he ſubdued? or, if any advantages accrued from them, at leaſt to Macedon?— Even here muſt hiſtory, if ſhe bears faithful record, decide againſt him. This is not the place for producing proofs in ſupport of this deciſion; they will be ſeen in the ſubſequent ſheets of this work.

He was an inſtrument in the hand of Providence,

An important inſtrument [46] he doubtleſs was in the hand of Providence, for executing that vengeance on Babylon and her dependent provinces, which their oppreſſions and crimes had long provoked, and which the Almighty had, by his prophets, denounced againſt them; and for opening a more free communication [47] between the eaſtern and weſtern worlds, in order to the gracious purpoſes of eternal Wiſdom.

and for what ends.

But at the ſame time he was, in his day, a ſcourge to mankind; a ſcourge to the Macedonians themſelves, whoſe intereſt and proſperity he pretended to have in view.

In what degree of eſtimation he ought to be held.

It may, therefore, juſtly be eſteemed matter of wonder, that ſuch a character ſhould ever have been thought a fit model for princes; and that comparing them to Alexander ſhould have been numbered among thoſe exalted compliments, that flattery is wont to pay to greatneſs and power. This propenſity ſeems to have taken its riſe in the days of chivalry, when a frantic exertion of valour, ranging from country to

46 "Howbeit, he doth not ſo purpoſe," may we juſtly ſay of him, as the prophet (Iſaiah x. 7.) ſaid of the Aſſyrian, "neither doth his heart ſo intend; but to de-"ſtroy is in his heart, and to cut off nations not a few." Iſaiah by Biſhop Lowth.

47 See Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

country in queſt of exploits and adventures, was ſuppoſed to conſtitute the higheſt degree of perſonal merit. Alexander might have been the hero of ſuch an age. But more civilized times muſt often regard his character in a different, and leſs favourable light[48].

[48] The death of Alexander was followed by that of Siſygambis *. When ſhe heard that he was no more, ſhe refuſed to live. She had ſurvived the fall of Darius, and the ruin of her royal houſe; but ſo noble was the treatment ſhe had received from Alexander, that loſing him ſeemed to her to be the filling up of the meaſure of her afflictions; and ſhe put an end to her life by voluntary abſtinence.

* Quint. Cur. L. x. c. 5.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Alterations, from Philip's acceſſion, in the political ſyſtem of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates—with regard to Perſia—and of Macedon—from what cauſes—Agis of Lacedæmon attempts to vindicate the Grecian liberties againſt Macedon—his ſpirited conduct—defeat—and death—Character of Demoſthenes, conſidered as a patriot—his unjuſt condemnation and baniſhment—The Athenians, exaſperated by Alexander's control of their liberties, prepare for war upon Alexander's death take up arms—recall Demoſthenes—march againſt Antipater—their imprudent confidence—defeated—forced to ſubmit to the Macedonians.—Demoſthenes flies to Calauria—dies—in what manner—abaſement of Athens after his death.

IT is time to return to Greece, in order to view the ſtate of affairs there, during the period of which we have been ſpeaking. Book II. Sect. 1.

THE

Book II. Sect. 1.

Alterations in the political views of the Grecian states.

The important changes that had taken place in the fortunes of Macedon, and the bold schemes of ambition, which Philip first, and Alexander afterwards, were seen to pursue, had produced a considerable alteration in the interests and political views of the several states of Greece. Long before this period, the Persian power had ceased to be that object of terror it formerly had been, when Greece found it necessary to exert her utmost strength against that empire, for the preservation of her liberties. To that generous display of patriotism and disinterested spirit, which marked those illustrious times, other principles had succeeded. Greece was composed of a number of independent states. No longer alarmed with apprehensions from Asia, they began to contend for domination among themselves. Athens and Sparta especially, who both possessed the highest splendor that the wisdom of laws and the glory of great atchievements can confer, disdained to be any thing less than the rulers of all Greece, and carried on the contest for sovereignty and pre-eminence, with all that virulence which is generally the reproach of domestic wars. The Persian monarchs beheld with pleasure contentions from which they derived security. They employed all the arts of intrigue, in which they appear to have been well skilled, to keep alive these dissensions. They had their emissaries in every corner of Greece. They excited jealousies against the powerful; they supplied with means of defence those states who seemed to be exhausted; and at length accustomed the people, who had disclaimed all ideas of peace *with them*, to court their friendship, and to accept of pecuniary aids.

Reign of Agesilaus.

This plan, indeed, at different times, suffered interruption, particularly under the vigorous reign of Agesilaus. But these interruptions were short, and without material consequences. Popular orators also, occasionally, in order to recommend themselves to public favour, still affected to call Persia's kings the natural enemies of the Grecian people, and used to recite the glorious exploits their forefathers had atchieved against them. Yet the general policy was, to consider the Persian monarch as a prince, from whose corrupted and unwieldy empire Greece had nothing now to apprehend, and to whose influence and treasures it was not disreputable to have recourse.

The power of Macedon grows formidable;

When the Macedonian princes grew formidable, and their subtil schemes began to unfold themselves, these friendly dispositions towards the Persian king acquired additional strength; and what had been, probably, in many cases the suggestions of a narrow ambition, were now found to be the dictates of sound policy. The Greeks saw evidently, that their existence as a nation was immediately connected with the support of the Persian monarch; that Persia was the only power that could balance the Macedonian; and, if the former was once overthrown, their liberties must soon share the same fate.

and induces many of the Greeks to look to Persia for protection.

This explains transactions, from which otherwise we might be tempted to draw improper inferences. Some of the ablest statesmen, and first leaders of Greece, appear, at this juncture, to have been strongly attached to the Persian monarch; to have kept up a constant intercourse with his ministers; and to have frequently received large remittances

from

Book II. Sect. 1.

from them. Demosthenes, among many others, countenanced these principles and adopted this practice; but we are not to imagine they were betraying their country[1]. It was, in fact, their attention to her real interest that produced these measures. The cause of Persia was become the cause of Greece.

Philip endeavours to prevent this;

PHILIP possessed too much sagacity, not to perceive the tendency of this political system; and was too able a statesman, not to counteract it. *He* also employed *his* emissaries. He availed himself of those popular prejudices against the Persian name, which had still possession of the multitude. His orators took every opportunity of displaying, with studied aggravation, all the hostile attempts ever made against Greece by Persia, and of pouring out invectives against those base betrayers of their country, who had sold themselves to their sworn enemy. At the same time he assumed the specious character of "Assertor of the independence of the Grecian "people."

obtains the appointment of General of Greece against the Barbarians,

THESE popular acts, aided by a variety of intrigues, and supported by the vigour and success of his military operations, had their effect. And, notwithstanding the suspicions entertained of him by many of the states of Greece, and the formal opposition of some of the most considerable, he had the address to carry the point he had long in view, and to procure himself to be elected, in the great council of the nation, GENERAL OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS. What use this profound politician would have

[1] See Plutarch in Demosth.

made of this nominal ſovereignty, is left to our conjectures. He died before he could execute the extenſive projects he had formed.

and dies.

Alexander's activity and vigour;

The Greeks imagined, his ſchemes had expired with him; that they had now little to fear from an unexperienced and raw youth, who neither poſſeſſed the depth of thought, nor the ability for execution, by which his father had been diſtinguiſhed. Their contempt of him was their ruin. Before they entertained any ſuſpicion of Alexander's deſigns, he appeared in the midſt of their national council, and firmly demanded his father's appointment of generaliſſimo, urging his plea with all the plauſibility of argument that the moſt practiſed ſtateſman could have employed. The ſteadineſs with which he made this requiſition, and his perſuaſive manner of enforcing it, joined to their own ſurprize and embarraſſment, extorted from them a conſent, in which their affections had little ſhare. Alexander ſaw what interpretation he was to give to this act; and, to confirm their ſervitude, determined they ſhould be taught to know, it was not an uſeleſs weapon they had put into his hands. The Thebans ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity. They, as we have ſeen, endeavoured to ſhake off the Macedonian yoke; the Macedonian King treated them as rebels, who had riſen againſt their lawful ſovereign, laying their city in ruins, and almoſt exterminating their nation.

his chaſtiſement of the Thebans.

Humiliation of Greece.

The conſternation into which this act of ſeverity threw all Greece, anſwered Alexander's purpoſe effectually; and he was already in Aſia, before they had recovered from their panic. Antipater had inſtructions to obſerve their motions with

Book II. Sect. 1.

a jealous eye; and, by keeping a respectable force in readiness for action, to prevent, if possible, their disaffection from breaking out into open hostilities. But, besides the impression which the dread of Antipater and the fate of Thebes might have made on the minds of the Greeks, there were also many other considerations, not less powerful, to restrain them from taking an active part at this conjuncture. They were no longer the noble-spirited people they had been; corrupted by dissipation and pleasure, their citizens were without strength for war, their leaders ignorant or timid. Far from conspiring together in any generous or beneficial purpose, their several states were disunited from each other by distrusts, by jealousies, by resentment of former injuries. In many of the Grecian cities, the creatures of Macedon predominated, and directed every public act: and where the real friends of Greece retained any share of power, such was the confusion of the public councils, from the diffidence and hesitation of one party, and the contests and perplexing arts of the other, that it was not possible their deliberations should terminate in any measure vigorous and effectual.

Agis king of Sparta;

Sparta alone seemed to testify a real concern for the prosperity of Greece. Less exposed, from the nature of her government, to the influence of Macedonian intrigues, she enjoyed, besides, the advantage of having on the throne a prince active and intrepid, Agis, grandson of the great Agesilaus, who had an early insight into the schemes of the kings of Macedon, and beheld with indignation the Grecian liberties falling before them. To him may be ascribed the opposition made to Alexander by the Spartan deputies, in the general convention of the states of Greece, notwithstand-

his character;

ing

ing the tame compliance of the other members of which that assembly was composed. Even before he was seated on the throne, Agis had been remarkable for his spirited behaviour at the court of Philip. He had been dispatched *alone* on an embassy to that Court; and the Macedonian, who saw himself attended by a number of embassadors from every other Grecian State, displeased that Sparta had been thus deficient, observed with a contemptuous sneer, "What! from Sparta "but one!"—"Why," replied Agis, "I was sent but to "one[2]."

The advanced age of Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, not permitting him to attend to the more laborious offices of government, the military department devolved on Agis; a task to which his genius and abilities were well suited. He infused new vigour into the Spartans. He formed a powerful confederacy throughout the Peloponnesus. He excited an insurrection in Crete. He kept up a strict connexion with Darius, at whose court he had embassadors, and of whose motions and counsels he had regular intelligence. It was with Agis that Memnon had concerted the important diversion of carrying the war into Macedon; which, as we have already observed, was prevented by Memnon's death.

his policy;

The disastrous state of Darius's affairs after the battle of Issus, encreased the apprehensions of Agis. He perceived there was no time to be lost; and the conjuncture seemed favourable. Alexander was employed in the distant provinces of Asia; a rebellion in Thrace had obliged Antipater to

his attempt to save Greece;

[2] Plutarch in Apophthegm.

Book II. Sect. 1.

turn his attention thither; and a considerable body of Greek mercenaries, who had escaped from Issus, had, after a variety of fortune, made their way into Greece, and joined the Spartans. Encouraged by these several incidents, he took the field, and marched against Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponnesus that held out for the Macedonians. Antipater was alarmed; he composed matters in Thrace in the best manner he was able; and hastened to oppose an enemy, whose attempt, if successful, might have been followed by a general defection of the rest of Greece. The Macedonian fortune once more prevailed. Agis was overpowered by the superior numbers of Antipater, and fell pierced with wounds. His men would have secured his retreat; but he refused to survive the expiring liberties of his country, and continued fighting to the last [3].

defeat, and death.

Consequences of this victory.

This victory was of essential service to Alexander. It dissipated the Peloponnesian confederacy, which might have led to dangerous consequences. It provided effectually for the security of his hereditary dominions, and left him at leisure to pursue his schemes of foreign conquests. Jealous, however, of the glory Antipater derived from his victory, Alexander affected to make light of what he had performed. "Whilst our arms have been employed against Darius," said he, "there has, it seems, been a battle of mice in Arcadia [4]." Had the Persian monarch furnished Agis with seasonable and ample supplies, and enabled him, before it was too late, to make that diversion, which such a prince, properly sup-

[3] Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 6. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 1. Just. L. xii. c. 1.
[4] Plutarch in Agesilao.

ported,

ported, might have made; and had the Grecians, at the same time, sensible of their situation, and animated with the virtue of their ancestors, exerted themselves in conjunction with him; Alexander had probably found it a very different war from what *he* had to wage against the ill-disciplined and effeminate Asiatics.

Demosthenes obnoxious to the Macedonian government;

Athens had not joined in the confederacy with Agis. The hostile wishes, however, and private intrigues of Demosthenes and his party were no secret to Antipater; and he determined they should share in the humiliation to which Greece was now reduced by his victorious arms. Demosthenes had long been the most formidable enemy the Macedonian interest had to contend with in Athens, and the states connected with her. His powers of eloquence it were superfluous to enlarge upon. They have been long the subject of universal panegyric; and the applause they obtained from a people, who, in high spirit, exquisite taste, and quickness of apprehension, have never been excelled, if ever equalled, and the amazing effects they often produced among them; arresting every ear in the midst of their most impetuous pursuits, and compelling men to adopt schemes they were most adverse to; abundantly declare the vast extent of his oratorial powers. But, how exalted soever he stands deservedly as an orator, his character as a statesman and a patriot, in which lights we are at present to consider him, challenges infinitely more our admiration. He has the merit of having made the earliest discovery of Philip's real designs; he intuitively saw into his very soul; and, with a sagacity almost prophetic, pointed out to his fellow-citizens the several objects of the ambition of that aspiring prince, when he could hardly be supposed yet to

his character, as an orator;

as a patriot;

have formed them. The love of eaſe, which now prevailed among the Athenians, the natural conſequence of voluptuous manners, together with the contempt with which they were accuſtomed to look down on Macedon and her kings, rendered them at firſt inattentive to the warnings of this faithful counſellor. He was not diſcouraged. The more his countrymen were immerſed in pleaſures, the louder and the more active was his zeal. He attacked their indolence and degeneracy with the keeneſt ſeverity. He tore them from their favourite amuſements. He forced open the miſer's purſe; and drove the voluptuary to the field of battle. He rouſed, in like manner, the other Grecian ſtates from their inactivity. He watched Philip's motions, in Thrace, in Illyricum, in Theſſaly; and, ſubtle as the Macedonian was, often counteracted his beſt-concerted plans. He baffled him at Bizantium; he baffled him at Thermopylae; and at laſt forced him to venture all on the caſt of a battle at Chaeronea. Philip was indeed victorious; but he owed this victory to cauſes in which Demoſthenes had no concern.

his firmneſs in times of difficulty;

That fatal event was ſoon followed by thoſe ſignal ſucceſſes which attended Alexander's arms, firſt in Europe, then in Aſia; all which rendered any oppoſition to the Macedonian power exceedingly difficult and hazardous. Demoſthenes, nevertheleſs, ſtill perſiſted, neither gained over by hopes of perſonal advantage, nor intimidated by the perils with which he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded. He withſtood the creatures of Macedon on all occaſions. He ſupported the Perſian intereſt, as far as the antient prepoſſeſſions of the multitude permitted him; and there is reaſon to believe, that if Agis had proved ſucceſsful againſt Antipater, he would

have

have endeavoured, and probably with effect, to make Athens declare in his favour. Book II. Sect. 1.

constitutionally timid;

What makes the character of Demosthenes more remarkable, and serves to shew how strong his feelings for his country must have been, was his constitutional cowardice. Intrepid as he was, when pleading the cause of Athens, in the field of battle he had not even the firmness of a common soldier.

mistaken in one point;

In one point, however, Demosthenes seems to have been mistaken. His design was, to restore to the Athenian constitution its pristine vigour; and to recall that spirit, which had formerly produced such wonderful effects. But that spirit was not to be recalled. The source of it, Athenian virtue, was no more.

and is opposed by Phocion;

Phocion, an illustrious Athenian of these times, who had all the integrity, though none of the enthusiasm, of Demosthenes, opposed him upon this principle. "Since the "Athenians," said he[5], "in their present degeneracy, are "no longer able to fill their antient glorious sphere, let "them adapt their counsels to their abilities, and rather "court the friendship of that power, which they cannot "provoke but to their destruction." Demosthenes could not forbear looking back to the age of a Themistocles and a Cimon. His designs certainly argued nobler sentiments and a greater elevation of mind. But the temperate patriot-

[5] Plutarch in Phocione.

ism

Book II. Sect. 1.

ism of Phocion had doubtless the advantage in point of wisdom.

charged with having received a bribe from Harpalus;

Greece now humbled by Antipater's arms, the enemies of Demosthenes soon found an opportunity, which they had long sought for, of bringing him to disgrace and public condemnation. Harpalus, of whom mention has already been made, having plundered the treasures which Alexander had committed to his care, fled to Athens, in hopes of protection. Demosthenes was one of the first men to urge to the people the expediency of refusing shelter to such a traitor, conjuring them not to draw on themselves Alexander's resentment in a cause so disreputable. But Harpalus, who knew well how to distribute his gold, had secured a number of orators on his side, and might probably have continued in Athens without farther molestation, had not the report of Alexander's sending a formidable fleet to chastise the Athenians for giving him shelter, obliged them to expel him from their city. This act of justice was followed by another. An enquiry was instituted concerning those persons who had received presents from Harpalus; and directions were given that they should be prosecuted. This was the engine which Antipater's creatures employed successfully against Demosthenes. He was charged with having taken Harpalus's gold; and upon trial before the Areopagus was condemned, and fined fifty talents, which, being unable to pay, he was forced into exile [6].

banished.

[6] Plutarch in Demosthene.

The

The charge unjust:

The circumstances of this charge, as related by Plutarch, carry, nevertheless, upon the face of them, an air of fiction and absurdity. Demosthenes, we are told, was present when Harpalus was landing his treasure; and, a gold cup of great value and elegant workmanship having caught his eye, Harpalus, who observed him admiring it, desired he would poise it in his hand, in order to guess at the weight; Demosthenes asked what it might amount to, "To you," replied Harpalus, "it shall bring twenty talents;" and accordingly sent it with twenty talents to the orator's house. Demosthenes was next day to have appeared against him before the assembly of the people; but the gold cup having shewn him the cause in a different light, he excused himself upon pretence of a sudden cold.

So coarse and shameless a traffic almost exceeds belief, and argues an indelicacy, such as we can hardly suppose an Athenian would have been guilty of, much less a Demosthenes, who had an exalted character to maintain, and who must have known the difficulty of concealing such a transaction from public observation. The conduct of such a man must, in policy, have been more guarded, had he even been capable of the meanness to sell himself to Harpalus.

But not only is this whole narrative highly improbable; there is direct proof from Pausanias [7], that the accusation was altogether the device of malice. Harpalus fled from Athens to Crete, where he was slain by his own servants; and his principal manager having fallen into the

[7] See Pausan. in Corinthiacis, p. 76.

Book II. Sect. 1.

hands of Philoxenus, he compelled him by torture to inform againſt thoſe Athenians who had received bribes from Harpalus. From his confeſſion, which Philoxenus himſelf atteſted, appeared the innocence of Demoſthenes. Philoxenus was a naval officer in the ſervice of Alexander, who had a perſonal enmity to Demoſthenes. His teſtimony, therefore, deſerves the fulleſt credit [a].

who promoted the charge, and with what views.

Antipater was too experienced a politician to appear avowedly in this proſecution; it is, however, eaſy to judge at whoſe inſtance, and by whoſe intrigues, it was carried on. And it muſt be acknowledged, the artifice was well adapted to the purpoſe. To have attacked Demoſthenes for what was really his crime in the eyes of the Macedonians, "his "unalterable zeal for the liberties of his country," had been invidious even in the preſent ſituation of things. But, to impeach his integrity; to ſhew to Athens, that the man who was her pride had a corrupted heart, and that his boaſted ſuperiority of virtue was nothing more than a greater depth of hypocriſy; was injuring the cauſe, of which he was the champion, and, as it were, ſtriking at Athenian patriotiſm through the ſides of Demoſthenes. The ſcheme was worthy of Antipater; and ſo dangerous are the wounds of calumny, that to this day this great man is ſpoken

[a] Even Plutarch's account ſupplies us with evidence in behalf of Demoſthenes. From that hiſtorian's own confeſſion, Demoſthenes appears to have been the very perſon who moved for an order that the affair ſhould be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all perſons puniſhed, who ſhould be found guilty of having taken bribes. Plut. in Demoſthene. Would Demoſthenes have done this, had he been conſcious of being himſelf among the guilty?

of,

of, by the superficial enquirer, as having fallen a victim to his own avarice.

The condemnation of Demosthenes affords a melancholy view of the debasement, into which the most respectable of the tribunals of Athens had been sunk by that despotic power now possessed by Antipater. The decision of THE CAUSE OF THE CROWN had happened about two years before this period; and it will be proper to explain the nature of that celebrated trial.

The cause of the crown.

Ctesiphon had proposed a decree, by which a golden crown was to be presented to Demosthenes for his services to his country, and particularly for having rebuilt some part of the Athenian walls at his own expence. Aeschines, another Athenian orator, who had devoted himself to the Macedonian interest, had indicted Ctesiphon for this proposal, alledging, among other things, that Demosthenes, far from deserving any honours from his country, was in reality the enemy of Greece. The complaint against Ctesiphon was preferred on the year of the battle of Chaeronea, a season of great humiliation to Athens, and probably chosen by Aeschines and his party on that account. Demosthenes undertook the defence of Ctesiphon. But from various incidents, the hearing of the cause was postponed until [a] some months after the final overthrow of Darius.

The importance of the question, in which the discussion of the claims of Macedon, the independence of Athens,

[a] Olymp. cxii. 3. Before Christ 329. In the Archonship of Aristophon.—See Palm. Exercit. in Auct. Graec. p. 656.

 and,

Book II. Sect. 1.

and, indeed, of every other Grecian ſtate, were evidently involved; together with the great reputation of both the orators, excited univerſal attention; and from the remoteſt parts of Greece, multitudes crowded to Athens, to attend the intereſting conteſt[10]. The partiſans alſo of Macedon were not inactive, and every kind of ſolicitation was employed to gain the judges, by whom ſentence was to be pronounced. Demoſthenes, nevertheleſs, proved victorious. And Aeſchines, not having a fifth of the ſuffrages in his favour, was, according to the law in ſuch caſes, ſeverely fined, and upon non-payment obliged to retire into baniſhment. This extraordinary ſucceſs, which was in reality the triumph of liberty over oppreſſion, ſerves to ſhew, that Athens was not yet broken to the yoke of bondage. Demoſthenes's performance on this occaſion has certainly the higheſt degree of merit. Even to us, who have only a diſtant and aſſumed intereſt in the matters agitated, it has ſuch faſcinating powers, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to read it, without feeling ſome portion of what every honeſt Athenian

Whence this different ſucceſs.

muſt have felt on that important day. His ſucceſs, however, is not to be altogether aſcribed to the force of his eloquence; the circumſtances of the times operated alſo in his favour. Alexander, at that time, was engaged in the remote provinces of Aſia, "almoſt," ſaid the public voice, "beyond the utmoſt "limits of the habitable world[11]," from whence it was not thought he could ever return: ſo that whether Greece was

[10] Ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους: ſays Aeſchines in Cteſiphont. Dubl. 1769, a Stock.—The cauſe was heard in the court of Heliaea; of which ſee Potter, b. i. c. 21.

[11] Ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης. Aeſch. in Cteſiphont.

to

to preserve or lose her liberties, was a point not yet decided. The emissaries of Macedon could only solicit, they could not dictate. Two years later, perhaps, Demosthenes and Aeschines had changed fortunes.

Alexander affects to dictate to the Grecian states;

Degraded as Greece appears now to have been, Alexander thought there was something wanting to complete her humiliation. During the first of his victories in Asia, he affected to treat the Greeks with moderation. To Athens he had paid particular regard; whether he respected the antient glories of that illustrious city, or whether he felt his vanity interested in the judgment which her writers should form concerning him. The latter consideration had probably most weight. As he was passing the Hydaspis, in order to attack Porus, "What dangers am I encountering, O Athe-"nians," was he heard to say, "in order to be celebrated by "you[12]!" But his spirit, naturally imperious, and elevated by his repeated successes, and the prostrate servility with which the Asiatic nations approached him, was now become impatient of contradiction; and every struggle for liberty he considered as an insolent invasion of his right of sovereignty. In most of the Grecian states there had long subsisted a contention for power, the body of the people claiming the administration of affairs, and the higher order of citizens endeavouring to wrest it from them. Whatever party prevailed, the chief leaders in opposition were driven into exile. This had filled Greece with exiles from almost every city, and their number, at this period, is said to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand[13]. Alexander

[12] Plutarch in Alexand.

[13] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.

BOOK II. Sect. 1.

quickly ſaw what advantage might be reaped from this contingency. If reſtored to their privileges through him, they were ſo many of his creatures, of whoſe devotion he might reſt aſſured: at the ſame time, the convulſions, into which every ſtate would probably be thrown by the revolutions of power and property, which ſuch an act of indemnity muſt introduce, would leave the different commonwealths of Greece at his mercy. The popular government alſo had been victorious in moſt of the ſtates; and his undertaking the cauſe of the exiles furniſhed Alexander with the very opportunity he wiſhed for, of depreſſing that party, whoſe bold and ungovernable zeal for freedom rendered them exceedingly obnoxious. Actuated by theſe motives, he commanded proclamation to be made at the Olympic games, "that all the exiles, thoſe excepted who had "been guilty of atrocious crimes, ſhould be forthwith reſtored "to their reſpective cities;" declaring, that whatever cities refuſed to receive them, ſhould be compelled by military force[14].

commands the exiles to be reſtored.

THERE is a degree of oppreſſion, that will rouſe the moſt abject. Alexander's pretending to divine honours, had provoked the ridicule[15] of ſome of the Grecian ſtates, and the indignation of others. The Athenians had the courage to fine one of their citizens for propoſing to inrol him among their gods; and pronounced ſentence of death againſt another, who,

[14] Diod. Sic. ub. ſup.

[15] The decree of the Spartans, on this occaſion, is memorable, and ſhews what a ſpirited people they ſtill were, notwithſtanding their late humiliation by the defeat of Agis: Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός; "Since Alexander will be a "god, let him be a god."—Aelian. L. ii. c. 19.

when

when on an embassy, had been mean enough to pay him divine honours[16]. These, however, were but the faint efforts of a people who had not yet forgotten their days of liberty, and no insurrection had followed. But his usurping a control over their municipal privileges, the exercise of which was to the Greeks an object of supreme importance, was more than they could bear. The Athenians, especially, were fired with indignation; they refused to obey; and immediately dispatched embassadors to all the neighbouring states, in order to excite a general insurrection. The Aetolians were warm in the same cause, having been lately exasperated by certain menacing declarations Alexander was said to have employed against them[17]. Whilst this ferment was at the highest, intelligence arrived, that Alexander was dead. Now it was seen what were the real sentiments of the Greeks. Most of them ran to arms, and, having driven out the friends of Macedon, hastened to join the Athenians, who had already a considerable force collected under the command of Leosthenes.

The Athenians refuse to obey; and invite the other states to join them.

Alexander dies.

Insurrection throughout Greece.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes was recalled. Though in exile, he still retained unabated zeal for what

Demosthenes is recalled.

[16] Demades proposed a law, "that to the twelve great gods of the Athenian ritual "Alexander should be added." Incensed at which insolent proposal, the people fined him ten talents, 1,937 l. 10 s. (says Athenaeus, L. vi. c. 126. p. 251. Casaub.) an hundred talents, 19,375 l. (says Aelian, L. v. c. 12. p. 415. Grom.) Evagoras, who, when deputed by the Athenians to Alexander, had, in compliance with the vanity of that prince, worshipped him, they condemned to death. Athen. ub. sup.

[17] They had sacked the city of the Oeniadae on the Achelous; and Alexander having been informed of it, "The children of the Oeniadae," said he, "need not "avenge their cause; I will myself execute vengeance on the Aetolians."—*Plutarch in Alexand.* Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.

Book II. Sect. 1.

he thought to be the cause of his country. He attended the Athenian embassadors in their progress through Peloponnesus; and by his eloquence prevailed on many of the cities to unite with Athens in endeavouring to deliver Greece from the yoke of Macedon. In one of the Arcadian cities he particularly distinguished himself by his opposition to Pytheas, an eminent orator, and a principal instrument of the Macedonian faction; his reply to whom was much celebrated. "The Athenians," said Pytheas, "may be likened unto "ass's milk: when brought into any house, it is a certain "indication of sickness there; so, whenever they appear "in any city, we may surely pronounce that city to be dis-"tempered."—"True," answered Demosthenes; "but as "ass's milk is the restorative of health, so are distempered "states restored to vigour by Athenian counsels[18]." This timely exertion of loyalty, together with the change that had taken place in the Athenian government, pleaded effectually in his behalf. He was restored in the most honourable manner. A galley was fitted out to fetch him from Aegina; and as he came from the Piraeus to Athens, the whole body of citizens, even priests and magistrates, went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was still liable to the fine, which, by the laws of Athens, could not be remitted; but they contrived to indemnify him. They assigned to him the office of preparing and adorning the altar on the feast of Jupiter the Preserver, with an appointment of fifty talents, the sum to which his fine amounted.

[18] Plutarch in Demosthene.

Leosthenes marches against Antipater, and overcomes him.

Leosthenes had commenced his military operations with great succefs [19]. He had marched againft Antipater at the head of a numerous army, had defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to fhut himfelf up in Lamia in Theffaly, of which he had immediately formed the fiege. Thefe profperous beginnings elated the Athenians; they had already, in their fanguine expectations, driven back the Macedonians within their antient boundaries; and in a fhort time, they imagined, Athens was to be raifed once more to her former fplendor. Phocion thought otherwife. He to the utmoft of his power oppofed the giddy humours of the people, who, though poffibly victorious at firft, he knew, had neither fteadinefs nor ftrength fufficient to maintain a war of any continuance againft Macedon. "What will then be "the proper time, do you think, for the Athenians to go to "war?", faid one of the popular leaders to him. "When "the young men," replied Phocion, "keep within the "bounds of order; when the rich are liberal in their con-"tributions; and the orators ceafe to rob the ftate." Even the prefent flafh of fuccefs did not miflead his found judgment. When fucceffive meffengers were arriving with tidings of farther advantages obtained over the enemy; "when fhall we have done conquering?" faid Phocion [20].

The exultation of the Athenians reproved by Phocion.

Leofthenes flain,

He was juftified by the event. Leofthenes having fallen before Lamia, the Athenians continued the war under the command of Antiphilus, and even defeated and killed Leonnatus, who had marched to the affiftance of Antipater. But here ended their good fortune. Antipater contrived to get

[19] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1, 2.

[20] Plutarch in Phocione.

Book II. Sect. 1.

out of Lamia; and Craterus, who had charge of conducting the Macedonian veterans back to Europe, at the time of Alexander's death, having received advice in Cilicia of the difficulties of Antipater, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and, joining forces with him, advanced to Cranon, a town in Theſſaly, attacked the Greeks, and worſted them. What the unproſperous iſſue of this battle begun, the intrigues of Antipater completed. The Grecian confederacy crumbled to pieces, every ſtate making terms for itſelf, and leaving the Athenians to provide, as they could, for their own ſecurity. Having therefore no enemy to oppoſe them, the Macedonian generals directed their march towards Athens. Arrogant as the Athenians had been when victorious, much more were they depreſſed by a reverſe of fortune. They laid aſide all thoughts of defence, and ſent deputies to deprecate the wrath of the conquerors; offering to ſubmit to whatever conditions they ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. Demoſthenes, and Hyperides another Athenian orator in the ſame intereſt, were the firſt victims demanded. Their faithful and active zeal, in the ſervice of their country, deſerved this diſtinction. The other conditions were not leſs humiliating: the Democracy was to be aboliſhed; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; and the adminiſtration was to be lodged in the hands of the rich; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garriſon, and to defray the whole expences of the war. Phocion, who might juſtly claim ſome merit with Antipater, laboured much to ſave Athens from the ignominy of a Macedonian garriſon; but the victor, oppreſſive and relentleſs in his nature, was not to be ſoftened. Plutarch informs us, that by this treaty upwards of twelve thouſand Athenians were disfranchiſed, moſt of whom were afterwards re-

and Antipater victorious.

The Athenians ſubmit to Antipater,

who impoſes rigorous conditions.

moved

moved to Thrace, the Siberia of Greece, where they had lands affigned to them [21].

Demosthenes flies to Calauria,

Demosthenes, knowing what treatment his ftrenuous efforts for liberty might expect, had left Athens, upon the approach of Antipater, and fled to Calauria, a fmall ifland oppofite to Troezene, where he took refuge in a temple of Neptune, to whom the ifland was particularly facred: but Antipater having difpatched meffengers thither, they befet the temple, and feemed difpofed not to pay regard to any fanctuary. In this emergency Demofthenes fwallowed poifon, which he had provided for the occafion, and expired before the altar of the god.

and dies.

Different accounts of his death.

Such was the cataftrophe of Demofthenes, according to general tradition. But Plutarch [22] tells us, that Democharis, who attended him in his laft moments, affirmed that his fudden death was not by any procurement of his own, but altogether owing to a decay of nature (rendered, probably, more rapid by the anguifh, which, in the prefent fituation of affairs, he muft have felt for himfelf and for his country). "A gracious Providence," faid Democharis, "fnatched him "away from the cruelty of the Macedonians."

Abafement of Athens.

It deferves notice, that when Athens loft Demofthenes, her fpirit for liberty feems to have finally expired; her annals from this period being remarkable for little more than the fervile adulation, with which fhe fawned on the feveral tyrants that ruled over her. After Antipater, his fon Caf-

[21] Diod. Sic. ub. fup. Plutarch in Phocione et Demofthene. [22] In Demofthene.

Book II. Sect. 1.

ſander held her in ſubjection. He was diſpoſſeſſed by Aridaeus and Polyperchon; and ſo wretchedly baſe were the Athenians grown, that, to pleaſe their new maſters, they condemned to death the excellent Phocion [23], merely becauſe he had been in favour with Caſſander and his father. The ſame degenerated character the Athenians appear to have retained through the various revolutions that followed, the irruption of the Gauls excepted. On that occaſion, ſome portion of their antient vigour revived; but, the danger over, they ſoon relapſed. There was no government, however oppreſſive, to which they did not tamely ſubmit, nor any governor, however profligate, whoſe great virtues they were not ready to extol; transferring their homage from tyrant to tyrant, during all the viciſſitudes of power.

We ſhall find frequent inſtances of this ſervility in the hiſtory of the Macedonian princes, with whoſe affairs thoſe of the Athenians will generally be found connected; their tranſactions from this time being too inconſiderable to have a particular place aſſigned to them.

We now paſs over to Aſia, to view the changes of the Macedonian empire in that quarter from the period of Alexander's death.

[23] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 5. Plut. in Phocione.

BOOK

BOOK II.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

General ſtate of affairs in Aſia, from Alexander's death to the battle of Ipſus—Alexander's generals deſtroy his family—and divide his dominions among themſelves—Antigonus, and Demetrius his ſon, kings of Syria—provoke the other chiefs by their haughty and ambitious claims—are defeated at Ipſus—Antigonus is ſlain—Demetrius ſaves himſelf by flight—is ſtripped of moſt of his dominions—endeavours to recover them—in vain—is forced to yield himſelf a priſoner to Seleucus—dies in confinement—his character—and various fortunes.

Book II. Sect. 2.

Intereſted views of his ſucceſſors, upon Alexander's death.

THE death of Alexander offered a wide field to the ambition of the ſeveral commanders who had ſerved under him[1]. He had left no ſon who might fill the throne; the incapacity of his brother Aridaeus was generally admitted; and his laſt words ſeemed to open the ſucceſſion to the pretenſions of every claimant. Theſe were flattering circum-

[1] See Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. xviii. 2. & ſeq. Juſt. xiii. 1. Pauſan. in Atticis.

ſtances,

Book II. Sect. 2.

ſtances, to men who ſaw themſelves at the head of powerful armies, and inveſted with the government of the richeſt provinces of Aſia. Many of them too were reſpectable by their birth, all of them high in military reputation, and poſſeſſed of much treaſure; and they had for ſome years moved in a ſphere not inferior to that of ſovereign princes. Alexander, in his laſt moments, had delivered his ſignet to Perdiccas. This tacit appointment (for in that light it was conſidered by this general and his dependents) ſerved only to mark him out as an object of envy to the reſt; and the moſt certain means of being fruſtrated in his claims, had been to avow them.

Aridaeus appointed to the ſovereignty, together with the child to be born of Roxana: deſign of this appointment.

When therefore it was propoſed that Aridaeus, and the child to be born of Roxana, in caſe it proved a ſon, ſhould ſhare the government, all the competitors, after ſome conteſtations of little moment, concurred in the meaſure; not from any regard to the memory of their late maſter, but becauſe the nominal ſovereignty of *a fool* and *an infant* left each of them at liberty to purſue the purpoſes of his ambition. Aridaeus is, from this period, generally known by the name of Philip Aridaeus. The ſoldiers gave him that appellation, in honour of his father.

Artifice of Perdiccas:

Perdiccas acted the part of an artful politician. He had at firſt vigorouſly oppoſed the election of Aridaeus; but, from the moment he found himſelf unable to prevent it, he affected to appear devoted to his intereſts, and ſo effectually inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, that he ſoon got poſſeſſion of the power of which that weak prince had but the name; he even contrived, with Aridaeus's approbation, to deſtroy the very perſons who had appeared moſt ſtrenuous

ous in promoting his election [2]. With a view to secure the favour of the Macedonian soldiery, who retained a strong affection for the family of Philip, he effected the prince's marriage with Eurydice, the grand-daughter of that monarch, though he himself had been the murderer of her mother [3].

courts the favour of Roxana, whose new-born son was now associated in the kingdom:

It soon became necessary to unite his interests with those of Roxana, whose new-born son, Alexander, was associated in the kingdom with Aridaeus; and the favour of this princess was purchased by the most criminal sacrifices to her jealousy and apprehensions. Statira, the daughter of the unfortunate Darius, and wife of Alexander, was put to death, lest a child should be born of her, who might one day dispute the throne with the son of Roxana; and Parysatis, Statira's sister, who had been married to Hephaestion, shared the same fate [4].

to please her, murders Statira:

forms the plan of removing the great officers from court, under pretence of assigning them governments.

Though Perdiccas now possessed the sole administration of affairs, he had still, he thought, much to fear from men who had lately been his fellow-commanders, and who might either supplant him in the royal favour, or raise a party against him in the army. To remove these, therefore, from

[2] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1. Just. L. xiii. c. 4.

[3] The mother of Eurydice was called Cynane. She was daughter of king Philip, by a lady of Illyricum, and had been disposed of by him in marriage to Amyntas, who was son to his eldest brother, and consequently had a prior right to the throne of Macedon. This princess was put to death by Perdiccas, on pretence of certain reasons of state; but in fact, to gratify the wishes of Olympias.

[4] Plutarch in Alexand.

Book II. Sect. 2.

too near a connection with the court, he caused the several governments and great offices of state to be distributed among them, in the name of the kings. The hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and the countries dependent on it, together with all Greece, were assigned to Antipater and Craterus. To Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt. Antigonus, Phrygia the greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Lysimachus, Thrace and the Chersonese, with all the adjacent countries to the Euxine sea. Seleucus was placed at the head of the royal cavalry. And the others had similar appointments. Perdiccas contented himself with the title of captain of the household troops, whilst, in fact, under the sanction of the regal authority, all acts of government were performed by him[5].

finds himself the dupe of this measure:

This measure, though politic in appearance, proved in the end the destruction of its author. While he hoped, by placing the generals at a distance from each other, to have an opportunity of crushing those who were most obnoxious to him, he seems to have forgotten, that they were men, who, with great abilities, had ambition equal to his own; and that few of them would fail to grasp at a sovereignty, which their present situation put within their reach. Antigonus was one of the first who disclaimed all dependence. Antipater and Craterus prepared to take up arms; and Ptolemy had soon established his power in Egypt, in a manner that plainly indicated his aspiring views. Perdiccas determined to begin by attacking this last; and, having left

attacks Ptolemy,

[5] Diod. Sic. Just. ub. sup.

Eumenes

Eumenes to make head againſt Antipater and Craterus, he, together with the kings, directed his march towards Egypt. After repeated attempts, however, it was found impracticable to make impreſſion on the Egyptian frontier; and the ſoldiers, diſguſted with ill ſucceſs, and exaſperated by the ſevere and haughty manners he had aſſumed, mutinied, and aſſaſſinated him [6].

without ſucceſs; is ſlain by his own ſoldiers.

Whilst Perdiccas [7] was employed in this expedition, Eumenes [8], who was unalterably true to the intereſts of Perdiccas, becauſe he believed them to be the intereſts of the ſon and brother of his late royal maſter, had made a vigorous oppoſition to the party of Antipater and Craterus, and defeated them in two engagements, in one of which Craterus fell.

Antipater and Craterus defeated by Eumenes; Craterus ſlain.

This laſt victory was obtained altogether by the artful management of Eumenes. Craterus was ſo highly beloved by the national troops, that, had the Macedonians on the ſide of Eumenes found out they were marching againſt this general, they had probably gone over to his ſtandard. But Eumenes, who was aware of this circumſtance, carefully concealed the fact from them; and, when he was to join battle, contrived to

Art employed by Eumenes in the obtaining this victory.

[6] Olymp. cxiv. 3. Before Christ 321.

[7] It is ſaid, that he had at firſt courted the alliance of Antipater, in order to gain him over to his ambitious views; but that afterwards, through the management of Olympias, who hated Antipater and his family, he had been induced to turn his thoughts to Cleopatra, ſiſter of Alexander the Great, and widow of the king of Epire. Juſt. L. xiii. c. 6.

[8] See Plutarch in Eumene.

Book II. Sect. 2.

oppose with foreigners alone, that part where Craterus commanded. So that the Macedonians had no suspicion of his being in the field, until he was found expiring.

fidelity to Alexander's family:

Eumenes, indeed, appears to have been the only one of the servants of Alexander, whose integrity was without reproach. Though by birth a Thracian, he had been much intrusted by that prince, and had served him with fidelity, both in the army and in the closet. After his death, he continued firmly attached to the princes of his family, whose cause he defended with great bravery to the last.

declared a public enemy:

This honourable conduct availed him little. As the friend of Perdiccas, he had, after the murder of that general, been proclaimed a public enemy. And Antipater having been elected protector of the kingdom in Perdiccas's stead, gave orders to Antigonus to prosecute the war against him.

defeated by Antigonus:

Antigonus gladly received orders, which so exactly corresponded with his own views. He immediately prepared to attack Eumenes, and, by the treachery of one of his officers, obtained a complete victory over him. Eumenes, nevertheless, had the skill to make this disaster contribute to his glory. He collected the scattered remains of his army; struck off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy were pursuing him; passed by them unperceived; returned to the field of battle; burnt the dead bodies of his soldiers on one pile, and those of his officers on another, covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth; and then, detaching all his sick and wounded, retired with six hun-

his skilful retreat to the castle of Nora, where he baffles Antigonus:

dred

dred [9] chosen men to Nora, a strong castle on the borders of Cappadocia, in which, with no other provisions but corn, salt, and water, he held out against Antigonus a whole year; and that general found himself at last under the necessity of allowing him honourable terms.

manner of exercising his men and horses in this castle:

It was during this siege that he put in practice his memorable expedient for keeping his men and horses in proper exercise. He perceived the inconveniences they were likely to suffer from confinement; the whole inclosure being only about two furlongs in circumference, and most of the ground occupied by buildings. He therefore assigned to the men the largest room in the fort, about twenty-one feet in length, in which they were obliged every day to use the exercise of walking during a certain portion of time, mending their pace gradually, until they went at full speed. The horses he secured by strong halters fastened to the roof of the stable; and then, raising their heads and fore-parts by a pulley, and at the same time taking care that they stood firm on their hind feet, he made the grooms excite them with the whip and voice; the horses bounded on their hind feet, and strained to get their fore feet to the ground, till they were out of breath and in a foam; and after their exercise, they had their barley given to them boiled, that they might the more easily digest it. By this means he provided effectually for the health of the whole garrison, and rendered them fit for service whenever an opportunity for action should offer.

[9] Seven hundred, says Plutarch (in Eumene); six hundred, says Diodorus, xviii. 4.

Book II. Sect. 2.

Meanwhile, all was confuſion in Macedon. Antipater was dead, and Polyperchon [10] who ſucceeded him, contrary to the prudent maxim of his predeceſſor, had yielded the reins of government to Olympias [11], whoſe violent and vindictive paſſions knew no bounds. The wiſeſt meaſure of her adminiſtration ſeems to have been employing Eumenes. She was fully ſenſible of his loyalty, and that he was the only truſty ſervant the royal family had among the Aſiatic governors, to oppoſe to Antigonus, whoſe power was becoming every day more formidable. Letters accordingly were diſpatched, conſtituting him general for the kings in Aſia.

is appointed general for the kings in Aſia:

He ſhewed himſelf worthy of the confidence repoſed in him. Notwithſtanding the ſuperior intereſt of Antigonus, he took effectual meaſures for augmenting his forces. By gratifying the avarice or the ambition of the principal officers in the different provinces, he drew many of them over to him. He had even the art to gain the Argyraſpidae, a veteran body of Macedonian troops, ſo named from their ſilver ſhields, who were held in great eſtimation on account of their gallant atchievements in the late wars, and of the diſtinction of armour with which Alexander had honoured them. He particularly avoided affecting any ſuperiority over men, every one of whom thought himſelf too great to obey: and, at the ſame time, to preſerve order among them, he erected, in conſequence of a dream he pretended to have had, a royal pavilion, and in the midſt of it a throne, ſuch as Alexander was wont to be ſeated on, adorned with all the enſigns of

ſtrengthens himſelf:

his attention to prevent jealouſies among his officers:

10 Olymp. cxv. 1. Before Christ 319.

11 Plutarch in Phocione et Eumene.

regal power, around which the officers, when in council, should take their places indiscriminately, as if Alexander were in person among them. By this artifice, he put a stop to all disputes concerning precedency, and suppressed certain jealousies, which were on the point of breaking out into a flame.

Thus, without any resources but those which his own sagacity suggested, he was enabled to keep the field against Antigonus, and in some engagements gained advantages over him.

his followers are corrupted by the intrigues of Antigonus;

During three years, an undecisive war was carried on between them. At the end of this period, Antigonus, who had taken much pains to corrupt those who served under Eumenes, and who had intelligence of the dissensions and frequent contests which prevailed among his principal officers, determined to attack him in his winter quarters. Eumenes was apprized of his intention, and prepared to receive him as he could, with an army seditious, and impatient of control. But Peucestus [12], who commanded the horse, had sold himself to Antigonus: so that, although Eumenes, at the head of the infantry, routed the phalanx of the enemy, his cavalry was rendered useless. Antigonus improved the advantage, and, wheeling round the army of Eumenes, fell upon the baggage. When the infantry returned therefore from the field of battle, and saw that they had lost every thing, their wives, their children, the rich plunder they had acquired in the course of the Asiatic wars, they were transported with rage, not only against the enemy, but against

they lose their baggage;

[12] Plutarch in Eumene.

Eumenes,

Book II. Sect. 2.

Eumenes, in whose service they had sustained so great a loss; and, as if at the mercy of Antigonus, they sent to request he would restore to them what he had taken. This was what Antigonus looked for. His answer was, that they should have all they had lost, with the addition of any farther boon they should ask, on condition only of their delivering up Eumenes, "who," said he, "is not even a Macedonian, and "has been declared a public enemy."

sell Eumenes to Antigonus,

The Argyraspidae immediately closed with the infamous proposal; they seized their general, pinioned his arms behind him, and prepared to deliver him up in that situation to Antigonus. Eumenes earnestly desired that he might be heard; and, in the most affecting manner, represented to the soldiers the folly of their conduct, and the reproach it must bring on them, recapitulating the many watchings and toils he had sustained for their defence and glory; and beseeching them, if his fate was determined, at least to inflict the blow with their own hands, and not commit him to the vengeance of his inveterate enemy. But all was in vain. They conducted him in the manner described to Antigonus's camp, the minority of the army lamenting the fate of their illustrious general. After confining him for some days, Antigonus put him to death[13].

who puts him to death;

It is worthy of notice, that Antigonus afterwards shewed particular favour to those who had remained faithful to Eumenes, taking, on the other hand, every opportunity of cutting off the persons who had shared in the treachery. As to the Argyraspidae, he sent their whole body to the extremities

treats the traitors with abhorrence.

[13] Olymp. cxvi. 1. Before Christ 315.

I of

of Asia, into the province of Arachosia [14], under pretence of keeping the Barbarian nations in awe; but with private instructions, that they never should be suffered to return to Greece [15].

Aridaeus and Eurydice murdered by Olympias.

Whilst these things were transacting in Asia, Olympias pursued the most sanguine measures in Macedon, and had caused both Philip Aridaeus and his wife Eurydice to be murdered. Aridaeus's death happened some months before that of Eumenes. From that time, the regal dignity and titles had been confined to Alexander, the son of Roxana; but the regency was in the hands of Olympias. We shall have occasion to mention these transactions more fully in the history of Macedonian affairs.

Antigonus supplants the Asiatic governors.

Antigonus had, by the removal of Eumenes, a free career before him; the governors of provinces, who had formerly been hostile to his interests, now made their submission, and even permitted their troops to be incorporated into his army; several of them he, nevertheless, sacrificed afterwards to his suspicions or his resentment. One powerful commander still remained, Seleucus [16], who held the government of Babylon, to which he had been appointed during the administration of Antipater. He was the avowed friend of Antigonus; had rendered him essential services; and seemed to have joy in his success. But Antigonus, in the pride of victory, could not bear that any man should hold authority in Asia independent of him. In this spirit

[14] A province of Parthia, near Bactriana. [15] Plutarch in Eumene. Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3. [16] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

he

Book II. Sect. 2.

he advanced to Babylon, and, notwithstanding the frank and magnificent reception he met with from Seleucus, demanded of him an account of the revenues of his province. To this, Seleucus, who looked on Antigonus only as his equal, replied, that the province of Babylon had been conferred on him by the court of Macedon for his services; and that he could not conceive why such an account was demanded. But immediately after, considering in what manner Antigonus had treated other governors, and how unable he was to resist his power, he, with a small party of horse, made his escape from Babylon, and fled to Egypt. Antigonus would have pursued him; but Seleucus had been too expeditious.

Seleucus, governor of Babylon, flies to Egypt.

Accounts of the successes of Antigonus had by this time been spread through all the neighbouring countries; and Ptolemy, finding the report confirmed by Seleucus, engaged Lysimachus and Cassander to enter into a confederacy with him for their mutual defence, and to endeavour to stop the progress of this enterprizing chief. Cassander, though after Antipater's death in great danger from Olympias and her party, from whose violence he was obliged to take refuge in Asia, had now re-established his affairs in Greece.

Confederacy formed against Antigonus.

Antigonus was not intimidated. Instead of waiting till his enemies should attack him, he resolved to begin by assailing them. Entering therefore the provinces of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, he reduced a considerable part of them; and, having in the course of this expedition experienced much distress from the want of a fleet, undismayed by the difficulty

Antigonus invades Coelesyria and Phoenicia, and takes Tyre;

culty of the undertaking, he set about building vessels of his own, and before the end of summer, had fitted out five hundred ships of war. With these he sailed to Tyre, laid siege to it, and took it, after a resistance of several months.

Whilst he was thus employed, Cassander had made a descent on the coasts of the Lower Asia, which obliged Antigonus to hasten thither.

his army defeated at Gaza;

Ptolemy also had advanced from Egypt to Gaza, at the head of a formidable army; and having attacked Demetrius [17], whom his father Antigonus had left to command in his absence, defeated him [18], and forced him to abandon the provinces lately conquered. Demetrius, however, soon wiped off the disgrace of this overthrow by a signal victory obtained over Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals, in Upper Syria; and, being afterwards joined by Antigonus, recovered Coelesyria and Phoenicia. The reduction or the loss of these frontier provinces seems, from these frequent revolutions, to have been a matter of little consequence; their fate, some few places of strength excepted, depending on the issue of a battle.

but is soon victorious.

Seleucus obtains succours from Ptolemy:

Notwithstanding this turn of affairs in favour of Antigonus, the battle of Gaza proved exceedingly fatal to his interests, as it enabled Ptolemy to grant succours to Seleucus; with which, though inconsiderable, the latter imme-

[17] Olymp. cxvi. 3. Before Christ 313. Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 6.

[18] Plutarch in Demetrio.

diately marched to attempt the recovery of Babylon. The success which attended this expedition, gives us an high idea of his resolution, and his abilities for war, as well as of his capacity for government. Not deterred by the superior power of Antigonus, and the numerous parties that might be expected to oppose his progress, with only about thirteen hundred men he penetrated through all that extent of country, which stretches from the coast of Phoenicia to Babylon: the farther he advanced, the more friends he found; and approaching the city, the whole body of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and to welcome his return with joyful acclamations [19]. So much had the lenity of his administration, during his former government, endeared him to these Asiatic nations.

returns to Babylon,

and retains possession of it.

FROM this time, the fortunes of Seleucus flourished. Soon after his return, he defeated Nicanor, governor of Media; whom he slew in a second engagement; and not only reduced the district of Babylon, but Media also and Susiana, and by degrees many more of the adjacent provinces. Demetrius, indeed, got possession of Babylon again, whilst Seleucus was absent on an expedition into Media, yet he found it impossible to hold it. And neither his father nor he could ever afterwards dispossess Seleucus of that government.

The war rages throughout Greece and Asia.

THE war between Antigonus and the confederates continued, however, to rage through most of the countries under the Macedonian empire. In one part of Greece, the Aetolians and Epirots, either in league with Antigonus, or

[19] OLYMP. cxvii. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 311.

encouraged by his intrigues, were up in arms. In the other parts of it, his creatures and emiſſaries were buſy in ruining the power of Caſſander. Under pretence of ſupporting the cauſe of liberty, they excited diſaffection and revolt; and prepared the way, upon the firſt opportunity, for a total revolution. Ptolemy had carried the war into the Lower Aſia, where he had made conſiderable conqueſts. At the ſame time his fleets were employed in reducing ſuch of the Aegean iſlands as were in the intereſt of Antigonus; whilſt the provinces that lay on the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus were expoſed to the depredations of Lyſimachus and Caſſander; the one from Macedon, the other from Thrace, committing repeated ravages. Theſe ſeveral enemies Antigonus oppoſed with a vigour that might almoſt be deemed incredible. Notwithſtanding the extent of the ſcene of operations, he attended to every part; he was aware of every danger. Defeated in one attempt, he immediately formed a new enterprize; and whatever he loſt in one engagement, he generally ſoon recovered in another.

The ability with which Antigonus oppoſed his various enemies.

In the mean time, a ceſſation of hoſtilities was frequently propoſed, and terms of accommodation ſeemed often to be nearly agreed upon; but theſe treaties either were not concluded, or were of ſhort continuance. It were ſuperfluous to mention them particularly. There is indeed reaſon to believe, that the overtures of peace were nothing more than mere political ſemblances, and arts to gain time. A deep-rooted jealouſy poſſeſſed every one of theſe ambitious princes, which was not to be removed but by the extermination of their rivals.

Obſtructions in the way of peace.

Book II. Sect. 2.

It is observed by historians, that, when these chiefs were negotiating any treaty of peace, mention was always made that the several provinces, to which they laid claim, were only to be held in trust for the young king Alexander. But even this thin veil to their ambitious views was soon to drop: for it became difficult for them longer to pretend regard for a royal family, whose blood they were shedding in every place without remorse. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had been some time before this period murdered by Cassander[20]; Cleopatra[21], his sister, had lately been destroyed by Antigonus[22]. The young king himself, whose name they affected to use in their public acts, was not considered as such by any of them. It was well known that Cassander, as soon as he had possessed himself of Macedon, had imprisoned Roxana and her son; not suffering the young prince to retain even the pageantry of royalty, but commanding that he should thenceforth be treated as a private person. It was easy to conjecture, what Cassander's farther intentions were. And accordingly, in a short time, both the king and his mother were put to death by his directions[23]. About two years after his death, Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, the only remaining prince of the royal line of Ma-

Falshood of the several chiefs.

[20] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c 3. Just. L. xiv. c. 6. [21] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 2.

[22] We have mentioned her already. She resided at Sardis, where Antigonus had her strictly observed. But finding, or pretending to have found, that she meant to escape to Ptolemy, who had at this time invaded the Lower Asia, he caused her to be put to death; though afterwards he endeavoured to cast the odium of this execution on those, who had been only the ministers of his orders; and he honoured her remains with a sumptuous funeral.

[23] Olymp. cxvii, 2. Before Christ 310.

cedon,

cedon, was, at the inſtigation of Caſſander alſo, murdered in a like perfidious manner[24].

Demetrius defeats the Egyptian fleet, and takes Cyprus.

It was high time, therefore, to throw off a diſguiſe, which it was now ridiculous to uſe. Antigonus led the way. His ſon Demetrius had made a powerful impreſſion on Greece, and taken Athens. From thence he had paſſed over to Cyprus, and had reduced the whole iſland; he had alſo beaten the Egyptian fleet commanded by Ptolemy; a victory the more ſplendid, as the Egyptians were then eſteemed one of the firſt nations of the world, for ſkill in naval affairs. When tidings therefore were brought to Antigonus, that Ptolemy was defeated, and Cyprus taken, the old man was ſo much elated that he immediately gave orders that he and his ſon ſhould be ſaluted kings of Syria[25].

Antigonus and Demetrius ſaluted kings.

Seleucus and Lyſimachus aſſume alſo the regal title.

The example was ſoon followed by Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Ptolemy for the preſent declined the honours of royalty, which his ſubjects preſſed him to accept. Mortified by his late defeat, he choſe to wait till he could be exalted to the rank of king with more ſplendor. Caſſander alſo affected not to aſſume the regal title himſelf, though he was not diſpleaſed that others ſhould uſe it in their addreſſes to him.

The royal diadem did not inſpire Demetrius and his father with moderate views. They now talked of nothing leſs than annexing to Syria whatever kingdoms Alexander had lately held, and actually prepared for the conqueſt of Egypt.

Antigonus and Demetrius prepare to invade Egypt;

[24] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 2.   [25] Olymp. cxviii. 2. Before Christ 306.

Book II. Sect. 2.

Antigonus put himſelf at the head of the land forces, and Demetrius commanded the fleet. They found, however, that their mighty purpoſes were not to be eaſily effected. On the Phoenician coaſt they met with a ſtorm, which deſtroyed or diſabled moſt of their ſhips. Their land-troops had not better ſucceſs. From Gaza to Egypt they were to paſs through deſarts. After a painful march of ten days, and after contending with all the diſpiriting circumſtances of that hot and ſultry climate, they at length reached the Egyptian frontier; there they found new and greater difficulties; their fleet was miſerably ſhattered; the entrances into Egypt were effectually ſhut againſt them; even the mouths of the Nile were ſecured, and the whole coaſt lined with troops, diſpoſed in the moſt judicious manner. Ptolemy beſides had a ſtrong naval force at ſea, and an army of obſervation on land; and had ſpread diſaffection and diſtruſt among the Syrians, by offering large rewards to all who ſhould come over to him.

are repulſed.

ANTIGONUS ſoon perceived his perilous ſituation, and haſtened back with the remainder of his fleet and army as expeditiouſly as he could.

Ptolemy accepts the regal title.

IT was on this occaſion that Ptolemy, who now accounted himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Egypt, permitted the title of king [26], which he had hitherto refuſed, to be given to him [27].

To

[26] OLYMP. cxviii. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 304.

[27] Diodorus Siculus (xx. 3.) and Plutarch (in Demetrio) ſuppoſe Ptolemy to have taken the title of king two years before this, at the ſame time with Antigonus; and Plutarch

Demetrius lays siege to Rhodes.

To restore reputation to his arms, which had suffered much disgrace in the late expedition, Antigonus judged it necessary that some signal enterprise should immediately be attempted. It was accordingly determined, that Demetrius should undertake the conquest of Rhodes. The Rhodians were a people famed for their prowess and naval skill; and from their extensive commerce, as well as from the fertility of their soil, they derived great opulence. Such a conquest, therefore, bringing with it an equal accession of wealth and power, could not fail to render Syria more formidable than ever. The Rhodians had distinguished themselves by the part they had lately taken in favour of Ptolemy; so that there was a pretence of injuries, for which satisfaction might be demanded.

Demetrius having made the necessary preparations, landed on the island, and laid siege to the capital city.

Of all the princes of his time, Demetrius is said to have been the first in military abilities; he was particularly expert in the conduct of sieges, and had himself contrived a number of machines of singular construction, and of amazing efficacy; on which account he got the name of Poliorcetes, *the stormer of cities*. All his skill seems to have been employed on this oc-

Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians prevailed on him to assume it upon his return from Cyprus, "that he might not appear dispirited with his late defeat." But from Ptolemy's Chronological Canon it is evident, that his reign is only to be computed from this date (the 4th year of the 118th Olympiad) when he was now firmly settled on the throne, nineteen years after Alexander's death. Probably, the affectionate attachment of the Egyptians to this prince might have prompted them to give him the title at the time Diodorus and Plutarch mention; but Ptolemy himself was unwilling to assume it, until this dispersion of his enemies relieved him from all farther apprehensions.

casion;

Book II. Sect. 2.

casion; but, by the indefatigable perseverance and valour of the Rhodians, by the advantages they derived from their numerous fleets, and by the large supplies of men and stores of every kind furnished by most of the Grecian states, but principally by Ptolemy, who exerted himself remarkably in their behalf, he was baffled in every attempt.

without success;

What discouraged him most, was the failure of his Helepolis, or *City-taker*; a machine so called from it's powerful operation. It is described as a moveable tower, framed of timber exceedingly strong, and girt with plates of iron; of a height sufficient to command the walls of the besieged city, and lessening gradually, so that the top was much narrower than the base; the inside was divided into floors open towards the enemy, each of which was filled with combatants, and a number of machines for the discharge of various kinds of missive weapons; it was covered principally with raw hides, and on the top was a layer of mud, that the enemy might not have it in their power to set it on fire. It moved on wheels, or rather casters, by means of which its operations could be varied with less difficulty.

his powerful machines;

Demetrius had prepared one of these engines, the most formidable, say historians, that had ever been seen. We may judge of its weight, and the force with which it was impelled, from the number of men employed to move it. They amounted, Diodorus[28] tells us, to three thousand four hundred of the strongest that could be found. A Rhodian undertook to render this vast machine useless. Unobserved by the enemy, he

is disappointed in their effects;

[28] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.]

contrived

contrived to undermine the ground over which it was to pass; and the Helepolis having sunk into the earth, could never, from it's enormous weight, be raised again[29]. The siege had now lasted a whole year, and the vigour of the besieged had not in the least degree abated. Such unexpected resistance disposed Demetrius to yield to the solicitations of the states of Greece, who had all been earnest in their mediation in favour of the Rhodians: and the affairs of that country also afforded him a plausible pretence for abandoning his present enterprise. Urgent representations had been made to him of the oppressions of Cassander, and of the distressed state of Athens, which was in danger of falling into his hands; Demetrius resolved to attempt the relief of that city, and concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Rhodes. His engines of war he also presented them with; the value of which was so considerable, that from the sale of them they were enabled to raise their famed Colossus, or brazen statue of the sun, which, from it's extraordinary size, has been ranked among the wonders of the world.

raises the siege, and makes peace with the Rhodians.

It was on account of the important services performed by Ptolemy to the Rhodians during this siege, that they gave him the name of Soter, the *Deliverer*, by which he is known in history. They also erected a number of statues to him; and, in the excess of their gratitude, are said to have even paid him divine honours[30].

The gratitude of the Rhodians to Ptolemy.

[29] Vegetius de re militari.

[30] They sent, Diodorus says (xx. 5.) to inquire of the oracle of Hammon, whether they should worship Ptolemy as a god. In the present situation of affairs, we may easily judge what the oracle pronounced. And accordingly a grove encompassed with a stately gallery was consecrated to him.

Book II. Sect. 2.

The painter Protogenes.

The siege of Rhodes has been also rendered memorable by a circumstance related of Protogenes, one of the most eminent painters of Greece. He was at this time employed in painting his Jalysus (a fabulous hero, said to be the founder of the Rhodian people) a piece esteemed one of the wonders of antiquity. His house was in the suburbs; and, as if insensible of the din of war, he calmly continued his work whilst Demetrius's troops were carrying on their operations on every side of him. Demetrius, amazed at his apparent intrepidity, asked him why he did not, like others, retire to a place of greater safety; "Princes like you," replied the painter, "never war against the arts." The prince, who was himself a person of high accomplishments, and naturally generous, was so well pleased with the answer, that he appointed a guard for his protection.

One of the most admired figures in this piece was a dog, which had cost the painter immense labour, without his being able to express the idea he had conceived. He meant to represent the animal in a panting attitude, foaming, so that the foam should appear actually to issue from his mouth. After retouching it frequently, and still without success, he at last, in the rage of disappointment, darted at the picture the sponge, with which he used to wipe off his colours; and "chance," says Pliny[31], "accomplished what art had not the "power to perform." In the same piece was also represented a thrush on the top of a column, so admirably well executed, that, when the picture was exposed to public view, certain bird-catchers with thrushes, having stopt to admire it, the birds,

[31] L. xxxvii. c. 10.

mistaking

mistaking the painted bird for a real one, began to sing to it. Book II. Sect. 2.

When Apelles[32] saw this picture, he was so transported, it is said, with admiration, that his speech failed him; and upon recovering from his astonishment, he exclaimed, "prodigious "work!" "wonderful performance!—however," added he, "it has not all the graces the world admires in my works." If the anecdote is true, this last observation, apparently the language of envy, proves, perhaps more strongly than the most lavish praises, the extraordinary merit of the piece.

Demetrius forces Cassander to raise the siege of Athens;

Demetrius's expedition into Greece was attended with better success than he had of late met with. Cassander had invested Athens; Demetrius forced him to raise the siege, and, taking advantage of the broken condition of his army, pressed him with such vigour, that he was under the necessity of abandoning all he held to the southward of Thessaly, and of withdrawing his troops into Macedon. Even his retreat he effected with difficulty[33]; Demetrius having attacked him in his march, and obliged him to consult his safety by a precipitate flight.

reduces all Greece.

The reduction of the greater part of Greece immediately followed; not only the several cities from the streights of Thermopylae to the isthmus of Corinth, but also most of those of Peloponnesus, submitted to Demetrius; the Macedonian garrisons having evacuated all the places of which they were in possession. He now saw his power exceedingly

[32] Plutarch in Demetrio. [33] Plut. in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

augmented, while at the ſame time he enjoyed the glory of being conſidered as the *reſtorer of the liberties of an oppreſſed people.* And, that no honours might be wanting, the ſolemn convention of the Grecian ſtates at the iſthmus proclaimed him general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had formerly been.

receives high honours from the Grecian ſtates;

This flow of proſperity, hiſtorians obſerve, proved the ruin of Demetrius. He had now no enemy near him. And, naturally diſpoſed to the purſuit of pleaſure, he was but too much encouraged to it by the effeminate manners of the Greeks; who, on their part, to teſtify their gratitude to their protector, ſought every opportunity of adminiſtering to his amuſement and gratification. The Athenian orators, in particular, contributed much to corrupt his mind. They offered him the moſt fulſome adulations. They made him almoſt forget he was a man [34].

becomes voluptuous and vain.

This change of fortune had likewiſe it's influence on Antigonus, and greatly encreaſed the arrogance which had always marked his character. He ſcrupled not even to avow his hopes of eſtabliſhing his power on the ruins of that of all the other princes. And, inſtead of taking this opportunity of concluding an advantageous peace with Caſſander, who condeſcended to aſk it in the moſt ſuppliant language, he required him to ſubmit at diſcretion, and to leave the kingdom of Macedon entirely at his diſpoſal.

Inſolence of Antigonus.

Cassander applied to the confederate princes; and they, willing to humble a pride from which they themſelves had

The alliance of the other kings againſt Antigonus and his ſon.

[34] Plut. ub. ſup. See more at large the exceſſive flatteries of the Athenians to Demetrius, in Book iii. Sect. 1. of this work.

much to fear, resolved to employ their most vigorous efforts against Antigonus and his son, and, if possible, to try the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly Seleucus began to move from Babylon, as did Lysimachus from Thrace; and these princes, having received considerable reinforcements both from Macedon and from Egypt, advanced, after some operations of little importance, into the province of Phrygia, where Antigonus and Demetrius were preparing to meet them. Near to Ipsus, an inconsiderable town in this province, the battle was fought, which terminated the empire and life of Antigonus[35]. The Syrians were totally defeated, and Demetrius made his escape with only nine thousand men, out of above eighty thousand, of which his army had consisted. The victory is said to have been obtained chiefly by the superior address of Seleucus, who took advantage of Demetrius's warmth, in pursuing too far a body of the enemy, which he had broken.

Battle of Ipsus.

Antigonus was aged eighty-four years when he fell. He appears to have been a prince of great personal courage and abilities in war; but of a spirit exceedingly haughty and imperious. Less ambitious, and more moderate in the use of power, he might have ended his days in the peaceable possession of a rich and mighty kingdom.

Antigonus is slain.

What were the latter fortunes of Demetrius, is an enquiry that belongs not to this place. As they are, however, much connected with the preceding narrative, it will not be improper to bring them together into one view.

Fortunes of Demetrius;

[35] Olymp. cxx. 1. Before Christ 299.

With

Book II. Sect. 2.

is refused admittance into Athens;

With the slender remains of his army he retired to the sea-coast, in order to pass over to Athens, where his principal dependence was. He now found how hollow are the professions of flattery. The Athenians, who had been extravagant in their praises, when he was attended with victory, refused even to receive him into their city, under pretext of some late edict, by which they were forbidden to admit a crowned head within their walls [36]. But this was not the time for revenge: having, therefore, obtained from them his gallies, together with his queen and royal retinue, which he had left behind him when he went last to Asia; and having visited certain places in Peloponnesus, in which he still had garrisons; he sailed to the coast of Thrace, where, to wreak his vengeance on Lysimachus, he made descents on several parts, and committed great devastation.

marries his daughter Stratonice to Seleucus;

plunders the castle of Cuinda,

Whilst he was in this wandering condition, Seleucus, who had heard much of his daughter Stratonice, reputed the most beautiful woman of her time, sent to demand her in marriage. Amazed at this turn of fortune in his favour, Demetrius failed not to avail himself of it, and immediately shaped his course towards Syria with the princess. On his way, having landed in Cilicia for some refreshments, and finding the opportunity favourable, he plundered the castle of Cuinda [37], which had formerly belonged to Antigonus, but was now the property of Plistarchus, brother to Cassander, the confederate princes having bestowed it on him, together with the whole province. He then pursued his voy-

[36] Plutarch in Demetrio.

[37] See Strab. (Casaub.) L. xiv. p. 462.

age,

age, and delivered his daughter to Seleucus; who celebrated his nuptials in the most splendid manner, and entertained his new father-in-law with much shew of regard and confidence, having even prevailed on Ptolemy to give him his daughter Ptolemais in marriage. On his return, Demetrius determined to make a second descent in Cilicia; and finding it without defence, got entire possession of that province. Seleucus interposed, and threatened; but Demetrius would not resign so valuable an acquisition.

and possesses himself of Cilicia;

He was now, he imagined, strong enough to revenge himself on the Athenians. Passing over, therefore, into Greece, he laid close siege to Athens, and reduced it to such extremity, that a *modius* of wheat (about a peck) was sold for three hundred drachms [38]. Lachares, a turbulent demagogue, had, under the assumed character of *champion of the people*, invaded the administration, and directed all public measures with absolute sway; and to him were owing the present counsels. Reduced by famine, the Athenians were at last obliged to surrender at discretion; and, Lachares having saved himself by flight, Demetrius accepted their submission, and, far from punishing them for their ingratitude, presented them with an hundred thousand measures of wheat, requiring only, that they should receive a garrison into their city. Plutarch [39] relates, on this occasion, a whimsical circumstance, which strongly marks the turn of genius both of Demetrius and of the Athenian people. Upon his entering Athens, he had ordered them to repair to the theatre, and after keeping them for some time in expectation of their

reduces Athens; his generosity, and frivolous manners:

[38] £. 8. 11 s. 10½ d.

[39] In Apopthegm.

fate,

fate, he on a ſudden made his appearance on the ſtage, deſcending from above, in the manner of the players, when repreſenting the Pagan divinities; he began to harangue them, not with anger, but in a ſet ſpeech, filled with ſoothing expoſtulations and flowers of oratory, in which he was fond of being thought to excel. In the midſt of his harangue, an Athenian ſtarting up, informed him, that the phraſe he had juſt made uſe of, was incompatible with the purity of the Attic language: "I give you fifty thouſand meaſures of "wheat more," cried Demetrius, "in acknowledgement "of the improvement I have received from that Athenian's "friendly information."

he attacks and defeats the Spartans;

FROM Athens he marched into Peloponneſus, with a view to make himſelf maſter alſo of Sparta; and the Spartans, led on by their king Archidamus, having advanced to oppoſe him, he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory.

ſtripped of all he held in Aſia;

THE conſequence might have proved fatal to Lacedæmon. But as the victor was preparing to purſue this ſucceſs, his affairs ſuddenly took a different turn. He received advice that Seleucus and Lyſimachus had diſpoſſeſſed him of all he held in Aſia [40]; and that Ptolemy had invaded Cyprus, and reduced the whole iſland, Salamis excepted, which he was then beſieging. Probably the progreſs of Demetrius in Greece had awakened the apprehenſions of theſe princes.

[40] Seleucus, as appears from Plutarch (in Demet.) had offered him a ſum of money for Cilicia; and, upon his refuſal, had inſiſted on having Tyre and Sidon given up to him.

DISCOURAGED

Discouraged by this unexpected reverse, he had given up all for lost, when a new and unlooked-for prospect opened to him.

finds himself in distress;

Cassander king of Macedon was dead[41], and his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, had each laid claim to the kingdom. The former was supported by Lysimachus, whose daughter he had married; and the latter applied to Demetrius, who hastened to his assistance. But having, in the mean time, obtained succours from Pyrrhus, Alexander would have declined the interposition of Demetrius, of whom he began to entertain suspicions; and, finding himself under considerable embarrassment on that score, intended to get rid of him by violent means. So, at least, Demetrius wished to have it understood; for, under colour of this conviction, he caused Alexander to be assassinated at an entertainment to which he had invited him: and, having then laid before the Macedonians the perfidious intentions of Alexander, and the just claim he himself had to the crown in right of his wife Philla, daughter to Antipater, he contrived to gain a party over to his interests, and got possession of the kingdom.

is invited to march into Macedon,

and gets possession of the kingdom;

He might have held the sceptre of Macedon many years, had the experience of misfortunes taught him wisdom. But, instead of endeavouring to repair the waste and devastation which this unhappy kingdom had suffered from constant wars, as soon as he was seated on the throne, he immediately engaged in new mili-

[41] Just. L. xvi. c. 1, 2, 3. Plutarch in Demetrio.

 tary

Book II. Sect. 2.

tary operations on the ſide of Greece, on the ſide of Aetolia, on the ſide of Epire, on the ſide of Thrace. And, at the ſame time, by his profuſe luxury, his vanity, and haughtineſs, it ſeemed as if he induſtriouſly ſought to render his government odious. In his dreſs he affected an exceſs of magnificence nearly theatrical, ſuch as no prince who reigned after him was ever vain enough to imitate [42]. His court was a continued ſcene of diſſipation and riot; and, though of free acceſs to the miniſters of his pleaſures, he ſcarcely would ſuffer any other of his ſubjects, or even the miniſters of foreign ſtates, to approach him. As if this folly had been too little, either from a reſtleſs ambition, or, as ſome writers ſay, that the Macedonians might not have leiſure to form deſigns againſt him, he maintained formidable armaments both by ſea and land, to recover, he pretended, the dominions which his father and himſelf had formerly poſſeſſed in Aſia.

loſes it again;

Alarmed at theſe preparations, and probably ſolicited by the Macedonians themſelves, Ptolemy and Lyſimachus determined to prevent him: the former ſailed with a powerful fleet to invade Greece by ſea, the latter entered Macedon on the ſide of Thrace; whilſt Pyrrhus, whom they had engaged in their alliance, advanced from Epirus. Never was Demetrius in a more critical ſituation: he was encompaſſed by enemies; and the Macedonians, to a man, diſaffected, were on the point of declaring againſt him. He ſaw no reſource left, but to ſave himſelf by flight. Having accord-

eſcapes in diſguiſe to Caſſandria;

[42] Plutarch in Demetrio.

ingly

ingly put on the habit of a private soldier, he, under that disguise, quitted the camp, and escaped to Cassandria [43].

He had still hopes that he should find the Athenians faithful to him; but those days, when misfortunes were a recommendation at Athens, were long since passed. Olympiodorus, now the popular leader, persuaded the citizens to avail themselves of the opportunity of shaking off a yoke that disgraced them; and it was resolved that their gates should be shut against him. Demetrius would have had recourse to vindictive measures; but the interposition of the philosopher Crates [44], according to some historians, or, which is more likely, the want of means, induced him to desist.

again attempts Athens; is refused admittance;

Notwithstanding all these humiliating events, the spirit of enterprize had not yet forsaken Demetrius. After making what provision he could for the security of the few places he still held in Greece, he planned a new expedition, purposing nothing less than to recover the provinces of Lydia and Caria from Lysimachus. The whole force he could muster, when he left Europe, amounted only to eleven thousand men, all of them, like their leader, of desperate fortunes, and ripe for any adventure. This plan proved as unsuccessful as it was rashly formed. Agathocles, son to Lysimachus, was prepared to receive him at the head of a superior army; an advantage which he improved with great ability, carefully avoiding a general engagement, but wasting the small force Demetrius had brought with him, by fre-

plans a new expedition into Asia;

[43] Subdued by this overthrow of all her hopes, his wife Philla, in a fit of despair, poisoned herself.—Plut. in Demetrio.

[44] Plut. in Demetrio.

 quent

Book II. Sect. 2.

is involved in great difficulties;

quent ſkirmiſhes, by conſtant harraſſing, by depriving them of ſubſiſtence: ſo that at length, after ſhifting his quarters from place to place, and having ſeen the greateſt part of his troops conſumed by fatigue and famine, he was forced to retreat to Tarſus in Cilicia, which now belonged to Seleucus, from whence he ſent to his ſon-in-law, entreating his compaſſion in the moſt humiliating terms.

is under the neceſſity of ſurrendering to Seleucus:

Seleucus was diſpoſed to afford him ſhelter in his dominions, and to ſupply both him and his troops with neceſſaries; but his miniſters oppoſed it. They repreſented the many dangers to be apprehended from a prince like Demetrius, ambitious, experienced, active, fertile in reſources, and not to be ſubdued by misfortunes. Seleucus at laſt yielded to their remonſtrances, and marched againſt him. In this ſituation Demetrius is ſaid have done all that valour and military ſkill could perform. But overpowered, and having no expedient left, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſurrendering to Seleucus.

Seleucus was once more inclined to have acted nobly towards him. He had even thoughts of bringing him to his court, and of entertaining him there in royal ſplendor. But his miniſters would not permit it; and at laſt obtained of the king, that he ſhould be ſent under a ſtrong guard to a place of ſafety in the Syrian Cherſoneſus. Seleucus, however, took care, that he ſhould have every indulgence, that could render his captivity leſs irkſome; the uſe of a ſpacious park; a number of fine horſes; a princely table; with whatever other amuſements he appeared to deſire. But what are theſe without liberty? He lived about

three years in this ſtate of confinement; and died at laſt of a diſtemper, brought on partly by the reflections which his melancholy ſituation muſt have ſuggeſted to him, and partly by exceſs in wine, to which he had recourſe in order to drown recollection.

ends his days in confinement;

FROM what Plutarch [45] relates, there is reaſon to believe, that during his captivity he recovered, in a great meaſure, that excellent underſtanding which he had received from nature. The manner in which he wrote to his ſon Antigonus, ſpeaks him a better father and a wiſer prince than from his former conduct we ſhould be apt to think him. He recommended it to him, "to attend eſpecially to the "preſervation of the places he ſtill occupied in Greece, and "not to yield up the poſſeſſion of any of them to any per- "ſon, or on any pretence whatever; but to look upon him "as dead, and, from that day, not to give credit to any "letter or order that ſhould come from him, though writ- "ten with his own hand, and ſealed with his own "ſignet."

his directions to his ſon;

ANTIGONUS, to his honour, employed every ſolicitation in his power to obtain his father's liberty, conjuring the other kings to interpoſe in his behalf, and offering to give up all his poſſeſſions, and even his own perſon as a ſecurity. But no terms could be accepted. Demetrius was ſtill too formidable. Lyſimachus, it is ſaid, offered a vaſt

noble conduct of Antigonus.

[45] Ubi ſupra. See his directions at length in Plutarch.

ſum,

Book II. Sect. 2.

sum, on condition he should be put to death; a proposal which Seleucus rejected with indignation [46].

Character of Demetrius; beauty of his person; accomplishments; versatility; attachment to his father;

Had not Demetrius suffered the blandishments of pleasure to prevail over him, he had been the first of all the princes of his time. Possessed by nature of uncommon powers of mind, he had improved them highly by cultivation. He had, at the same time, all the advantages that external grace and elegance of form can bestow; and so inimitably beautiful was his countenance, if Plutarch may be believed, that neither painter nor statuary could ever execute an exact portrait of him; "the animated air of youth being "blended in him, with the aweful majesty of the hero and "the king." In his behaviour, the same happy association appeared. In his hours of leisure, he was a most agreeable and captivating companion; in his entertainments, the most sumptuous of princes; yet, when business called, hardly to be equalled in activity and application. In addition to all this, he was brave; of consummate skill in military affairs; and, until corrupted by prosperity and adulation, humane and generous. His affectionate and dutiful attention to his father, in the midst of all his dissipation, has been also justly celebrated by every writer that has mentioned him.

generosity in behalf of Eumenes,

Two remarkable instances of his generosity of spirit have been transmitted to us by history. He employed his utmost endeavours to save the life of Eumenes [47]; and probably would

[46] Demetrius is supposed to have died the third year of the 123d Olympiad, or 284 years before Christ; so that fifteen years elapsed between the battle of Ipsus and his death. [47] Plut. in Eumene.

have

have succeeded, had not his father's ministers impressed him with gloomy apprehensions of what that gallant chief might afterwards attempt against him. The life of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, he actually saved[48]. This Mithridates was a young Asiatic nobleman of unblemished manners, and the constant companion of Demetrius. But Antigonus had conceived a jealousy of him. He dreamed, that he had entered a fair and spacious field, and sowed it with filings of gold, from which in a short time there had arisen a golden crop; but that, soon after, returning to visit it, he found it cut down, and heard the people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and had carried it off towards the Euxine sea.

Book II. Sect. 2.

and Mithridates.

Disturbed at this dream, he communicated it to Demetrius, with his resolution of destroying Mithridates; binding, at the same time, his son by an oath, that he should not speak to him either of the dream or of its consequences. The ensuing day Mithridates came as usual to attend the prince in his amusements; when, taking an opportunity of drawing him aside, Demetrius with the point of his spear wrote on the ground, "Fly, Mithridates." He fled accordingly that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished for Mithridates the thing which Antigonus had dreaded; for he conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, until it was at last destroyed by the Romans[49].

[48] Plut. in Demetrio.

[49] Besides a number of children by other wives and concubines, Demetrius left by Philla, daughter of Antipater, and widow of Craterus, a son named Antigonus, afterwards king of Macedon, and the famed Stratonice: and by Ptolemais, another son, called Demetrius, of whom we shall have occasion to make mention hereafter.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

View of the domestic state of the kingdom of Macedon, under the administration of Antipater—Polyperchon—Cassander—and Demetrius Poliorcetes—misfortunes—and final overthrow of Alexander's whole family.

BOOK III. Sect. I.

Effects of Alexander's reign to Macedon.

THE reign of Alexander, though accounted the aera of glory for the Macedonian people, was far from advancing the internal happiness and prosperity of their country. A nation deprived of the presence of their sovereign, at a season of life when his activity and vigour of mind might have been of important benefit; exhausted[1] of their most valuable citizens to repair the waste of distant wars; and distracted by that conflict of factions, to which a delegated government

[1] It appears from Diod. Sic. xviii. 1. that when Antipater marched against Leosthenes, it was not possible for him to muster more than thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. *Such*, says the historian, *was the scarcity of soldiers in Macedon, in consequence of the frequent draughts to recruit the armies in Asia.*

Book III. Sect. 1.

is generally exposed; must ever find much real cause, amidst all the fascinating glare of conquest, to lament the boundless ambition of their prince. Such was Macedon during this boasted period. Whilst the treasures, which poured in from every part of Asia, proved no compensation for those accumulated evils, they corrupted the simplicity of the Macedonian manners. And this hardy people, who, under the pressure of poverty, and the disadvantages of a rough and confined territory, had preserved their independence, now sunk into luxury, debility, and servitude.

Antipater's character as a minister;

ANTIPATER, whom Alexander had appointed to the administration of Macedonian affairs, appears to have been well qualified for the station his master had assigned to him. He was to restrain within their limits those fierce borderers, by whom a considerable part of Macedon was surrounded: he was to observe the motions, and counteract the designs, of the several commonwealths of Greece, who entertained an avowed jealousy of Alexander, and were prepared to seize the first opportunity of re-asserting their ancient liberties: he was to introduce at home a more absolute government, and bend the Macedonians to a subjection hitherto unknown to them. At the same time, he had to support himself against the intrigues of some of the principal of the Macedonian nobles, who beheld with jealousy and indignation a man, lately their equal, now exalted above them; and who were encouraged in their disaffection by the countenance and artifices of Olympias, the king's mother, a woman of violent temper, fond of power, and therefore impatient of the controul which Antipater's authority imposed upon her.

Book III. Sect. 1.

ANTIPATER possessed all the qualifications requisite for these various purposes. To great military abilities he joined the subtilty and reserve of the statesman; he was vigilant, vigorous, and steady; with a firm hand he held the reins of government, notwithstanding Olympias's repeated attempts to wrest them from him; he suppressed every commotion; he baffled every confederacy; the turbulence of the Macedonians he awed; the Greeks he humbled; he was implacable when provoked; and sanguinary in gratifying his resentments. His treatment of the two Athenian orators, Demosthenes and Hyperides, proves how dangerous it was to offend him. It is affirmed, that he caused the tongue of the latter to be cut out, in revenge for the invectives it had uttered against him. (his capacity;)

IF we consider him as the confidential servant of a prince, whose object was the subversion of all liberty, he was an useful minister; if as the magistrate of a free state, who was bound to pay regard to the rights of mankind, he was a tyrannical and merciless oppressor. Accordingly, both these characters he bears in history, agreeably to the different principles of the several writers by whom he is mentioned. (and oppression:)

HE was to have been removed, had Alexander survived. It is thought, that the intrigues of Olympias, and her faction, had at length prevailed, and that his prince began to suspect him of views inconsistent with the duty of a subject. Perhaps his expressing too freely his sentiments concerning the execution of Parmenio had reached the king. For upon hearing the fate of that gallant general, in astonishment he cried out[a], "if Parmenio has conspired against his master, (was to have been displaced.)

[a] Plutarch in Apophthegm.

Book III. Sect. 1.

"whom are we to trust? and if he has not, how are we to "act?" Words pregnant with so much meaning, had they come to Alexander's knowledge, would hardly have been forgiven.

His vigorous opposition to the Greek insurgents;

When tidings of Alexander's death reached Greece, most of it's states, as we have seen, rose up in arms. Antipater was not disconcerted. Precarious as his situation was on the side of Macedon, and with numbers far inferior to the enemy, he met them in battle, and, though worsted, had the art to collect together the broken remains of his army, and to possess himself of Lamia in Thessaly, a place capable of defence. Leonnatus, one of Alexander's captains, advanced to his assistance, and was defeated and slain. This incident, however disastrous in appearance, Antipater improved likewise to his advantage. The death of Leonnatus had delivered him from a rival, of whom he was jealous; he found means to escape from Lamia, whilst the Greeks were engaged with Leonnatus, whose troops having been little more than dispersed, he contrived to recover most of them, and to incorporate them into his army, by which he was enabled to look the confederates in the face; whilst Craterus, having in the mean time arrived from Asia, joined him also with considerable succours. This general was to have succeeded him in the government of Macedon: but, as Alexander's appointments had all ceased with his life, Craterus was now contented to share the government with Antipater; who, to attach him more strongly to his interests, gave him his daughter Philla in marriage, one of the most accomplished women of her time. Soon after, was fought the battle of Cranon, which, as has been already observed, proved fatal to Greece, obliging the Athenians

to

to ſurrender their liberties to the Macedonian leaders, and to receive a garriſon from them. The Aetolians, though not leſs active in promoting the war, obtained peace on eaſier terms. The bold enterpriſes of Perdiccas had by this time rouſed the jealouſy of the other commanders; and Antipater haſtened to ſettle the affairs of Greece, in order to be at leiſure to oppoſe that leader in Aſia.

is appointed to ſucceed Perdiccas;

The ſucceeding events were not unfavourable to Antipater's fortunes. Craterus having fallen in battle againſt Eumenes, he found himſelf again in poſſeſſion of the whole government of Macedon. And Perdiccas, as we have related, being ſlain in Egypt, he was appointed regent[3], and Philip Aridaeus, and the young king Alexander, were conſigned to his protection.

From this period the power of Antipater over Greece and Macedon was uncontrouled; but this authority in other parts of the empire was little more than nominal.

names Polyperchon for his ſucceſſor;

What ſeems moſt extraordinary in Antipater's conduct, is the laſt act of his life. On his death-bed he named Polyperchon, one of Alexander's captains, but no way diſtinguiſhed by any particular merit, to ſucceed him in the government of Macedon, and to the office of protector; to the excluſion of his own ſon Caſſander, whom he only appointed to the poſt of chiliarch, or captain of a thouſand men. It has been ſaid, that Auguſtus bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, that in

[3] Upon the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy appointed Aridaeus and Python, two of Alexander's captains, to the protectorſhip; but meeting with a formidable oppoſition from Eurydice and her friends, they reſigned, and the Macedonians choſe Antipater. See Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 3.

the

Book III. Sect. 1.

the violences of his successor, the Romans might forget the crimes of which he himself had been guilty. A similar suspicion might, with as good reason, be entertained of Antipater; for never man seemed less fitted than Polyperchon for the discharge of this arduous trust. Without vigour; without firmness; mean; cruel; perfidious. A dupe to those who had the art to gain his confidence, he knew not how to render his authority respectable, or to conciliate the affections of men. What considerations could have moved Antipater to this appointment, history does not disclose. Whether he thought that Cassander's impetuous temper was ill suited to the present times; or that, vain and high-spirited, power in his hands might produce his destruction; or whether he had conceived disgust at his son, on account of his private life; are the conjectures of different writers;—but of the truth it is not possible to determine.

with what view.

WHAT seems, however, most probable, is, that, for some time before Antipater's death, Polyperchon, having entertained hopes of succeeding him, had employed the usual intrigues for accomplishing his ambitious views. This Antipater having discovered, and finding that the strength of Polyperchon's party, aided by the friends of Olympias, would, in opposition to his own views, infallibly prevail in the issue, he chose to have himself the merit of the appointment, in expectation of securing to his family a protector, where they might otherwise have found an enemy. It appears from Diodorus [4], that he dreaded the influence which Olympias was likely to obtain under the new administration, and endea-

[4] L. xix. c. 1.

voured to guard against it. His last charge to Polyperchon was, to keep her at a distance from the administration of affairs, which, if she engaged in, her passions would soon throw into confusion.

Polyperchon adopts new counsels;

Polyperchon paid little regard either to the instructions of Antipater, or to the obligations he might be supposed to owe to his predecessor, had he considered his appointment as the act of his choice. His first step was to recall Olympias from Epire, whither she had retired. But her enemies were still too formidable, and the minds of men too much exasperated, for her to venture immediately. She deferred accepting the invitation, until she could enjoy a full exertion of power. And it is believed, that whatever measures Polyperchon, from this period, pursued, were in obedience to her directions. He removed every person who had been in the interests of Antipater, and restored throughout the Greek cities the democratical form of government, which had been abolished. A general confusion, as might be expected, ensued; the popular faction, naturally violent in their resentment, fell almost every where on those who were suspected of being instrumental in their disgrace. At Athens particularly, though the Munychia and Piraeus were still held by Antipater's garrisons, they seized on Phocion, and as many of his friends as they could find, whom they sent to Philip Aridaeus and Polyperchon, to answer for the share they were supposed to have had in the late administration. Polyperchon pronounced their condemnation [5], and remitted them to Athens, where they were put

restores democratical government throughout Greece.

Phocion put to death:

[5] Olymp. cxv. 3. Before Christ 316.

to

Book III. Sect. I.

to death [6]. Phocion has been already mentioned. He was a man of the greatest probity of his time, and had with unwearied endeavours studied the happiness of his country. Probably his integrity made him more obnoxious in the eyes of Polyperchon. Similar distractions prevailed in most of the other cities; and, because the Megalopolitans declared themselves satisfied with the form of government Antipater had established, and refused to change it, Polyperchon marched his army against them.

Cassander flies to Antigonus;

Meanwhile, Cassander, who saw there was no safety for him in Macedon, fled to Antigonus [7], who at this time was employed in prosecuting his plan of empire in Asia. He was received with cordiality and kindness, and Antigonus soon enabled him to return with effectual succours. Affection, nevertheless, had no share in this attention. Antigonus hated Polyperchon; was jealous of the authority he derived from acting under the royal sanction; and was glad of the opportunity of raising enemies against him at home, and of preventing him from interfering in the Asiatic provinces.

receives support, and sails back to Athens;

Thus supported, Cassander sailed back to Athens, and entered the Piraeus, of which Nicanor, the governor appointed by his father, had still possession. Polyperchon, upon the first alarm, immediately turned his attention thither. He attacked him by land and sea, yet proved unsuccessful in both.

defeats Polyperchon's fleet;

His fleet, after obtaining at first some inconsiderable advantages, was totally defeated by that of Cassander. Athens,

[6] Plutarch in Phocione.

[7] Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 4.

already partly in the hands of the enemy, and without prospect of relief from Polyperchon, was forced to submit, and to accept a governor named by Cassander. He appointed Demetrius Phalereus [8], the famed disciple of Theophrastus; of whose principles he was assured, from his intimate connexion with Phocion; and whose philosophical turn of mind seemed well adapted to the genius of the people he was to govern.

appoints Demetrius Phalereus governor of Athens.

The reduction of Athens completed the ruin of Polyperchon's affairs in Greece. The Peloponnesian states were already in the interests of Cassander. In most of the other cities, likewise, the friends of the house of Antipater were beginning to shew themselves; so that Polyperchon judged it most prudent to relinquish what he could not hold, and to content himself with securing Macedon.

Polyperchon retires to Macedon:

But the same ill conduct by which he had lost Greece, was also to deprive him of Macedon [9]. Polyperchon, now avowedly the creature of Olympias, besought her to take the young king under her guardianship, imagining her presence might add strength to his administration. Her arrival produced a contrary effect. All who had the most distant connection with Antipater, beheld with terror, a revolution, which, from a woman of her fierce and vindictive spirit, was probably to end in their destruction. Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen, were more particularly affected by it. Aridaeus, the son of Philip by a concubine, had been the object of her

recalls Olympias;

is opposed, by Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen Eurydice;

[8] Olymp. cxv. 4. Before Christ 315.

[9] Just. L. xiv. c. 5, 6.

 aversion

Book III. Sect. 1.

aversion from his infancy; and the infirmity of his understanding was supposed to be the effect of a potion he had received from her. Eurydice, his wife, was the daughter of the unfortunate Cynane, whom Philip had by an Illyrian lady, and whom Perdiccas, to please Olympias, had put to death. Her father, Amyntas, son to Philip's elder brother, had, by Olympias's contrivance, been already destroyed; so that neither Eurydice nor her husband could think of her but with abhorrence; and, should she once possess power, they had cause to dread her utmost violence. Accordingly, when Eurydice was apprized of her intended return, she endeavoured to provide for her security, by assembling forces, and by pressing Cassander to hasten to her assistance; commanding, at the same time, Polyperchon not to interfere farther in the administration; but to resign it to Cassander, upon his arrival.

marches against them with Olympias;

This precipitate step furnished Polyperchon with an excuse for executing what he wished to perform. With Olympias at the head of his army, he immediately marched against Eurydice; who, animated by her wrongs, led out her forces also; but her soldiers, either from treachery, or, according to some historians, struck with the majesty of Olympias, in whose person they recollected the mother of Alexander and the wife of Philip, having refused to fight, the wretched Eurydice and her husband fell into the hands of this relentless woman [10], who used her power with an inhumanity inseparable from her character. The king and queen she committed to a close prison, scarcely large enough to contain them, with an

at sight of Olympias, the soldiers of Eurydice refuse to fight.

[10] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 1.

opening

opening only left for the purpose of conveying to them a wretched sustenance, less with the view of preserving life, than of prolonging misery. But, finding that these indignities served only to excite the compassion even of their enemies, she ordered some Thracian soldiers to dispatch Aridaeus, after he had nominally reigned six years and four months [11]. This done, she sent messengers to Eurydice, with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poison, commanding her to chuse which of them she pleased. They found Eurydice binding up and covering, in the best manner she could, the bleeding corse of her royal husband; she received the message without uttering any expostulation or womanish complaint; and, after praying the gods, that Olympias might be rewarded with the like present, with great composure strangled herself [12].

Olympias causes Philip Aridaeus and Eurydice to be put to death,

Olympias's lust of revenge was not yet sated. She caused Nicanor, brother to Cassander, to be also slain, and the tomb of Iolas, another brother, to be broke open, and his body exposed upon the public highway; and, having seized a hundred Macedonians of quality, supposed to have been friends to Cassander, she put them all to death.

together with Nicanor, Cassander's brother,

and an hundred Macedonians of quality.

These violent proceedings had turned the greater part of Macedon against her, when Cassander appeared [13]. Upon the first advice from Eurydice, he had left Peloponnesus; and was on his way to her assistance, when the melancholy tidings of her fate reached him. A body of Aetolians, in the service of Polyperchon, had possessed themselves of the defile of Thermopylae, in order to dispute the passage. To avoid

Cassander marches against her;

[11] Olymp. cxv. 4. Before Christ 315. [12] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
[13] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 2, 3.

Book III. Sect. 1.

delay, he went on board his fleet, which he had ordered to follow him, and was on the confines of Macedon, before either Polyperchon or Olympias were aware of his approach; and, having divided his forces, he sent one detachment to employ Polyperchon; with the other, he marched in person against Olympias. She, with the young king, and Roxana his mother, several of the royal family, and Macedonian nobility, were shut up in Pydna, in full assurance, that both Polyperchon and Aeacidas king of Epire, her kinsman, were marching to her relief. But Cassander had taken his measures more effectually; seduced by a party he had artfully formed in Epire, the Epirots refused to follow their king, and, upon his attempting compulsion, deposed him. Polyperchon, sharply pressed by the forces sent against him, with difficulty provided for his own defence. Olympias, nevertheless, held out with firmness, till, compelled by famine, she was at last obliged to surrender. She stipulated only for her life; but, the kindred of those whom she murdered, demanding justice, Cassander pretended, that this stipulation related only to military execution, and that she was still amenable to the laws of her country. Her condemnation followed of course; and she was accordingly put to death. The young king Alexander, and Roxana, Cassander confined in Amphipolis. And Thessalonice, who was also made prisoner at the same time, the daughter of Philip by a lady of Thessaly, he married [14].

obliges her to surrender; has her put to death; confines Alexander, Roxana's son, and marries Thessalonice, Philip's daughter.

The inveterate hatred with which Olympias pursued Cassander and his house, seems to account for the reports spread to his disadvantage concerning Alexander's death. They

[14] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

probably

Book III. Sect. 1.

probably originated with Olympias, in order to procure the destruction of a family she abhorred. And indeed Cassander himself gave much strength to them, by the detestation in which he confessedly held his master's memory, and the extreme cruelty with which he treated his nearest connections. It appears from Plutarch [15], that, long after the death of Alexander, he retained such a deadly enmity to his memory, that he could not bear the recollection of him without horror; a remarkable instance of which that historian has presented to us. After he had been some years in possession of the kingdom of Macedon, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of the statue of Alexander struck him with such dread, that he trembled all over, and with difficulty recovered from the giddiness it occasioned. According to Plutarch, he had once burst into a laugh in Alexander's presence, at the sight of some barbarians prostrating themselves before him; when, enraged at the insult, the king caught him by the hair, and with both his hands dashed his head against the wall. Upon another occasion, as he attempted to vindicate his father, whom certain persons had accused, Alexander with loud menaces bade him beware of misleading him by his sophisms, denouncing vengeance against Antipater, if he did not fully answer the charge against him. Such was his terror from the king's violence, continues Plutarch, that, as long as he lived, he never was able to overcome the impression. It must be owned, Cassander remembered but too faithfully the passionate excesses of his master, and took ample revenge for them. His shedding the blood of Olympias, violent as she

Cassander's detestation of Alexander's memory;

from what causes.

[15] Plutarch in Alexand.

was, is hardly to be juſtified. But his treatment of the young princes, Alexander's ſons, which we ſhall have immediate occaſion to mention, is altogether without excuſe. There is even reaſon to ſuſpect, that his pretended kindneſs to the Thebans was in fact a kind of triumph over Alexander. Alexander had exterminated the Thebans. Caſſander made it his firſt care, after he had compoſed the affairs of Macedon, to collect together their remains, and to raiſe their city from it's ruins, reſtoring it, as far as he could, to it's former ſplendor. He had a pride, perhaps, in oppoſing Alexander, and in rearing up what he had demoliſhed.

Caſſander is involved in new wars with Antigonus,

CASSANDER had now ſucceeded, ſeemingly, to the utmoſt of his ambitious hopes. He was in full poſſeſſion, the title excepted, of the regal dignity; Polyperchon, unable to oppoſe him, had taken refuge in Aetolia; Greece was in ſubjection; Epire was under his dominion; and, however iniquitous the means were by which he had acquired this power, yet theſe ſeveral nations, exhauſted by continual wars, ſubmitted patiently to a domination which promiſed them *ſome* repoſe. This interval of peace was of ſhort duration. Antigonus, as already mentioned, had made conſiderable progreſs in Aſia; and the other generals of Alexander, jealous of a power which might ſoon prove fatal to their own, called upon Caſſander to unite with them in humbling this formidable rival. This produced new troubles in Greece. Alexander, ſon to Polyperchon, had retired to the court of Antigonus; who immediately diſpatched him to Greece, with a large ſupply of money, in order to make a diverſion in Peloponneſus. And Caſſander having bought him off, by reſigning [16] all his

[16] Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

rights

rights in Peloponnesus, Antigonus had recourse to other methods, encouraging, under pretence of a zeal for liberty, the popular faction throughout the Grecian cities to rise against Cassander's government. All Greece was again in commotion; and the Aetolians having also taken up arms, and Aeacidas at the same time making an attempt to recover his kingdom, Cassander found himself involved in very extensive military operations; which he nevertheless maintained with great spirit, not only resisting his different adversaries, but even making an impression on the Asiatic coasts, and distressing Antigonus at home. It were of little moment to enter into a detail of these desultory wars, which, as often as the parties found themselves weakened by their mutual losses, were interrupted by some kind of convention, to be violated as soon as a favourable opportunity offered for renewing hostilities.

and his confederates;

WHAT Cassander experienced in the course of these convulsions, probably impelled him to a crime, which, steeped in blood as he was, he had not before dared to execute. Young Alexander, Roxana's son, he held, as we have related, in confinement at Amphipolis; and though he had stripped him of all the trappings of sovereignty, and ordered him to be treated as a private person, he had not attempted his life. Among many acts of violence, with which Antigonus had charged Cassander, he reproached him for disloyal treatment to his sovereign; and, as if *he* had a mighty regard for the royal line, threatened to rescue the prince out of the hands of his oppressors, and to vindicate his rights. The Macedonians, many of whom were not well-affected to Cassander, complained likewise of the shameful imprisonment of their king, and required that he should be no longer with-held from their sight.

endeavours to secure himself by putting Alexander the son of Roxana to death.

BOOK III. Sect. 1.

Caſſander perceived at once where theſe murmurs might terminate, and, as a deciſive ſtep for his ſecurity, ſent orders to Amphipolis to deſtroy both the Prince and his mother [17]. Young Alexander was aged about twelve years at the time of his death. Upon the diſcovery of his aſſaſſination, the Macedonians would have riſen againſt the aſſaſſin; but they wanted a leader. And Antigonus and the other great generals were little diſpoſed to revenge a crime, which was advantageous to themſelves, and which, circumſtanced as Caſſander was, they would have had as little ſcruple to commit [18].

Polyperchon ſets up Hercules, the laſt male branch of the royal family, king in his ſtead.

THERE yet remained one male branch more of the royal family; Hercules, the ſon of Alexander by Barſine, widow of Memnon, and daughter of Artabazus, now aged ſeventeen, who had hitherto reſided in Aſia. Polyperchon, who was ſtill in Aetolia, and who imagined the preſent opportunity was favourable for reviving his pretenſions in Macedon, while the minds of men were irritated againſt Caſſander, conceived the ſcheme of making this young prince the inſtrument of his ambition. Having aſſembled therefore a conſiderable body of troops, he invited Hercules to paſs over into Greece; had him acknowledged, wherever he could, as heir of the imperial houſe of Macedon; and declared his reſolution of eſtabliſhing him on the throne of his anceſtors. Caſſander was alarmed. He had one reſource, however, in Polyperchon himſelf. He knew him to be baſe, perfidious, and mercenary; and hoped to make ſuch overtures as would be able to detach him from the intereſts of this new competitor. He was not diſappointed. The offer of aſſociating him in the ad-

[17] OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.

[18] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 1, 2.

ministration, and of yielding to him the entire sovereignty of Peloponnesus, put an end to his assumed loyalty; nay, to quiet all further fears of Cassander, the infamous Polyperchon undertook and accomplished the murder of the young king, of whom he had just avowed himself the protector. This assassination of *Hercules*[19] took place about two years after that of Roxana's son.

Book III. Sect. 1.

and murders him at the instigation of Cassander.

Cassander, as we have before observed, had ceded Peloponnesus to the son of Polyperchon; but the possession of it was attended with many difficulties; and he was at last killed in an insurrection at Sicyon. Polyperchon's ill-acquired sovereignty had nearly the same issue; he met with vigorous opposition from the several nations of which it was composed; and, being obliged to retire, was deservedly destined to end his days in the utmost wretchedness.

The fate of Polyperchon.

Cassander possessed, in his exalted station, but little enjoyment or peace of mind. In Macedon he was not popular. In Greece he was detested. While allied abroad to doubtful friends, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, with whom he had no other connection but the precarious one of present interest; he was surrounded by formidable and insidious enemies, the Aetolians and Epirots on the one side, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, who watched the opportunity of wresting from him a prize, which had cost him many crimes. Even the death of Alexander's children, from which he had hoped to derive security, had added to the importance of his rivals in empire; and, without sharing in his guilt, they had acquired from it rank and independence.

Cassander is encompassed with difficulties;

[19] Olymp. cxvii. 4. Before Christ 308.

is attacked by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who attempts and takes Athens;

He soon felt the fatal effects of his misguided policy. The disaffection of the most considerable of the Greek republics presented Antigonus with the opportunity he had long sought, the means of carrying the war into Cassander's dominions; and Demetrius Poliorcetes was detached to attempt Athens, which if reduced would open a way to the reduction of the rest of Greece. The execution of this scheme was attended with little difficulty. When Poliorcetes appeared before Athens, the prospect of a revolution occasioned a general joy; and, far from receiving him as an enemy, they hailed him as their protector, compelling Demetrius Phalereus, whom Cassander had appointed over them, to abdicate the government. This appears more striking, as Demetrius Phalereus had been remarkable for the lenity of his administration. He was, besides, highly accomplished, of the most captivating deportment, and, which at Athens was no small merit, a celebrated speaker; though, according to Cicero, the first of the Greeks, who, instead of the nervous severity, and bold resistless spirit, to be found in the earlier orators, particularly in Demosthenes, substituted a milder and more pathetic species of eloquence, but as much inferior to that of former days in it's manner and powers, if we are to believe the Roman[20] critic, "as "the gently-gliding stream is to the thundering torrent."

and ejects Demetrius Phalereus,

He had governed Athens ten years, and apparently so much to the satisfaction of the people, that they had erected

[20] Hic primus, says Cicero (Brut. 9) inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit, et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate eâ, quâ *perfunderet* animos, non *perfringeret*.

to him three hundred and fixty ftatues. But, fuch is the value of popular favour! thefe ftatues were now thrown down, his acts arraigned, his adminiftration declared iniquitous and oppreffive, and himfelf and all perfons connected with him pronounced worthy of death. Phalereus, indeed, efcaped by flight, in which he was affifted by Poliorcetes himfelf; and, after various fortunes, took refuge in Egypt; where we fhall have occafion to mention him in the hiftory of the affairs of that kingdom. That which rendered him eminently obnoxious was not fo much, in all probability, what *he* had actually done, as his ferving under a prince exceedingly odious, and his being the minifter of a government founded in force, that had rifen on the ruins of democracy, to which the Athenians, of all the nations in Greece, were moft paffionately attached.

Poliorcetes wins the affections of the Athenians,

POLIORCETES, inftructed by the fate of his predeceffor, employed every art to gain the affections of the Athenians. He obliged the Macedonian garrifon to evacuate the Munychia, which they had held ever fince the days of Antipater, and demolifhed the fortrefs: he avoided entering Athens with a military force, for fear of giving umbrage: he reftored the popular government in it's full extent: he promifed, in the name of his father, an hundred and fifty thoufand meafures of wheat, and timber fufficient for building an hundred galleys—affuming the character only of *afferter of the public liberty*, without pretending to interfere in the adminiftration, though by his agents he was directing all public operations.

Book III. Sect. 1.

who repay him with extravagant adulations.

The extravagant adulation [21] with which the Athenians expressed their gratitude, shews what a change had taken place in the character of that once-illustrious people. In their days of glory, an olive-wreath was the only reward a Miltiades laid claim to; and even in this he met with opposition. Now the most distinguished honours, such as Athens was wont to pay only to her gods, were prostituted to sooth the vanity of a young adventurer, whom they scarcely knew; who had served them, merely because it served his own interests; and who, they could not but be sensible, owed the power, of which he was possessed, to perfidy and usurpation. They consecrated the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot when he entered Athens, and erected an altar upon it to *Demetrius the alighter* [22]. A law passed, that, when he condescended to come to Athens, he should be received with the same honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever should surpass the rest of the Athenians in the magnificence with which they received Demetrius, should have money from the public treasury to enable him to consecrate some pious memorial of his success—that Antigonus and Demetrius should be honoured with the appellation of Gods Protectors; and that, instead of denominating the year, as formerly, from the archon, they should create annually a priest of these *gods protectors*, whose

[21] See Plut. in Demet. et Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 3.

[22] Βωμὸν Δημητρίου καταβάτου. Plut. in Demet.—According to Diodorus (xx. 3.) the Athenians set up golden statues of Antigonus and Demetrius next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, adorned with golden crowns, each of two hundred talents weight, and erected an altar in honour of them, by the name of *the Altar of the* Saviours.

name

name ſhould be prefixed to all their public acts—that the portraits of theſe *gods protectors* ſhould be wrought in the holy veil, with thoſe of the other gods—that thoſe who ſhould be ſent upon public buſineſs from the commonwealth of Athens, to Antigonus and Demetrius, ſhould not be ſtiled embaſſadors, but THEOTOI, *viſiters of the gods*; a title appropriated to the meſſengers, who on ſolemn feſtivals carried the accuſtomed offerings to Delos and Delphi. They even complimented their deliverers with an important alteration in the conſtitution, adding two to the number of their tribes, and calling them Demetrius and Antigonus; ſo that the ſenate, which before conſiſted of five hundred members, now conſiſted of ſix hundred, each tribe ſupplying fifty. What almoſt exceeds belief, they not only declared Demetrius to be a god; they alſo voted, that his words, being the words of a god, ſhould be received as divine oracles. Accordingly, at the dedication of certain offerings at Delphi, concerning the form of which ſome doubts had occurred, a decree paſſed, that application ſhould be made to this oracle, and that whatever it pronounced ſhould be obſerved. Plutarch has preſerved to us this curious monument. "In a fortunate "hour be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens "be appointed to go to THE GOD PROTECTOR; and, after "due ſacrifices offered, demand of *Demetrius, the God Protector*, what will be the moſt pious, the moſt honourable, "and expeditious method of conſecrating the intended offerings; and it is hereby enacted, that the people of "Athens ſhall obſerve what *the oracle* ſhall have dictated." Strange, that Athens ſhould ever have fallen thus low! and not leſs ſtrange, that there ever ſhould have been found a human

Book III. Sect. 1.

human mind so intoxicated by vanity and success, as to have pleasure in these fulsome adulations!

Poliorcetes passes over to Cyprus.

The next exploit of Demetrius Poliorcetes was the reduction of Megara; from which, as at Athens, he ejected the Macedonian garrison: and probably all Greece had soon acknowledged him sovereign, most of the cities being disposed to open their gates to him, had not the orders of Antigonus obliged him to pass over to Cyprus, where Ptolemy's power was now become so formidable, as to threaten all the adjacent parts of Asia. His expedition thither, together with the Egyptian war, and the siege of Rhodes, on which we have already insisted, diverted for a time his attention from Grecian affairs. This interval was not neglected by Cassander; he employed himself in re-establishing his interests in the several cities of Greece, and in quelling that spirit of revolt, which appeared to animate most of them; and had sat down with his army before Athens, when Demetrius, urged by the earnest solicitations of his friends, hastened from Rhodes to their assistance. His success we have already mentioned.

Cassander returns to Greece; and besieges Athens: Poliorcetes hastens back to its relief;

the excessive flatteries of the Athenians to him on this occasion:

Whatever strains of panegyric the Athenians had before indulged, they now surpassed [23] them all. Orders were given, that Demetrius should be lodged in the Parthenon, or virgin-temple of Minerva, on account, doubtless, of the sumptuousness of the edifice; though there could not be a grosser insult to the supposed purity of their goddess, than

[23] See Plutarch in Demet.

to

to give her for a gueſt a man of his coarſe and diſſolute manners. They were not aſhamed however to ſee this ſacred place made the receptacle of courtezans, and the ſcene of the lewdeſt debaucheries. They were even mean enough to become panders to his luſt. They proſtituted the honour of their families to his impure deſires; and, as if they had been apprehenſive poſterity might imagine that theſe were the private crimes of ſome ſervile individuals, to which government gave no ſanction, an edict paſſed, importing, "it was reſolved by "the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius was pleaſ- "ed to command, ſhould be accounted holy in reſpect of "the gods, and juſt in reſpect of men:" An edict of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it were unneceſſary to quote further inſtances of the debaſement of this degenerate people.

their influence on Demetrius:

THE baneful influence of flattery ſoon ſhewed itſelf in the change wrought on Demetrius. Licentious as he was, he had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed by his affability and gentle demeanor. He now became imperious and arrogant; affected a ſuperior carriage, and a loftier tone of language; and ſeemed to expect that other princes ſhould bend before him, regarding them as perſons in ſubjection to him, who exiſted by his favour, and were to yield up their governments at his nod. Ptolemy he affected to call his admiral; Lyſimachus his treaſurer; Seleucus the maſter of his elephants. A conduct exactly ſimilar had been remarked alſo in Antigonus; and the ſucceſſes of his ſon had not helped to humble him. This haughty turn of mind appeared remarkable in their treatment of Caſſander. He had ſued for peace, and would willingly have ſubmitted to the moſt humiliating conditions; but nothing leſs

Book III. Sect. 1.

than the absolute resignation[24] of all his dominions would satisfy Antigonus and Demetrius. Such an intemperate use of fortune was attended with its usual consequences. Moved by Cassander's situation, and alarmed at an insolence, which shewed what they had to expect, the rest of Alexander's successors formed an alliance against Demetrius and his father, which terminated in the fatal battle of Ipsus.

Cassander dies;

The sequel of Demetrius's fortunes we have already related[25]. Cassander died some years afterwards, in the peaceable possession of Macedon and Greece, a few cities excepted, of which Demetrius, and after him his son Antigonus, retained the sovereignty. A judgment seemed nevertheless to pursue this unhappy house[26]. He left three sons. Philip, the eldest, having died soon after his father. Alexander and Antipater, the second and third, both claimed the kingdom; Alexander was supported by the interest of his mother Thessalonice, whose favourite he was; and Antipater, by Lysimachus, whose daughter he had married. Antipater, resenting the preference of his mother for Alexander, had the impiety to imbrue his hands in her blood; and, flying afterwards to Lysimachus, was, upon some difference betwixt them, imprisoned, and put to death. And, Alexander having called in Demetrius to his assistance, the latter, as before related, pretending a design against his life, had him taken off by violence.

the fate of his unhappy house.

In Thessalonice and her sons ended the royal lineage of Macedon. Twenty-eight years only had elapsed since Alexander's death, and not a single branch of his house remained

[24] Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5. [25] See B. ii. Sect. 2. [26] Just. L. xvi. c. 1, 2.

to

to enjoy a portion of that empire, which Philip and his ſon had acquired at the price of great exertions, and much toil and bloodſhed. Book III. Sect. I.

AND it is worthy of obſervation, as theſe princes, in the purſuit of their ambitious ſchemes, exceeded in violence and cruelty, ſo by violence and cruelty was their family cut off, not one branch of it (thoſe who died in their infancy and Alexander excepted) expiring peaceably, or even bravely in the field, but all by treachery and aſſaſſination. Philip periſhed by domeſtic treaſon. His daughter Cynane was ſlain by Perdiccas. Amyntas her huſband, heir of the Macedonian crown, had been put to death earlier, ſome ſay by Olympias, ſome, by Alexander. Theſſalonice, one of Philip's daughters, was, as we have juſt related, aſſaſſinated by her own ſon. Cleopatra, ſiſter to Alexander, by Antigonus. Aridaeus, ſon to Philip, by Olympias. And Eurydice his wife, daughter to the unhappy Cynane, by Olympias alſo. Caranus and Europa, Philip's ſon and daughter by Cleopatra, his laſt wife, were likewiſe murdered by Olympias, the latter in her mother's arms. and in what manner.

OLYMPIAS herſelf was ſlain by Caſſander. Statira, daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, to whom ſurely on both accounts reſpect was due, was deſtroyed by Roxana, together with Alexander's unborn child. Roxana, in her turn, was treated in the ſame manner by Caſſander; who murdered her and her ſon. And Hercules, ſon alſo to Alexander, and the laſt male branch of the royal houſe, fell by the perfidy of Polyperchon.

Book III. Sect. 1.

Such, to the family of Alexander, were the fruits of that ambition which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and had spread such dreadful and extensive devastation.

It may indeed be said, that these sanguinary actions were not the result of war, but were merely domestic crimes; and therefore not to be imputed to the military spirit which Philip and his son called forth; it is however evident, that they in a great measure proceeded from that ferocity of character, and relentless spirit, which constant wars and continued scenes of blood had introduced; they were the offspring of those deadly animosities, generally excited in civil distractions; and of the decay of loyalty towards their princes, for which the Macedonians at one time were celebrated, but which the miseries they had suffered had totally extinguished.

The military atchievements of Philip's reign were doubtless of some benefit to Macedon; they improved the courage and discipline of her soldiers; they gave her security and independence; they enabled her to assume a rank and station among her neighbours, to which, before this period, she had never attained. And, had Alexander *completed the plan*, and no more, which his father seems to have traced out; had he contented himself with driving the Persians out of the Lower Asia, and freeing the Macedonians on that side from all future dread of invasion; had he taken care to confirm and render permanent that sovereignty over the Greek commonwealths, which their fears or their affections had yielded to him; he probably had rendered Macedon flourishing

ing and powerful. But his ambition was her ruin. He drained his country of her ſtrength, in making conqueſts not only uſeleſs but pernicious to her; and he left her a prey to the ravages of war, and the rage of civil conteſt, for nearly forty years after his death.

BOOK III.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Lysimachus gets possession of the throne of Macedon—his character—is slain by Seleucus—Seleucus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus—Ptolemy Ceraunus, by the Gauls.—The Gauls lay waste Macedon—attempt Delphi—are repulsed—and retire.—Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, lays claim to the kingdom of Macedon—and obtains it—is attacked by another body of Gauls—defeats them.—Pyrrhus of Epire invades Macedon—defeats and dispossesses Antigonus—attacks Sparta—is repulsed—marches to Argos—is slain—his character.

Book III. Sect. 2.

Pyrrhus and Lysimachus invade Macedon:

THE expulsion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon was of little service to that unhappy kingdom. Pyrrhus of Epire, and Lysimachus of Thrace [1], who had acted in concert in the late revolution, now set up opposite claims to the succession, each of them demanding it as a recompence due for his services; and they prepared to support their pretensions by force of arms. An accommodation was

[1] See Just. L. xvi. c. 3. Pausan. in Atticis. Plutarch in Pyrrho.

at length brought about, of which, however, the dismembering of Macedon was the fundamental article; the Upper[2] Macedon being allotted to Lysimachus, and the Lower to Pyrrhus. But even this accommodation was only the temporary expedient of ambition. Upon the final ruin of Demetrius's fortunes in Syria, Lysimachus began to execute what he had doubtless meditated from the beginning; and either by open violence, or by secret practices, soon stripped Pyrrhus of all his Macedonian possessions.

Lysimachus ejects Pyrrhus:

UNDER a wise administration, this reunion of the kingdom might have added to its security and strength. Under Lysimachus, it only aggravated its miseries. Violent and sanguinary in his disposition, and no longer controlled by the apprehensions of an enemy near him, he now displayed the whole ferocity of his character. His own family were the first victims[3]. In the decline of life, he had married Arsinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy of Egypt, by Berenice his favourite queen. And some years before, Lysandra, another of Ptolemy's daughters, by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, had been married to Agathocles, Lysimachus's son. Berenice and Eurydice, jealous of each other, had long distracted the

his character:

marries Arsinoe:

[2] *The Upper* Macedon, that is, the eastern part, towards the Aegean sea; as by *the Lower* we are to understand the western, towards the Ionian or Adriatic. In former times, when Macedon was confined within narrower limits, by *the Upper* Macedon were generally meant, as appears from Thucydides (L. viii.) the mountainous parts of it, and by *the Lower*, the vallies and plain country; but the Macedonians having by degrees extended themselves from sea to sea, the eastern and western coasts had the appellation of *Upper* and *Lower* Macedon given to them. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. L. i. c. 14.

[3] Just. L. xvii. c. 1.

Egyptian

Book III. Sect. 2.

Egyptian court by their mutual animofities; and Berenice had taken care to infpire Arfinoe with the fame hatred of Eurydice and her children, with which fhe herfelf was animated.

Arsinoe left Egypt, therefore, with the ftrongeft prejudices againft Lyfandra and her hufband; which, on her arrival in Macedon, were not leffened by the high reputation of the young prince. He was looked up to by all with a fort of adoration: his military abilities and his amiable manners had endeared him equally to the army and to the people: and to his valour and conduct, his father ftood confeffedly indebted for fome of the fineft provinces of his kingdom. Filled as Arfinoe was with hereditary enmity, fuch accomplifhments, ftrengthened by the confideration of his being heir apparent to the throne, were of a nature too diftinguifhed, not to encreafe the averfion and the jealoufy of that refentful and ambitious princefs. They afforded, at the fame time, many dangerous and fpecious arguments to an artful woman, whofe lovely form and captivating powers carried her infinuations with irrefiftible force into the fufpicious mind of a doating and inhuman tyrant. She foon brought over Lyfimachus to her fatal purpofe[4]. Agathocles was fufpected, imprifoned, and put to death[5].

conceives fufpicions of his fon Agathocles:

puts him to death.

The

[4] Some have faid (fee Pauf. Xyland. in Atticis, p. o.) that fhe had conceived a paffion for the young prince; and that, finding her inceftuous folicitations rejected, fhe purfued him with implacable hatred.

[5] There happened alfo at this time an incident, which appears to have precipitated the fate of the young prince. Ptolemy, the eldeft fon of Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Lyfandra's brother, had, upon the preference in the fucceffion being given

The murder of Agathocles threw Macedon into great confusion. His melancholy fate occasioned a general indignation, and called to remembrance his many virtues; whilst Lysimachus, whose temper became every day more distrustful, and who looked upon the honours paid to his son's memory as so many insults offered to himself, wreaked his vengeance on all who seemed even to lament him; so that the most virtuous of the Macedonians saw themselves exposed to the vindictive passions of this gloomy and cruel tyrant.

Indignation and fears of the friends of Agathocles;

Lysandra also knew well, that the same hand which had destroyed her husband, was raised likewise against her life; and that her enemies only waited the opportunity of involving her and her dependents in one general ruin. Exasperated, therefore, by her wrongs, and doubtful of her safety, this unhappy princess, accompanied by her brother Ptolemy, and such of the nobility as had been most attached to Agathocles, fled to Asia, and implored the protection of Seleucus. This prince, pleased, perhaps, with the opportunity, readily granted the noble fugitives all they asked; and, having fallen directly upon the province of Lydia, made himself master of Sardis, and was preparing to cross the Hellespont, when Lysimachus prevented him. He had foreseen the storm that was gathering against him; and, too brave to decline the

they flee to Seleucus,

who prepares to make war against Lysimachus,

given to Philadelphus, brother to Arsinoe, left Egypt, and retired to the court of Agathocles; which, it is likely, made Arsinoe apprehensive that he would endeavour to engage Agathocles in his interest, and through him recover the crown, of which he had been despoiled. But more of these transactions hereafter, in the history of Egyptian affairs.

Book III. Sect. 2.

contest, or unwilling to hazard the issue in Macedon, (where, besides the power of a formidable enemy, he should have to encounter the disaffection of an injured people) had passed into Asia, and was advancing towards Seleucus.

and meets him in battle.

The armies, headed by the two only surviving generals of Alexander, met on a plain on the Phrygian borders, called *the field of Cyrus*[6]. Seleucus was aged seventy-seven years, and Lysimachus eighty. Both of them were hardy and experienced warriors, who, during a long period of years, had been bound to each other by all the ties of friendship, if such a thing as friendship can, indeed, be known to the ambitious.

Lysimachus slain.

Notwithstanding their advanced age, they both acquitted themselves with all the vigour and activity of youth; but Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lysimachus fell.

Seleucus now considered the kingdom of Macedon as a prize belonging to the victor; and, having resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, seemed to please himself with the expectation of spending the remainder of his days, after a variety of revolutions, in the peaceable enjoyment of

Seleucus slain treacherously by Ptolemy Ceraunus.

his native country. He little thought, that he was to receive his death from one of those persons, in whose behalf he had employed his arms. Lysander's brother, Ptolemy, one of the most flagitious characters to be met with in history, had cast an eye on the throne of Macedon, and had determined, whatever crime it should cost him, to possess himself

[6] Κύρου πεδίον—Strab. Casaub. L. iii. p. 432. It appears from Arrian, (ii. 4.) that it was the place of encampment of Cyrus the younger, near the gates of Cilicia from Cappadocia: he calls it Κύρου στρατόπεδον.

of

of it. Seleucus, too generous and unſuſpicious, lived with him in the moſt familiar manner, and ſoon afforded him the opportunity he wiſhed for. As he was on the point of entering Macedon, Ptolemy, watching the convenient moment, treacherouſly came behind, and ſtabbed his benefactor[7], about ſeven months after Lyſimachus's death.

Ptolemy-Ceraunus gets poſſeſſion of Macedon;

THE ſucceſs that attended this perfidious action, ſhews us the abject condition, not only of Macedon, but alſo of the adjacent ſtates of Greece and Aſia, at this juncture. Ptolemy, deteſted as he muſt have been, bathed in the blood of his benefactor, the murderer of a prince univerſally reſpected and beloved, found it, nevertheleſs, an eaſy matter to ſeat himſelf on a throne, to which he had no pretenſions but what were founded on the atrocious action he had juſt committed. It is plain, it was to their exhauſted ſituation he owed his ſecurity. Worn out by continual wars, they dreaded a contention, which was to renew their miſeries. Antigonus, ſon to Poliorcetes, attempted, indeed, an oppoſition; but of little moment: and Antiochus himſelf, Seleucus's ſon, was forced to put off to a future day the revenging of his father's blood, the ſituation of his Aſiatic affairs requiring his immediate preſence.

courts the widow of Lyſimachus;

THE title, by which the Egyptian prince held the crown, was odious; and the public hatred was encreaſed by ſucceeding enormities[8]. Arſinoe, his half-ſiſter, Lyſimachus's widow, retained ſtill a portion of Upper Macedon, in the chief city of which, Caſſandria, ſhe had her reſidence, together with the ſons

[7] OLYMP. cxxiv. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 282.

[8] Juſt. L. xxiv. c. 2, 3.

Book III. Sect. 2.

whom ſhe had born to Lyſimachus. This was a mortifying circumſtance to Ptolemy. He held but a mutilated kingdom, whilſt this part was wanting. The young princes, beſides, were ſons to a king of Macedon, and might in time ſet up claims, which he ſhould find it difficult to defeat. Should he attempt Caſſandria by force of arms, and fail, it muſt lay open his deſigns, and might prove his ruin. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed by art and ſubtilty; and, pretending to be captivated by the charms of Arſinoe, offered to ſhare the throne of Macedon with her; and, as a farther inducement, to ſettle the ſucceſſion upon her ſons.

prevails on her to marry him:

Maternal tenderneſs, and perhaps yet more her vanity and ambition, were too much flattered by theſe offers for her to reject them. She wanted, however, further aſſurances of his ſincerity. This was an eaſy taſk. The moſt ſacred oaths were employed on the occaſion: Ptolemy, before the altar, imprecating on himſelf the ſevereſt vengeance of the gods, if he was not moved to this ſuit by the firmeſt and moſt ardent affection, and promiſing, whilſt life remained, never to depart from his preſent regard and profeſſions. The ſolemnity of the marriage, which was celebrated with the utmoſt ſplendor, was followed by the pomp of Arſinoe's inauguration; on which occaſions Ptolemy ſo ſucceſsfully maintained the character of a tender lover, that his wife, baniſhing every ſuſpicion, gave herſelf up to the fond belief of her huſband's truth and conſtancy, and commanded the gates of the city of Caſſandria, where her children reſided, and her treaſures were lodged, to be opened for his reception.

This

This was the grand object, for the sake of which he had been practising every hypocritical art. No sooner had he entered the gates, than he ordered his troops to possess themselves of the citadel; and the young princes, one aged sixteen, the other thirteen, who had appeared to attend his entry, and do him honour, to be immediately put to death. Upon the first notice of what was designed against them, they had fled to Arsinoe for protection; but the wretched mother could afford them none; the assassins not only rushing into her presence, but, regardless of her shrieks, murdered both the princes even in her arms, whilst she in vain endeavoured to cover them from the strokes of the inhuman executioners. As if all this barbarity had not been sufficient, after stripping her of her royal attire, and cloathing her in a mean garb, this unhappy princess was dragged out of the city, and sent into exile to Samothrace.

murders both her sons,

and banishes her;

Such enormous guilt seemed to provoke some exemplary punishment; and it soon overtook him. A vast body of Gauls[9], amounting to three hundred thousand, had left their native home in quest of new settlements, and after following the course of the Danube for a considerable way, had divided into three bodies, one of which had broken into Macedon. Ptolemy had not force sufficient to cope with this formidable multitude; yet, as if urged on by divine vengeance for his crimes, he refused the only expedients that might have saved him. They demanded a certain quantity of gold, promising on that condition to march through his dominions without committing any depredation. Their demand was haughtily rejected. The

is attacked by the Gauls;

[9] Pausan. in Phocicis. Just. L. xxiv. c. 5, & seq.

rashly defies them to battle,

Dardanians would have marched to his assistance. He disdained the offer; and, in full confidence of his own strength, and in contempt of that of the enemy, took the field with such tumultuary troops as he could get together, and defied the enemy to battle. The event was answerable to the folly

and falls.

of his conduct. With most of his men he perished[10]; and, the barbarians cutting off his head, carried it through their ranks exposed on the top of a lance. Ptolemy reigned about two years, and is distinguished in history by the appellation of *Ceraunus*, or *thunderbolt*; a name aptly expressive of his impetuous and ruthless violence.

The Gauls lay waste Macedon;

NEVER were people in a more deplorable condition than the Macedonians at this period; without a king; without an army; exposed to the depredations of incensed barbarians, and subject to every insult which their cruelty or their lust might dictate. Sosthenes undertook at length to repress them. This noble Macedonian, called forth by the distresses of his country, assembled whatever adventurous spirits were yet to be found in Macedon, and, having formed them into a chosen band, occasionally surprised and harrassed the ravagers. Repeated successes encreased his reputation and his numbers, until by degrees he found himself enabled to attempt regular engagements; in one of which Belgius fell. But Macedon had not yet seen the end of her calamities. Brennus, another of the barbarian chieftains, who had remained behind in Pannonia, excited by the fame of Belgius's exploits, and of the rich plunder he had acquired, also hastened to share the spoil; and entered Macedon, say historians, at the head of an hun-

[10] OLYMP. cxxiv. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 280.

dred

dred and forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. To such a force the resistance of exhausted Macedon was unequal. Sosthenes's army, together with their gallant chief, were soon overpowered and cut to pieces; and, a few places of strength excepted, all was abandoned to the mercy of the conqueror. Laden with plunder, they left at length a country, where they could find nothing more to gratify their avarice; and shaped their course towards Greece.

march towards Greece;

Greece, enfeebled by a succession of evils, which her domestic follies, and the ambition of the princes of Macedon, had brought upon her, had seemingly nothing to oppose to this torrent of barbarians. Brennus, well informed of her situation, and flushed with victory, promised himself an easy possession of all the treasures, with which her cities were said to abound. He knew not what resources may be found in strict discipline and wise counsels. Animated by the dangers that threatened them, the Grecian states mustered immediately what strength they could, and secured the defiles of Thermopylae, through which lay the route of the barbarians from Macedon; the Athenians under the command of Callippus, of whom history makes the most honourable mention[11], taking the lead in this important service: whilst their fleets sailed to the coasts of Thessaly, in order to support the operations of the army by land. Brennus had advanced, as if all opposition was to fly before him. But, to his amazement, neither the multitudes he commanded, the gigantic stature of his Gauls, nor the ferocity of their onset, were here successful. The mili-

are stopped at Thermopylae;

[11] See Pausan. in Atticis.

tary

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

tary skill, and the superior excellence of their weapons, gave the Greeks a decided advantage; after repeated efforts, and the loss of many of the bravest of his troops, he found himself under the necessity of desisting.

invade Aetolia;

He then detached forty thousand men to ravage Aetolia, which joined Thessaly on the south; in hopes that the Aetolians, who formed a considerable part of the Grecian army, would go to the defence of their own country. But enough still remained to guard the pass; and his detachment, after taking only the city of Callion, and encreasing the detestation in which the barbarians were held, by the excessive cruelties they committed, were half of them cut off.

attack Delphi:

At length the inhabitants of that part of Thessaly where the Gauls were encamped, wishing to get rid of these burdensome guests at any price, directed Brennus to the path over mount Oeta, by which the Medes had entered Greece in the days of Leonidas. Leaving therefore Aciachorius to command in his absence, he began his march at the head of a considerable army, sixty-five thousand chosen men, says Justin[12], in order to surprize the temple of Delphi, famed for the precious offerings it contained. The same fortune he had before experienced pursued him thither also. As the Gauls approached the mount, on which the oracular temple stood, strange voices and solemn sounds struck their ears on every side; the mountain began to shake, and huge rocks, loosening from their foundations, precipitated down upon the affrighted Gauls, and crushed them in

[12] Just. L. xxiv. c. 7.

numbers.

numbers. The inhabitants, in the mean time, though hardly four thousand strong, inspired with a courage more than human, rushed forth against the barbarians[13]; who, panic-struck, betook themselves to flight; many of them, in their consternation, turning their swords one against another, perished by mutual wounds. The slaughter, which was prodigious, continued till the close of day[14].

are repulsed,

The night, that followed, gave them no respite. Besides hideous voices, the crash of rocks, together with the cry of the enemy pursuing, which they still heard or seemed to hear, a tempest uncommonly dreadful overtook the remains of this wretched army, attended with such piercing cold, that most of the wounded expired of the anguish it occasioned. Brennus had been likewise wounded; but his bodily sufferings were light in comparison of what his mind endured; he felt the whole severity of divine vengeance, and in his distraction laid violent hands on himself. The few, who survived, having with much difficulty joined

and retire in consternation.

Brennus kills himself.

[13] Some historians say that they were led on by personages of divine appearance; whom they suppose to be Apollo, Minerva, and Diana.

[14] According to Pausanias (in Phocicis, p. 340.) the discomfiture of the Gauls at Delphi happened the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad, that is, 278 years before Christ. This agrees exactly with what the accurate Polybius tells us (L. ii. c. 41) that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, died all in the course of the 124th Olympiad. Ptolemy Ceraunus we suppose here to have fallen in battle against the Gauls, the 4th year of that Olympiad. He is said to have reigned two years. He therefore slew Seleucus the 2d year of that same Olympiad. And seven months before that had Lysimachus been slain. Sosthenes, the successor of Ceraunus, held the administration about two years, that is, until the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad, when he was killed by Brennus, who in consequence of his victory invaded Greece.

Book III. Sect. 2.

Aciachorius, endeavoured to retreat from this inauſpicious country. But, whereſoever they went, they found enemies; the ſeveral nations, as they paſſed, riſing againſt them; and of all thoſe vaſt multitudes, which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one, we are told, eſcaped[15].

[15] Paulmier de Grentemeſnil, in his Graec. Antiq. L. vi. c. 8. maintains, that the Gauls really ſacked Delphi, and that what Pagan writers ſay to the contrary is only to be conſidered as an invention of the Greeks, dictated by their vanity and ſuperſtition. And he founds his aſſertion chiefly on the teſtimony of Strabo, who, as quoted by that learned critic, ſays that a conſiderable part of the Delphic treaſure was carried off by the Gauls to Toulouſe, and found there by Caepio, the Roman general, when he plundered that city. But, upon examining Strabo, it appears, that this is only a partial quotation; and that, taken all together, his evidence bears quite another way. His words are theſe: "There is indeed a tradition, that the Tecto-"ſages" (a tribe of Gauls near the Pyrenees) "were among the Gauls who in-"vaded Delphi, and that the treaſure found at Toulouſe by Caepio the Roman ge-"neral was part of the plunder which they had carried off from Delphi, and "which, upon their returning home, they had conſecrated to the gods, in order to "placate them, having added to it much treaſure of their own; and that Caepio, "for preſuming to lay hands on this ſacred depoſit, had periſhed miſerably with his "whole family. But what Poſidonius relates is much more credible. He ſays, "that the treaſures found at Toulouſe, to the amount of 15,000 talents, were "either laid up in the temples, or concealed in the ſacred lakes, and conſiſted "altogether of unwrought gold and ſilver. But at the time when the Gauls in-"vaded Greece, the Delphic temple had no ſuch treaſure, having been lately plun-"dered by the Phocians. And what little the Gauls might have got there, the ſol-"diers would probably have had divided among them. Neither is it likely, that theſe "Tectoſages ever reached their native land, having ſuffered great miſeries, after "they left Delphi, and been diſperſed under different leaders in different countries." Strab. Caſaub. L. iv. p. 130. — Allowing, however, what Strabo does not ſeem willing to allow, that a part of theſe invaders reached Toulouſe, and brought ſome portion of the plundered wealth home with them, it does not follow that this was the plunder of Delphi. They had already enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of Macedon; and Pauſanias (in Phocicis) expreſsly tells us, that, when the Gallic chiefs marched to Delphi, a part of the army was left at Heraclea, to guard the treaſure they had amaſſed, and which they left behind them in their camp; ὡι ἔμελλον φρουρήσειν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου χρήματα.

Such

Such are the extraordinary circumſtances, with which antient writers have recorded this irruption and adorned their narrative.

Amidst theſe fictions, it is not impoſſible to trace the truth. From Juſtin[16] we learn, that the Delphians, far from relying on any ſupernatural intervention, provided for their preſervation with admirable dexterity. They iſſued orders, in the name of the oracle, to the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, to abandon their dwellings, leaving them well ſtored with all manner of proviſions and plenty of wines. This ſcheme had the deſired effect. The Gauls, ſharpened by hunger, and meeting with no enemy to oppoſe them, freely indulged themſelves, thinking they were in full ſecurity. The contrivance gave the Greeks an opportunity of making more effectual preparations, and of collecting ſuccours from the neighbouring cities; and the barbarians, diſordered by exceſs, loſt much of that vigour, by which their operations had been generally diſtinguiſhed.

Cauſes of their diſcomfiture.

Precautions of the Delphians.

The ſituation alſo of Delphi furniſhed the inhabitants with the means of diſplaying their ingenuity in another manner. Mount Parnaſſus, on the ſide of which ſtood the ſacred city, had many caves and windings, from whence proceeded a variety of curious echoes. By ſtationing people in proper places, with inſtructions to ſhout and ſcream out, as occaſion required, it is plain, that the natural effects of the place muſt have produced a multiplicity of ſtrange voices, which iſſuing loudly forth, without any viſible cauſe, from every ſide,

Situation of Delphi.

[16] Juſt. L. xxiv. c. 7.

Book III. Sect. 2.

with an extraordinary encreafe of reverberating founds, could not but ftrike terror and difmay into an uninftructed multitude, and beget in them an opinion, that beings more than human were concerned in producing them.

The mountaineers of Parnaffus tumble down fragments of rocks on the Gauls;

On the fame principle may be explained the concuffions of the mountain, and the difruption of thofe large fragments, which, we are told, rolled down, and overwhelmed the Gauls, as they attempted to afcend. Well acquainted with the heights of Parnaffus, the inhabitants, doubtlefs, had it in their power to loofen many of the rocks of that precipice, and to roll them down on the enemy. The mountaineers of the Alps[16] practifed the like operation againft Hannibal, in his paffage into Italy: and thefe maffy bodies, bounding in their defcent from cliff to cliff, and dafhing at length againft the bottom with impetuous violence, might well caufe fomewhat of a tremulous motion all around.

the Gauls, rude and ignorant, eafily impreffed with terror.

The Gauls, therefore, a rude people, and prone to wonder, finding themfelves affailed by ftrange voices and terrifying founds, which feemed to proceed from beings of a fuperior order; hearing the noife of mountains tumbling over their heads, and feeing numbers of their companions deftroyed by the fudden ruin that appeared to defcend from heaven; feeling, at the fame time, the ground to loofen and tremble beneath their feet; might very poffibly be led to conclude, that the gods interefted themfelves againft them. The reft is eafily accounted for. The mind, once ftruck with a panic, is apt to magnify the moft trifling objects, and

[16] See Liv. L. xxvii. c. 34.

often

often imagines circumſtances that never had exiſtence. The ſuperſtition of the times aſſiſted the illuſion; and the Greeks, both then, and for ages after, whether miſled by credulity or prompted by intereſt, failed not to ſupport the credit of theſe legendary tales.

True cauſe of Brennus's deſpair.

It appears, neverthleſs, from Pauſanias [17], that the act of deſpair, of which Brennus was guilty, was owing to the apprehenſions he had of his own countrymen. He it was who had engaged them in this unproſperous expedition; and he dreaded their reſentment. There is alſo the fulleſt evidence from Strabo [18], and other antient writers, that the Gauls were not all cut off. Juſtin himſelf, who ſays, not one of them eſcaped, acknowledges, in another place, that part of them made their way into Thrace, and part into Aſia [19]. This is alſo confirmed by the teſtimony of Polybius [20], from whom we learn, that they formed a conſiderable ſettlement in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; and after ſome years brought even the Byzantines under a tributary ſubjection.

Loſs ſuſtained by the Gauls exaggerated.

Noble vigour exerted by the Greeks;

The ſucceſs thus obtained by the arms of Greece againſt theſe barbarian tribes, who, ſpreading devaſtation through moſt of the European nations, had, for above an hundred years, diſputed the prize of empire with Rome herſelf, ſhews the ſpirit and vigour of the Grecian people when fully exerted; and leads us to conceive what they might have atchieved, had they not ſuffered their ſtrength to conſume away in

[17] See Pauſan. in Phocicis. [18] See Strab. ubi ſup. [19] Juſt. L. xxxii. c. 3.
[20] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 46.

Book III. Sect. 2.

domestic divisions, and destructive contests for sovereignty between city and city. United firmly together, and employing their joint efforts for the preservation of their common liberties, they might long have spurned the yoke of bondage, and have bid defiance to every foreign foe.

by the Athenians in particular.

It is also worthy of observation, that the Athenians, in whom, for many years before, the spirit of antient days seemed to have been altogether extinguished, should, on this occasion, have deserved to be ranked among the foremost of the deliverers of Greece; and it is no less remarkable, that, after the expulsion of these barbarians, this principle of virtue, by which they were now actuated, should at once lose its whole activity and power. From this time, therefore, they make but a contemptible figure in the affairs of Greece; acting only a secondary part in the various revolutions that followed; and seemingly concerned, not so much for the preservation of their liberties, as into whose hands they should deliver them.

Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, gets possession of Macedon;

The kingdom of Macedon had suffered severely during the late irruptions of the Gauls; and it might have been expected, that, impoverished as it now was, it would have been permitted to enjoy some interval of repose. It appears, nevertheless, to have been still an object of ambition to the neighbouring princes. Antigonus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, since his father's misfortunes, held possession of some of the Peloponnesian cities, revived pretensions to it, which he had attempted to urge in the beginning of the reign of Ceraunus. His plea was, "his father had sat on "the throne of Macedon, and, by his mother Philla, he

"was

"was of the houſe of Antipater." Accordingly, when he found the Gauls had retired, he marched an army into what he called his own dominions. Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, on the other hand, advanced a title not leſs ſpecious; "he claimed Macedon in right of his father, who in "fair battle had won it with his ſword from Lyſimachus;" and prepared to ſupport his claim by a powerful armament. Means, however, were contrived to compromiſe the matter. It was agreed, that Antigonus ſhould wed the princeſs Philla, whom Seleucus had by Stratonice before he reſigned her to his ſon: and in conſequence of this marriage, Antiochus relinquiſhed his pretenſions to Macedon in favour of Antigonus.

is attacked by another body of Gauls,

This re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity was of ſhort continuance. A body of Gauls[21] had halted, and ſettled on the northern boundaries of Macedon, at the time Brennus was carrying on his ravages to the ſouthward. They ſoon heard that Antigonus had brought much treaſure from Peloponneſus, and that Macedon began again to give proofs of cultivation and proſperity. Allured by the proſpect of plunder, they ſent an embaſſy to Antigonus, requiring the payment of a certain ſubſidy, on which condition they tendered him peace. Antigonus refuſed to comply with terms ſo diſhonourable; at the ſame time, thinking to intimidate his adverſaries by a diſplay of his power, he entertained their embaſſadors with great parade, and made a ſplendid exhibition of his army and equipments for war. The report of the embaſſadors, upon their return home, ſerved only as an addi-

[21] Juſt. L. xxv. c. 1, 2.

3 tional

Book III. Sect. 2.

tional incitement to the barbarians, who immediately made an inroad into Macedon. Antigonus saw his mistake, and endeavoured to repair it. As if fearful of giving battle, he suffered them to carry on their depredations unmolested; but when incumbered with booty, he fell on them with his troops, which he had disposed in places proper for the purpose, and made great slaughter; few of the enemy, say historians, escaping. It is nevertheless evident, that, with all these exterminations, of which we so frequently read, the Gauls must have had at this period powerful settlements in most of the adjacent countries, especially to the north of Macedon; for, from this period, scarcely any war was undertaken among the nations of those parts, in which they were not employed as mercenaries.

and defeats them.

Pyrrhus invades Macedon:

his various fortunes from his infancy.

This invasion was hardly over, when, as if Macedon was never to enjoy repose, a new enemy[22] appeared. Pyrrhus has been already mentioned; but so uncommon a character deserves more particular notice. His life had been a constant scene of adventures. Even in his infancy, when his father Aeacidas, king of Epire, and nephew to Olympias, had been driven from his throne, through the intrigues of Cassander of Macedon, his life had been preserved in a wonderful manner. Cassander, the mortal foe of Olympias and her lineage, had sworn the extirpation of the house of Aeacidas; and had given directions to his faction, that the young prince especially should not escape. Pyrrhus's attendants contrived, nevertheless, to convey him out of Epire; but, in their flight, they found themselves stopped by a ri-

[22] Plutarch in Pyrrho. Just. L. xxv. c. 3, 4, 6. Pausan. in Atticis.

ver,

ver, ſwollen and unfordable by heavy rains. There was no boat, and the purſuers were at hand. In this diſtreſs, one of his retinue, having written with the tongue of a buckle on a piece of oak-bark, an account of the fortunes of the infant they had in charge, and of the dangers that threatened him, faſtened it to a javelin, and threw it to the oppoſite ſide; which moving the compaſſion of the people of the country, they provided immediately a raft, and got him over. From thence they made their way to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, who was married to Beröe, a princeſs of the royal houſe of Epire. Upon coming into the king's preſence, being doubtful of the reception they ſhould meet with, they laid the child at his feet in the poſture of a ſuppliant. The king, who dreaded Caſſander, remained a conſiderable time wrapped in ſilent ſuſpence, ſeemingly revolving what part he ſhould act. During which, Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping cloſe to him, took hold of his robe, raiſed himſelf up, and clung round his knees. Won by this artleſs pleading of the little infant, Glaucias caught him in his arms, and delivered him to the queen, to be brought up with his own children; and, though afterwards repeatedly ſolicited by Caſſander, who employed both threats and promiſes, he ſteadily refuſed to withdraw his protection from him; and when twelve years old, he conducted him in perſon back to Epire, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors. Pyrrhus had reigned about five years, when, another revolution taking place, he was again obliged to quit Epire; and fled to Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia. With him he remained for ſome years; he fought by his ſide at the battle of Ipſus; and, when a treaty was concluded by Demetrius with Ptolemy and Seleucus, he went as an hoſtage for his patron into

Egypt.

Egypt. This visit to the Egyptian court proved the means of restoring the fortune of Pyrrhus. His accomplishments recommended him to the favour of Ptolemy and Berenice, who gave him in marriage Antigone, daughter of Berenice by her first husband, and enabled him to recover the kingdom of Epire. The share he afterwards had in the revolutions of Macedon, his obtaining a part of that kingdom, and losing it again, have been already related.

Pyrrhus, now restored to Epire, relieved from foreign wars, and in the peaceable possession of his hereditary throne, had nothing to divert his attention from the prosperity of his kingdom. But his mind knew not repose. The Tarentines, who had rashly engaged in war against Rome, applied to him for assistance; and his ambitious spirit eagerly seized an opportunity from which he fondly promised to himself nothing less than the conquest of all the kingdoms of the earth. What events this expedition produced, is the business of another history. It may be sufficient here to observe, that after various exploits in Italy and Sicily, which only ended in making his name memorable, he had returned to Epire, full of indignation against Antigonus, to whom he had applied for succours without obtaining them. In revenge, therefore, he made an irruption into the Macedonian borders. His view at first was only depredation; but, place after place falling before him, and the Macedonians themselves (by whom he was held in great admiration on account of his martial atchievements, and a strong resemblance they fancied he bore to Alexander the Great) favouring his progress and deserting to him, he was tempted to proceed; and,

Pyrrhus defeats Antigonus, and gets

and, having defeated Antigonus in a pitched battle, found himself almost unexpectedly in possession of the throne of Macedon. possession of Macedon:

This revolution was far from alleviating the calamities of the Macedonians. Pyrrhus valued victory, as it was the means of plunder, and used it accordingly. He had, besides, inlisted into his service a body of mercenary Gauls, whom he recompensed by permitting them to plunder those nations whom they had helped him to conquer. Accordingly, wherever they came, neither public nor private wealth escaped: the sepulchres of the Macedonian kings at Aegae they even polluted and ransacked, for the sake of the treasures they were supposed to conceal. permits his mercenary Gauls to plunder;

Antigonus, however, had not yet given up the contest. He was still master of Thessalonica and the adjoining coasts; and, having assembled a new army, marched against Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, whom his father had left to govern the kingdom during his absence in Epire; but Antigonus was again defeated, and with difficulty saved himself by flight. Had Pyrrhus known how to make a proper use of his present advantages, the throne of Macedon had probably been for ever lost to Antigonus; but, hurried away by his passion for war, he soon prosecuted other adventures. leaves Ptolemy, his son, governor of Macedon, by whom Antigonus is again defeated;

Cleonymus, a prince of the royal blood of Sparta, driven by certain wrongs from his country, had applied to him for protection. "Arcus," he alledged, "had usurped the Spartan throne to his prejudice; and, which to him was a far more grievous injury, his wife Chelidonis, whom he dear- marches against Sparta,

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

"ly loved, had been seduced by Acrotatus, son to Arcus, and "was forcibly with-held from him." Pyrrhus listened willingly to complaints, which opened new scenes to his ambition; he promised to avenge the cause of Cleonymus; and, marching at the head of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants, arrived within sight of Sparta before his adversaries were aware of his intentions.

and is near surprizing it.

His approach spread consternation throughout the city. Arcus was absent in Crete, and had carried with him the flower of the Spartan army; those who remained at home being mostly persons who, from their age or sex, were incapable of military service. Had Pyrrhus therefore proceeded with his wonted impetuosity, it was scarcely possible that Sparta should have made a long defence; but he had reached that city at close of day; and, fearing that amidst the confusion of the night he should not have it in his power to restrain his troops from pillaging, he thought it adviseable to delay the attack until the morning.

Heroism of the Spartan women.

HIS delay saved the Spartans. The council having assembled upon the first alarm, it had been proposed to send off the women; but the women of Sparta were unacquainted with fear: apprized therefore of the proposal, they deputed Archidamia to deliver their sentiments to the senate. She entered the assembly armed, with a sword in her hand, and thus addressed them, "Deem not, men of Sparta, so "meanly of the Spartan women, as to imagine they will "survive, when their country is no more: consider not then, "*whither* we are to fly; determine only what we are to "do; and whatever station shall be assigned to us, that we "are prepared to undertake and to perform." Animated by

this

this ſpirited addreſs, it was reſolved to employ the night in ſinking a trench oppoſite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed firmly in the ground, in order to prevent the paſſing of the elephants; the trench to be in breadth ſix cubits, in depth four, in length eight hundred. One third of this work the women undertook to execute; the old men were to complete the reſt; the young men not being allowed to aſſiſt in it, that they might be in full ſtrength to ſuſtain the enemy's charge in the morning.

Brave defence of the Spartans.

At day-break Pyrrhus ſaw with amazement what the night had produced; commanding, however, a general aſſault, he endeavoured to force his way by ſtorm; but every where he found a vigorous reſiſtance; the Spartan line oppoſed an impenetrable rampart of ſhields and briſtling weapons; and the mould having been newly thrown up, afforded the Macedonians a treacherous footing; ſo that, tumbling back into the ditch, numbers were ſlaughtered. Meanwhile, Ptolemy, the ſon of Pyrrhus, had nearly triumphed over all the precaution of the Spartans. Obſerving them to be too ſecure of one part, which was fortified by the waggons, and leſs attentive to its defence, he made an attack upon that quarter, at the head of two thouſand Gauls. Already had he cleared away the carriages, and was laying open a paſſage, when Acrotatus, perceiving the danger, ſallied from the oppoſite part of the city, and, wheeling round by the hollow-way that lay at the foot of the hills, unexpectedly attacked and diſlodged the Macedonians with great carnage [23].

Night

[23] We have here from Plutarch (in Phocicis) a ſtriking inſtance of the ſhameful diſregard in which the connubial vow was held by the pagan world. As Acrotatus,

Book III. Sect. 2.

Night at length parted the combatants, but without abating their fury. They waited impatiently for the morning; and, as soon as it appeared, the action was renewed with the same obstinate violence. The women of Sparta shared every danger with their countrymen; they supplied them with ammunition and refreshments, they attended the wounded, and carried off the dead. After repeated efforts, Pyrrhus, who saw the trench was not to be forced, determined to penetrate the barricado of waggons, which his son had unsuccessfully attempted the preceding day. Through these he forced his way; and, with a number of horsemen getting within the Spartan lines, advanced full speed towards the city. At sight of this the Spartan women sent forth a shriek of despair, imagining, that Sparta had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The moment was truly critical; Sparta was in the most imminent danger; and appears to have been saved merely by one of those unforeseen events on which the fate of kingdoms often depend. A Cretan archer, taking aim at the king, buried an arrow in the body of his horse, who, plunging in the agonies of death, threw his rider. The Macedonians, apprehending their sovereign was slain, fell back. And the Spartans, at the same instant, rushing forward, recovered their ground, and compelled Pyrrhus to consult his safety by retiring.

Pyrrhus is repulsed,

tus, after performing the exploit of dislodging the enemy, was returning through the city, *he appeared to the Spartan women*, says the biographer, *taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not forbear envying Chelidonis such a lover*: nay, even some of the old men followed, and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offspring be worthy of Sparta!" and yet had the disloyalty of this very Chelidonis been one of the principal causes that had provoked the present war.

He

prepares to march for Argos;

He was not diſcouraged. "To-morrow," ſaid he, "we "will reſume the fight; by which time the Spartans will "have felt their wounds, and be leſs able to reſiſt us." But that very night a body of troops from Antigonus entered the city. And a few hours after Arcus himſelf arrived, with two thouſand men. Pyrrhus ſaw, that to ſtorm Sparta was now altogether impracticable; and, having received an invitation from the people of Argos to haſten to their aſſiſtance againſt Antigonus, he gladly availed himſelf of the pretence, and prepared to withdraw his troops.

is purſued by the Spartans;

his ſon Ptolemy is ſlain,

This was a matter of greater difficulty than he imagined. Arcus, filled with reſentment, obſerved all his motions; and, as ſoon as he had begun his march, by hanging on his flank and rear, galled him ſeverely. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, and adventuring too far among the enemy, was ſurrounded and ſlain. This was a ſevere blow to Pyrrhus. He was his ſon by Antigone, ſtep-daughter to Ptolemy king of Egypt; and was accounted one of the moſt amiable princes of his time. Pyrrhus ſhewed his concern in a manner natural to his character. He turned upon the enemy, and ſacrificed to his revenge all who fell in his way.

He is refuſed admittance into Argos,

On his arrival at Argos, he found the ſituation of affairs very different from what his hopes had repreſented them. He poſſeſſed, it is true, a faction among the Argives; but Antigonus had likewiſe his; and was encamped with a reſpectable force at a ſmall diſtance from the city. The citizens of Argos, beſides, began to ſee the miſtake they had been guilty of, in calling in theſe high-ſpirited and ambi-

tious princes; and, apprehensive of the issue, both parties had united in requesting the two kings not to make their city a scene of bloodshed; but, whatever might be their disputes, to decide them without the gates. Antigonus promised to comply. Pyrrhus also acquiesced; but, tempted by the advantages he expected to derive from the possession of the city, in violation of his royal word, he prevailed upon some of his partizans to admit him privately by night.

attempts to enter it by night,

The night chosen for the purpose being dark; the gate narrow; and the street, leading from it, strait and slippery; the Macedonians, who were strangers to the place, were much embarrassed, and soon fell into confusion. Before the evil could be remedied, day-light appeared. Pyrrhus now saw himself beset with difficulties: the posts of importance were all in the hands of Antigonus's friends; the citizens were coming down upon him from all quarters; and the narrowness of the street, together with the crouds that poured in, made it impossible for his troops either to form or to advance. Convinced therefore of the folly of the attempt, he resolved to retire; and accordingly directed his son Helenus, who commanded without the gate, to break down part of the city-walls, in order to give a free passage to his troops in their retreat. But his orders were unfortunately mistaken; the troops without, striving to rush in to his assistance, added to the uproar, and at the same time one of the elephants falling, choaked up the gateway. Amidst the tumult which this scene of confusion occasioned, Pyrrhus, endeavouring to keep off the multitude, received a slight wound from the hand of an Argive; when turning on him, to revenge the blow, the mother of the man, who happened to be

looking

Book III. Sect. 2.

looking at the battle from the roof of an adjoining house, terrified at the danger to which her son's life was exposed, aimed a tile at the king[24]; which falling on his helmet, brought him senseless to the ground; this misfortune one of Antigonus's officers perceiving, dragged him immediately aside, and struck off his head[25]. *and is slain by the hand of a woman;*

Such was the humiliating fall of this warrior, whose active life had been productive of so much devastation and bloodshed.

Pyrrhus is ranked by many among the greatest generals of antiquity. *his character as a warrior,* Even Hannibal, if we may believe Plutarch[26], accounted him the first in genius and skill the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to him, being only the second; and himself the third. Whatever authenticity may be in this story, the tradition shews in what high estimation his military abilities were held. He was certainly possessed of great talents, *as a king;* and he had been a blessing to the age in which he lived, had his turbulent spirit, and thirst for military fame, permitted him to employ his powers for the happiness, instead of the destruction of mankind.

24 Such, it appears, was the terror the Argives had of Pyrrhus, that they considered the deliverance, which they obtained by his death, as the effect of some supernatural interposition. It was, said they, Ceres, who, having assumed the form of an old woman, discharged the tile on his head, in order to save her favourite Argos from this fell warrior. And accordingly a temple was raised to Ceres on the spot where Pyrrhus was slain. Pausan. in Atticis.

25 Olymp. cxxvi. 4. Before Christ 272.

26 In Pyrrho.

Book III. Sect. 2.

The ills which his ambition brought on his kingdom.

Epire ſuffered, under his reign, all the calamities which generally diſtinguiſh the reigns of ambitious princes. Neither did the miſeries he brought upon it end with his life. Alexander, his ſon and ſucceſſor, inured by his father to arms from his earlieſt years, and ſeduced by that appearance of glory which Pyrrhus's atchievements had caſt around him, purſued the ſame martial track, and, like his father, marked his whole reign with commotion and bloodſhed. Soon after the death of this prince, followed the ruin of his royal houſe; in which the ſame cauſes appear to have had a conſiderable ſhare. His two ſons, harraſſed whilſt they lived by different foes, died young. And the princeſs Laodamia, to whom the ſucceſſion devolved, was murdered in an inſurrection of her own ſubjects at the altar of Diana, where ſhe had taken ſanctuary [27]. Such an atrocious violation of whatever was deemed moſt ſacred, ſhews the degree of ferocity which the Epirots had contracted in the courſe of ſo many wars, and perhaps the reſentment alſo they entertained of the ills, which the turbulence of their princes had brought upon them.

From this time, hiſtory ſpeaks of them as a people ſunk into the loweſt and moſt abject condition; having neither wiſdom to cultivate peace, nor vigour to defend themſelves in war; but, waſted by inceſſant civil broils, and the incurſions of foreign enemies, they dwindled into inſignificancy, and were at length almoſt totally exterminated [28].

[27] Juſt. L. xxvi. c. 1, 3.

[28] Juſtin ubi ſupra.

This

This representation of Justin will hardly be thought exaggerated, when we consider the ravages to which the Epirots had been so long exposed from their neighbours of Aetolia, of Thessaly, of Illyricum, of Macedon; nations practised in war and depredation, to whose hostilities their territories lay open: and especially too when we reflect upon the devastation which the Romans also made among them; laying in ruins in one day every town in Epire, and carrying into captivity all the inhabitants, that were young and fit for service; to the amount, the Roman historians themselves confess, of an hundred and fifty thousand.

But these transactions belong to a later period. They have been only slightly mentioned here, on account of their connection with our history of the reign of Pyrrhus.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Macedonian and Grecian affairs under Antigonus—his ſon Demetrius—and Antigonus the ſecond, kings of Macedon.—Origin of the republic of Achaia—it's decay—re-eſtabliſhment—aggrandiſement, and proſperity—from what cauſes.

Book IV. Sect. I.

Antigonus recovers the kingdom of Macedon;

UPON the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus was again ſeated on the throne of Macedon. He now ſaw himſelf without a rival; and, as if he had ſucceeded to Pyrrhus's ambition, as well as to his power, he began already to form ſchemes for the reduction of Greece. But, the more formidable he affected to appear, the more formidable became the oppoſition to his views. The ſtates that had favoured Pyrrhus, marked all his ſteps with jealous eyes; and even thoſe who had been moſt forward in eſpouſing his cauſe, could not, without juſt apprehenſions, behold a king of Macedon maſter of extenſive

poſſeſſions

excites the jealousy of the other Grecian states;

possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus. Nay, Arcus, the Spartan king, who had fought on the same side, was not free from well-grounded fears, and thought it adviseable to strengthen himself against Antigonus, by applying for succours to Ptolemy Euergetes, then on the throne of Egypt, the most powerful prince of his time, and connected by friendship and interests with many of the Grecian states.

is attacked by the Gauls:

AMIDST these preparations and expectations of war, a new and most formidable enemy appeared[1]. A fresh irruption of Gauls, after hovering for some time on the frontiers, broke in at length upon Macedon; which they ravaged with a barbarity unexampled even among those fierce invaders. Alarmed at the approach of a foe, whose very name carried dismay along with it, the Macedonians fled before them, and prepared to abandon a country, to the devastation of which they saw no end. In this exigency, Antigonus added caution to courage; and his conduct saved Macedon. Careful to avoid this impetuous torrent of barbarians, he permitted them to spend their fury in wild excursion. He observed all their motions at a distance; he harrassed them, as occasion offered; and he endeavoured to lead them into some of those defiles with which Macedon abounds. His plan succeeded. Intangled in the inclosures of mountains, where their exertions were confined, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by the forces of Antigonus, who had occupied all the passes. Terror and amazement seized them; whilst their distress was heightened by the bards that attended their expedition, in whose knowledge of future events they placed a superstitious and

his prudent conduct:

[1] Just. L. xxvi. c. 2.

implicit

implicit faith. Poſſeſſed with gloomy apprehenſions of the danger which ſurrounded them, with dreadful howlings, and ſhrieks of woe, they denounced diſcomfiture and death. The army caught the panic from their diviners; and, in the phrenſy of deſpair, turning their rage on their wives and children, they ſlaughtered them all; and then, beſmeared over with their blood, ruſhed on to battle. The mad onſet of ſuch a panic-ſtruck multitude could avail but little againſt the regular charge and cool courage of the Macedonian line. They were accordingly cut to pieces to a man.

he defeats them;

Elated with the ſucceſs, which thus had crowned his arms, Antigonus looked forward with heightened confidence, and haſtened to complete the reduction of the Grecian ſtates, in which he now expected to find little difficulty. He began with the ſiege of Athens[2]. That city had ſubmitted to the arms of his father Poliorcetes; and had paid him the moſt ſervile adulation in the day of his power; but in his day of diſtreſs ſhe had ſhut her gates againſt him. Upon this and other grounds Antigonus founded claims, which he required the Athenians to admit; whilſt their more recent declaration for Pyrrhus, to whom, during his conteſt with Antigonus, they had ſent ambaſſadors, ſwelled the catalogue of wrongs, for which he inſiſted for reparation. The danger which threatened Athens, was conſidered as the common cauſe of Greece, whoſe fate ſeemed involved in the humiliation of this illuſtrious city. The veneration in which ſhe was ſtill held, cooperated with the idea of general danger, and drew aid from all parts. Arcus, the Spartan king, marched in perſon to her

plans the reduction of Greece;

beſieges Athens,

[2] Pauſan. in Laconicis.

aſſiſtance;

Book IV. Sect. 1.

assistance; and Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet, with troops, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. But, notwithstanding every exertion, Antigonus prevailed at length; and the Athenians were obliged to purchase his forgiveness by admitting a Macedonian garrison.

takes it;

is attacked at home by Alexander of Epire,

But, whilst Antigonus was thus making conquests in other kingdoms, he was on the point of losing his own. Alexander of Epire, Pyrrhus's son, stimulated, it is probable, by some of the Grecian states, who thought it their safest expedient to raise enemies to Antigonus at home, had entered Macedon[3]. Antigonus hastened back to repel the invasion; when the whole Macedonian nation, tired of a king, whose restless ambition allowed them no respite, revolted, and, declaring for Alexander, forced Antigonus, after some fruitless efforts, to relinquish all immediate hopes of a re-establishment, and to retire to the dominions he still possessed in Greece.

and loses Macedon.

His son, Demetrius, recovers it for him:

Antigonus had a son named Demetrius, then a stripling; who, unsubdued by this reverse of fortune, disdained to accompany his father in his flight, resolving either to recover the throne, which he had been taught to consider as his hereditary right, or to perish in the contest. The generous spirit of this gallant prince gained him friends: a party was formed in his favour; and so happily did he improve his opportunities, that he not only obliged Alexander to relinquish Macedon, but attacked him in Epire, and, in return, stripped him almost of *his* paternal kingdom[4].

[3] Just. ubi sup.

[4] Just. ubi sup.

From this time Antigonus preserved Macedon till his death; but, uninstructed by his various troubles, he retained to the last his fondness for turbulent scenes. His favourite object was still the subjection of the Greek republics; and this pursuit he continued even in his most advanced age, endeavouring to accomplish by fraud and intrigue, what he could not venture to attempt by force of arms. his views on Greece;

Of this kind was the last act recorded concerning him[5]. The tyrant Alexander held Corinth, one of the most important places in Greece, which commanded the entrance into Peloponnesus. This prince Antigonus contrived to have taken off by poison; but his sovereignty was bequeathed to his wife Nicaea, a woman advanced in years, fond of power, and of its possession exceedingly jealous. With such a character, some extraordinary artifice was necessary; and Antigonus devised one. His son Demetrius, who was young and handsome, he commanded to repair to Nicaea's court, to attach himself to her person, and to offer her his hand. Nicaea's vanity favoured the deception, and the marriage was accordingly solemnized, Antigonus himself honouring it with his presence. attempts Corinth by artifice,

The principal point, nevertheless, was still to be gained; Nicaea cautiously retaining in her own power the citadel, without which the possession of Corinth was of little consequence. Antigonus, pretending to be perfectly satisfied, continued to pay her particular attention, and affected to appear in person among her retinue, whenever she chose to appear in public. It happened, one day, that a celebrated singer and gets possession of it;

[5] Plutarch in Arato.

was

Book IV. Sect. I.

was to perform in the theatre, for the entertainment of Nicaea and her royal guests. Upon her setting out, Antigonus, seemingly to do her honour, attended her litter; but, having gone a little way, whilst, unsuspicious of fraud, she was proceeding towards the theatre, he slipped aside, and, proceeding hastily to the fort, either through surprise, or the treachery of the guard, he obtained admittance, and introduced a garrison of his own.

loses Corinth again:

Antigonus, however, received no lasting benefit from an acquisition purchased at the price of so much artifice. The Corinthian citadel he held only about eight years, the Achaeans wresting it then out of his hands [6]. He would not, however, have tamely resigned the hopes of repossessing a fortress, the importance of which no man better understood; and he had even entered into alliance with the Aetolians, in order, jointly with them, to fall upon Achaia; but death [7] put an end to all his ambitious projects, after a reign of thirty-four years, from his first acquisition of the throne of Macedon [8].

dies:

his son Demetrius succeeds:

This prince, who is known in history by the name of Antigonus Gonatus [9], was succeeded by his son Demetrius,

[6] Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

[7] Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. Before Christ 244.

[8] The sovereignty of certain cities of Peloponnesus he acquired ten years earlier, at the time of Poliorcetes's captivity. We hear no more of Nicaea; historians possibly thinking, with Antigonus, that she had fulfilled her destination, and was now to be thrown aside.

[9] Whence this name, whether from the place of his birth, as some writers have imagined, though, as far as appears, without sufficient foundation; or whether from his mis-shapen knees, the word Gonatas admitting of this interpretation *, is a question of little moment. The antiquarian may consider it.

* See Rhodig. Lection. Antiq. L. xxiv. c. 5.

whose reign was less active, and probably, for that very reason, less fatal to Macedon, than his father's. The wars he engaged in were few, and of short continuance. The most remarkable was against the Aetolians, whom he pretended to chastise for having invaded Acarnania, then belonging to Epire: but the Achaeans espousing their cause, Demetrius was worsted [10], and prudently withdrew into Macedon. From that time he adopted a new plan of policy in relation to Greece; maintaining an interest in the different states, not by holding the sovereignty himself, but by supporting the petty tyrants, in whose hands usurpation had placed it: so that, as appears from Polybius [11], they became all his creatures, receiving his pay, and acting by his instructions. A species of power less odious, and equally effectual, than if he had held them in immediate and avowed subjection.

his policy towards the Grecian states:

Besides the old woman of Corinth, he married not only a princess of the royal house of Syria, sister to Antiochus Hierax; but afterwards, during the distress of the house of Epire, Olympias, the widow of Alexander, in the view of engaging his protection to her afflicted family, prevailed on him to marry her daughter Pthia [12]. This marriage was imprudent, and might have involved Macedon in many troubles. It was highly resented by the Syrian princess, who withdrew to Asia. And the affairs of Epire might have engaged Demetrius in measures pernicious to his

his marriages:

[10] Polyb. L. ii. c. 44.

[11] Ος ἦν αὐτοῖς, says Polybius, speaking of this Demetrius, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus of his time, διονεὶ χορηγὸς καὶ μισθοδότης. See Polyb. Casaub. L. ii. c. 44. p. 182.

[12] Just. L. xxviii. c. 1.

Book IV. Sect. 1.

and death: own dominions; but his death[13], and the wisdom of his successor, prevented the consequences that might have been expected.

Antigonus the second succeeds: This prince reigned only ten years; and his kinsman, Antigonus, succeeded him. Demetrius, nevertheless, had left an infant son, Philip; but the Macedonians, dreading the confusion with which a minority is often attended, and judging Antigonus to be a man of moderation, and well affected to his country, placed him on the throne, and obliged him, at the same time, to take the queen-mother to wife. his probity; He justified the favourable opinion his subjects had conceived of him. He accepted of the crown as a trust he was to hold for the young prince, son to the deceased king. He bestowed the same care on him, as if he had been his own son: he designed him for his successor; and he employed his utmost attention to render him worthy of the throne he was one day to fill.

the wisdom of his policy. His character as a king was not less respectable. By his equity, he gained the confidence of his neighbours; and he acquired the love of his people, by a merciful administration of justice. He was cautious not to endanger the prosperity of his kingdom by an imprudent pursuit of foreign interests, which had been too much the policy of the two last reigns; and he chose rather to forego some distant claims, than to engage the Macedonians in expensive and doubtful wars.

[13] Olymp. cxxxvi. 1. Before Christ 235.

What

Book IV. Sect. I.

State of Greece in his days.

What rendered this happy temper of mind the more honourable, was the period in which Antigonus lived; when the turbulent ſtate of affairs afforded the faireſt opportunities to ambition; both Spartans and Achaeans endeavouring, either by force or intrigue, to bring about a revolution of government in moſt parts of Greece. It will be neceſſary to explain theſe matters more particularly.

Republic of Achaia;

Towards the end of the reign of Gonatas, conſiderable alterations had taken place in Peloponneſus. The republic of Achaia, which, till this period, had been contented with an unambitious privacy, began to aſſume a very different port, and ſeemed to have nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty of Greece. This republic had its firſt eſtabliſhment in early ages; and was compoſed originally of twelve towns [14], one of which, Helice, periſhed by an earthquake in the fourth year of the one hundred and firſt Olympiad [15], and another, Olenus, was deſerted and fell to ruins. The diſtrict, which theſe cities occupied, bordered upon the Criſſaean or Corinthian gulph and the Ionian ſea, extending along the coaſt from Sicyon to Elis. It was bounded to the ſouth-eaſt by Arcadia, ſo as to form the north-weſt angle of Peloponneſus; and did not much exceed fifty miles in length, and in breadth about twenty-five. The firſt government known among them had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings. But in proceſs of time, theſe cities, ſtimu-

its origin

[14] We have from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) the names of theſe twelve towns, Patrae, Dymé, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, (or rather Carynea) Olenus, and Helice.

[15] A ſhort time before the battle of Leuctra. See Polyb. ubi ſup. See alſo Pauſan. in Achaicis.

lated by the oppressive excesses of their princes, threw off kingly government, and united together in one confederacy [16]; pledging themselves to each other to employ their joint and utmost efforts for their mutual defence. All were to have the same interests; the same friendships; the same coins, weights, and measures; the same laws; and the same magistrates.

and form:

These magistrates were to be elected annually by the majority of the suffrages of the whole community. Twice every year, at spring and autumn, or oftener, if any great emergency required it, a general assembly was to be held, in which every matter of legislation and national concern was determined by a plurality of voices. This assembly consisted of deputies from the respective cities, chosen by plurality of voices.

national assembly.

The magistrates, in whose hands the supreme executive power was lodged, were stiled Generals [17] of the States of Achaia; and to them the military department, and the right of presidency in the national assembly, belonged. These generals originally were two; but, the Achaeans finding the inconveniencies which in many cases attended a divided authority, reduced them to one.

General of Achaia;

Assistant to the general were the demiurgi, or council of ten, whose office it was to advise with the general, and probably to stand as a barrier between him and the people, should he attempt to act in an arbitrary manner [18]. It was their province also to examine all matters intended to be laid before the popular assembly; and to propose them, if they appeared conducive to the public happiness; otherwise to reject them.

demiurgi;

Polybius mentions another officer, the scribe of Achaia; whose department seems to have

scribe;

[16] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 37.

[17] Στρατηγοι.—See Polyb. L. ii. c. 42 et passim.

[18] Δημιουργοι—See Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xlvii. p. 1200.—The title Demiurgi seems to imply Agents of the people.

been

been chiefly of a civil nature; perhaps not unlike that of the Greffier of Holland; and to him, perhaps, were the archives of the nation, and the preparing and expediting of all public inſtruments intruſted. Book IV. Sect. 1.

THESE ſtate-officers were not only elected annually, but it was alſo a rule, eſpecially in the later times of the republic, not to re-elect the ſame perſon two years ſucceſſively, unleſs ſome very important conſideration made an exception neceſſary or prudent. It appears probable, likewiſe, from Polybius, that, by the original conſtitution, theſe great magiſtrates were to be choſen out of the different towns of Achaia by rotation; though there is reaſon to believe, that this regulation was not always obſerved. Beſides theſe ſuperior magiſtrates, every town had alſo its municipal magiſtracy; and it is not unlikely, as ſome have conjectured, that theſe municipal eſtabliſhments throughout Achaia were counterparts of the national polity; conſiſting, in the ſame manner, of a popular aſſembly, a council, and a preſiding magiſtrate. how elected.

WHAT their laws were, we know but imperfectly; owing probably to the obſcurity in which they lived, during the earlier ages of Achaia; ſecluded in a remote corner from the other Greek nations, with whom, from the principles of their conſtitution, they could not cultivate a cloſe connection, and, from their poverty and ſimplicity of life, had ſcarcely any intercourſe. The country of Achaia, beſides, rugged, barren, and without the elegancies to be met with in other parts of Greece, had nothing to attract the curious traveller; and, although ſituated along the ſea-coaſt, it de- Obſcurity of the Achaean ſtates for ſome ages;

Book IV. Sect. I. rived from thence but little advantage; the rocks, with which its coasts were begirt, rendering the approach exceedingly dangerous.

So far from taking part, therefore, in those atchievements of the great commonwealths of Greece, which are now the ornament of ancient story, the first battle in which they engaged in behalf of the Grecian liberties, was that of Chaeronea. And when the Greeks marched to Thermopylae, to oppose the Gauls, the Achaeans, anxious merely for their little territory, contented themselves with assisting to block up the pass of the isthmus; the Achaeans of Patrae alone[19] passing over to the aid of the Aetolians, to oppose the detachment from the army of Brennus, which, as we have seen, broke into Aetolia, and sacked Callion.

The few laws, however, which have reached us, stand as monuments of their wisdom.

The most remarkable of their laws.

"No individual, nor town, belonging to the Achaean "body, were to accept of any gratification whatsoever, in "their public or private capacity, from prince or people, "under the penalty of being cut off from the commonwealth "of Achaia[20]."

"No member of the Achaean league was to send any "embassy to, or contract alliance or friendship with, any "prince or people, without the privity and approbation of

[19] Pausan. in Phocicis.

[20] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xli. p. 1181.

"the

"the whole Achaean confederacy [21]."—This law seems to have been the corner-stone of the Achaean fabric; and all the members of the Achaean state were to be sworn to the observation of it.

"The admission of any prince, state, or city, into the "Achaean confederacy, was not to have place, unless all "the members of the confederacy had consented there-"to [22]."

"An extraordinary convention of the national assembly "was not be granted at the request of the embassador of any "foreign potenate, unless the matters to be offered to such "assembly were first delivered to the general of Achaia "and the council of ten, in writing, and pronounced by "them to be of sufficient importance [23]."

"The deliberations of every assembly were to be confined "altogether to the matter, on account of which the assembly "had been convened [24]."

"In all debates, those who had spoken, were to deliver a "short draught of the arguments they had employed, in "order to be considered the ensuing day; and within the "third day, at farthest, was the business in question to be "finally determined: no debate being permitted to continue "beyond three days [25]."

[21] Polyb. L. iv. c. 9. [22] Polyb. ubi sup. et passim. [23] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xli. p. 1185. et xlvii. 1200. [24] Polyb. ubi sup. [25] Liv. L. xxxii. c. 23.—See also Ubbo. Emm. Vet. Graec, tom. iii. p. 274. & seq.

But,

BOOK IV. Sect. I.

Their humane spirit, and integrity of manners:

BUT, whatever their system of laws may have been, of which a very incomplete idea is now to be had, it is certain, that the equity and humane spirit of their civil constitution, supported by their simplicity of manners and unblemished faith, made them at length so much the admiration of the adjoining nations, that to their arbitration the proudest of their neighbours referred their differences. The Thebans and the Spartans, after the battle of Leuctra, as Polybius [16] informs us, submitted to their decision all matters in dispute between them; and even the Greek cities of Italy, when, harrassed with repeated insurrections, occasioned by the overthrowing of the Pythagorean schools, they were in danger of a total dissolution of government, applied to them for advice, in what manner to amend their political establishments; and found effectual relief, by adopting the plan which they prescribed.

held in admiration by the neighbouring states:

divided and humbled by the Macedonian princes;

IN the meridian of the power of Antipater, and the Macedonian princes that succeeded him, the Achaeans had their full share of the despotism, which afflicted Greece during that wretched period: the shadow of their commonwealth hardly remained; most of their members, at the instigation of Macedonian agents, having deserted the national league, and fallen under the dominion of various tyrants.

recover their antient government:

BUT the distracted state of Macedon under Lysimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus proving favourable to the Achaeans, some of their towns improved the opportunity, and restored again the antient form of government. Patrae and Dymé led the

[16] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 39. p. 175, 176.

way;

way; and they were immediately joined by Tritaea and Pharae. The rest, who still continued under the yoke of tyranny, followed by degrees the example; some by persuasion, and some by compulsion, prevailing with their tyrants to abdicate their usurped government[27].

Such, during more than twenty years of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, was the situation of the Achaeans; recovering slowly from the shock they had lately sustained. Their towns were small and ill-peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and their coasts harbourless and impracticable. So circumstanced, they seemed to wish for nothing more than to be permitted to enjoy an humble independence; when Aratus

Aratus appears;

[27] It appears from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) that the Achaeans had erected a pillar (no unusual memorial in antient days) on which were inscribed the names of the several cities, which had from time to time been incorporated into the republic of Achaia; the names of those four cities, Patrae, Dymé, Tritaea, and Pharae, which had been the original institutors, or rather re-establishers, of the Achaean confederacy, excepted. This honour, of being considered as the founders of the state, was the only *peculiar honour* these four cities enjoyed. It being a constitutional maxim with this illustrious commonwealth, that whatever city, state, or people, were adopted into it, became, immediately upon their admission, invested with all the rights and privileges which the other more antient members of this republic enjoyed, without the least mark of inferiority or dependence. And to this generous spirit of equality, and humanity of its institutions, ἰσότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, Polybius (L. ii. c. 38.) ascribes that compact union and stability, which gave to the Achaean form the advantage over all the other republican establishments throughout this part of Greece, even, according to that historian, over the Spartan itself.

The restoration of the association of the Achaean cities took place in the 124th Olympiad, the same year in which Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, were slain, and Pyrrhus of Epire passed into Italy to the aid of the Tarentines. The embarrassed state of Macedon, and the adjacent countries, during this period, together with the foreign wars Pyrrhus was employed in, gave to these Peloponnesians the opportunity of recovering their liberties.

Book IV. Sect. 1.

appeared [28], who was to give the highest finishing to this seemingly-inconsiderable republic.

This extraordinary personage was by birth of Sicyon. And the first sentiments, of which his mind seems to have been susceptible, were an enthusiastic love of liberty, and an invincible abhorrence of tyrants. The earliest ideas he had received led to the forming of these impressions; and every circumstance, as he grew up, contributed to strengthen them. His father Clinias, who held a distinguished rank among the Sicyonians, had been murdered by Abantidas, tyrant of Sicyon; most of the Grecian cities being then under tyrannical dependents of the Macedonian king. The spirit of freedom which marked the character of Clinias, had rendered him obnoxious; and the tyrant, who resolved the destruction of his whole family, had ordered, that Aratus, then but seven years old, should be murdered also. But whilst the tyrant's instruments were employed in the assassination of his father, he escaped unobserved amidst the confusion occasioned by the bloody business; and, not knowing where to find an asylum, strayed by chance into the house of Soso, sister to Abantidas. Amazed at seeing him, it struck her mind, that the gods themselves must have conducted him thither. And her superstition did what her humanity would not have done. She looked upon herself as called upon by divine command to provide for the child's preservation; and, having concealed him until night, she sent him off to Argos.

wonderful preservation;

[28] See Plutarch in Arato. Polyb. L. ii. c. 43. et passim. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

There

There his father's friends took care of Aratus: they educated him ſuitably to his birth; and he ſoon ſhewed that he was not unworthy of the attention beſtowed upon him. For he had not yet reached his twentieth year, when, fired with the thoughts of revenging his father's blood, and the wrongs of his country, he determined to return to Sicyon. Abantidas was no more. But, as in theſe days tyrant ſucceeded tyrant, Nicocles filled his place, and held the city in ſubjection. Alarmed at the accounts brought him of Aratus, his ſpies had directions to obſerve all his motions. Aratus, nevertheleſs, conducted his plans with all that ſubtilty of addreſs and intrigue for which his natural genius, improved by the circumſtances of his life, had ſo admirably fitted him: he eluded all the tyrant's machinations, and not only made himſelf maſter of Sicyon, but would have ſurpriſed Nicocles himſelf, had not his guilty fears previouſly ſuggeſted to him the precaution of preparing a ſubterranean paſſage againſt the hour of danger; through which he made his eſcape.

relieves his native city Sicyon from tyrants;

Sicyon was now reſtored to her liberties; but ſhe was nevertheleſs ſtill encompaſſed with enemies. The ſurpriſe of Corinth by Antigonus, which had lately taken place, ſhewed Aratus what he had to fear from that quarter. Various kinds of tyranny prevailed at the ſame time in moſt of the neighbouring cities. And even in Sicyon the creatures of the late tyrants, either from corrupt views or a conſciouſneſs of guilt, were ſtill unfriendly to the cauſe of liberty, and hated the aſſertor of it. Againſt theſe dangers Aratus ſaw no reſource more effectual than the friendſhip of the Achaeans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and, though yet of ſmall account, were the only people of Peloponneſus, in whoſe breaſts

ſtrengthens himſelf againſt the creatures of the late tyrants,

 the

and associates Sicyon to Achaia.

the spirit of freedom glowed. To incorporate the Sicyonians with this republic, was his great object. Achaia and Sicyon entered into his views; they embraced with eagerness the proposal: and the Sicyonians were admitted accordingly into the Achaean body.

Confused state of property at Sicyon,

Something was yet wanting to the peace of Sicyon. Five hundred and eighty of it's citizens had been driven into exile during the late disastrous times, and, though recalled to their native home, they had still to encounter all the distresses of indigence; their landed property having, in a course of years, passed through different hands; and many of those, in whose possession it then was, holding it by legal titles.

settled by the wisdom

and probity of Aratus,

How to relieve this numerous body of claimants, so justly the objects of public compassion, was difficult. A general act of resumption had been an act of cruelty, injustice, and violence; and, if attempted, might have brought on commotions not to be easily pacified. Aratus, ever ardently anxious for the general good, determined to apply for aid to his friend Ptolemy Philadelphus; that prince, who was an admirer of the fine arts, having often employed Aratus to collect for him the paintings of the great masters of Greece, in which Sicyon is said to have abounded; the Sicyonian school having been in the highest repute for several ages. That he might plead his cause the more forcibly, Aratus set off in person for the Egyptian court. Ptolemy generously complied with Aratus's request, and furnished him with sums of money sufficient for his purpose. In the administration of which trust he proceeded with such wisdom, and strict observance of equity, that the old proprietors, and the new possessors,

ſors, were equally well ſatisfied with his conduct: a tranſaction which completed the ſettlement of Sicyon, and gave to Aratus a ſtronger intereſt than ever in the affections of his fellow-citizens.

The abilities and liberal ſpirit, which Aratus had ſhewn on this occaſion, drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece. The Achaean ſtates in particular conſidered him as an important acquiſition, and advanced him to the higheſt honours their commonwealth had to beſtow. The enſuing year he was elected general of Achaia.

Aratus choſen general of Achaia;

Success enlarged his views. The power of the Macedonian king in Peloponneſus was at this time exceedingly formidable; and his poſſeſſions were extenſive. The petty ſovereigns, at the ſame time, of the ſeveral cities were almoſt without exception his vaſſals: ſubſiſting by his protection, and ſubſervient to his commands. It was eaſy to perceive, that a prince thus circumſtanced, whoſe ſchemes were directed to give law to Greece, would not long ſuffer Achaia to remain undiſturbed. Aratus conceived the bold thought of overthrowing this dangerous plan of empire. Corinth, the key to the whole peninſula, was then held by Antigonus: and Aratus determined to try whether he could not effect the re-eſtabliſhment of the Corinthian liberties, in the ſame manner he had re-eſtabliſhed thoſe of Sicyon. The opinion entertained of the natural ſtrength of the Corinthian citadel; the confidence of the garriſon; and the improbability of ſuch an attack coming from ſo feeble a hand; contributed all to the ſucceſs of Aratus. He made the attempt in the night; he ſcaled the walls by ladders, with only an hundred men, the

reſtores Corinth to her liberties;

rest being ordered to follow another way. He was already in the city, and had nearly gained the ascent to the citadel, before he was discovered. His falling in accidentally with the guard, patrolling the streets, gave the first alarm to the Macedonians. They would then have resisted. But Aratus had disposed his different parties in so advantageous a manner, and was so seasonably supported by those who were to co-operate from without, that, when morning appeared, the garrison, defeated on all sides, were forced to abandon the place.

The same generous temper of mind which he had shewn in the delivering of Sicyon, marked also his conduct to the Corinthians. He caused them to assemble in the theatre; when, after addressing them in a manner suitable to the great event, he opened to them the motives by which he had been influenced: "his zeal for the independence of his country, and "the hopes he had entertained of forming an effectual barrier "against the Macedonian king, the sworn enemy of the "Grecian liberties;" he concluded by presenting them with the keys of their citadel, of which they had not been in possession since the days of Philip of Macedon; and invited them, at the same time, to accede to the Achaean league, as the best measure for securing what they had now recovered.

and incorporates the Corinthians among the Achaean states:

They answered him with loud acclamations of joy, hailing him their deliverer, and expressing their grateful acceptance of the offer he had made. So that Aratus not only had the praise of having given liberty to a people long humbled under the yoke of oppression, but the glory also of having added considerably to the importance of the Achaean states; who thus saw one of the most illustrious of the Grecian cities inrolled among them [29].

[29] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

This

THIS expulſion of the Macedonians from Corinth happened about eight years after the revolution at Sicyon; Aratus being then for the ſecond time general of Achaia. Book IV. Sect. 1.

ONE circumſtance in the conduct of Aratus, on this occaſion, deſerves to be particularly mentioned. In order to procure proper intelligence, it was expedient to bribe certain perſons, who had connections in Corinth, for which purpoſe a conſiderable ſum of money was neceſſary[30]. Aratus knew the low ſtate of the Achaean finances, and he knew alſo how much the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended upon ſecrecy; he would not therefore ſeek for reſources in the aſſiſtance of his friends, whoſe ſuſpicions or indiſcretion might have betrayed his purpoſe; but raiſed the money privately on his own account, pledging for it his plate and the jewels of his wife. Such, obſerves the hiſtorian[31], was the paſſion of this ſpirited Greek for gallant atchievements, that he endeavoured not only to vie with Phocion and Epaminondas, who were accounted the moſt excellent of all the Greeks, in not ſacrificing virtue to money: he aſcended a ſtep higher: he parted privately with his own property, in the cauſe of thoſe who were not even apprized of his generous intentions: he embarked his eſtate in an enterpriſe, wherein he alone was to expoſe himſelf for his fellow-citizens: he purchaſed great danger at great expence: he hazarded his fortune and his life for the glory of advancing the proſperity of his country. His generoſity on this occaſion.

[30] Sixty talents, according to Plutarch; (between eleven and twelve thouſand pounds).

[31] See Plutarch in Arato.

THIS

Book IV. Sect. 1.

Other cities join the Achaeans.

This exploit, which, according to Plutarch, is one of the greatest recorded in history, and the last, he thinks, which the Greeks have to boast of, led the way to important alterations. The people of Megara, though on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus, renounced the alliance of Macedon, and joined the Achaeans. The cities of Troezene, Epidaurus, and Cleonae, on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus, followed the example. The spirit of liberty caught even Lysiades, the tyrant of Megalopolis; who of his own accord abdicated the sovereignty, and applied to be admitted into the Achaean league.

The alertness of Aratus;

Amidst these extraordinary revolutions died Antigonus Gonatas, about two years after his losing Corinth, being succeeded, as we have seen, by his son Demetrius. Aratus continued his active exertions. He again attempted Athens, which he had formerly attacked in the days of Antigonus; and, though now a second time repulsed by the Macedonians, whose strength was considerable in those parts, he was not discouraged. For when Demetrius invaded Aetolia, he immediately took the field, and joined the Aetolians, notwithstanding those people had lately broken into Achaia, and committed severe depredations. The consequence of this junction was the defeat of Demetrius; who thereupon abandoned the war, and retired to his own kingdom. This was the last excursion Demetrius ventured to make into the southern parts of Greece, whether employed at home against the barbarian nations, who are said to have infested his frontiers; or whether, as it is most likely, he was unwilling again to try the decision of arms with the Achaeans, who were now

become

Book IV. Sect. 1.

become exceedingly formidable. Aratus certainly appears to have been the enemy he dreaded most: for when tidings were brought to Macedon, that he had been taken prisoner in one of his inroads into Attica, he immediately dispatched a vessel to Athens, with orders that he should be sent to him in chains. And though he kept within his own kingdom, he spared neither treasure nor intrigue to support, as his father had done before, the petty tyrants of Peloponnesus, whose only merit was their enmity to Aratus.

General character of the Grecian tyrants of those days;

THE curious account history gives us of the tyrant of Argos, whose trusty friend Antigonus Gonatas had professed himself, and whose character, as may be gathered both from Polybius and Plutarch, seems, in part at least, to have been applicable to the several Peloponnesian tyrants of those days, may serve to shew what wretched instruments the kings of Macedon had the meanness to employ.

particularly of Aristippus, tyrant of Argos.

" THIS tyrant (whose name was Aristippus) who had Antigonus for his ally, who had a numerous body-guard, and " who had not suffered one man in Argos to live, whom he " thought his enemy, would not permit his guards to do duty " within the palace, but only around it. When supper " was over, he dismissed all his servants, making fast the " door of the hall himself, and with his mistress ascended by a trap-door into a small chamber above. Upon " that door his bed was placed, and there he slept, as a " person in his anxious state may be supposed to sleep. The " ladder by which he ascended, his mistress's mother removed, and secured it in another room till morning, when

Book IV. Sect. 1.

"she brought it again, and called up this wonderful prince, "who crept like a reptile from his hole!"

"This manner of life," continues the historian, "was "Aristippus under the necessity of leading; thus it was he "enjoyed that pomp of despotic sovereignty, which is gene- "rally so much envied and admired as the pinnacle of "human happiness [31]."

Aratus purchases liberty to Athens,

The change, which now took place in the affairs of Macedon, opened an extensive field to the enterprising genius of Aratus. Antigonus the second, who, as we have seen, had ascended the throne on the death of Demetrius, employed himself at home in remedying the many internal evils, to which the mistaken counsels of Gonatas and his son had given rise, and seemed to look on the transactions of the more remote states of Greece with an eye of indifference. Relieved, therefore, from the obstructions he had hitherto experienced, Aratus hastened to improve the opportunity. He renewed the attempt on Athens, where there still was a strong garrison; but it was discovered, that the governor, who had no longer the same attachment to the court of Macedon, was not incorruptible: and Aratus offered him his price. The sum stipulated was an hundred and fifty talents (near thirty thousand pounds) of which Aratus, who valued no expence, when the purchase was the liberties of his country, paid twenty himself. The forts were accordingly surrendered into the hands of the Athenians; and Athens was incorporated among the states of Achaia.

[31] Plutarch in Arato.

THERE

There was something peculiarly noble in the conduct of Aratus upon this occasion. In one of the preceding attacks on the Macedonian garrison at Athens, a report had prevailed, that he was slain. Immediately the Athenians, in servile adulation to their Macedonian masters, put on garlands of flowers, and broke out into the most illiberal expressions of joy: but Aratus was above resenting the poor insult. He left them to learn, from his example, what their sentiments ought to have been.

though ill-treated by them:

He then tried what could be done at Argos; which he had often attempted before, but without success; so strenuous, till then, had Macedon been in supporting the tyrants of that city: but Aristomachus, who now held the sovereignty, finding that dependence could no longer be placed on assistance from Macedon, gladly accepted terms, and, having abdicated, was received into the Achaean confederacy.

and restores Argos to her liberties.

Intimidated by these examples, the petty tyrants around soon dropped all opposition. Hardly one of the adjoining states remained inimical or independent: all entered either into alliance with the Achaeans, or fell under their subjection. The people of Phlius and Hermione, in the neighbourhood of Argos, and of Aegina in the Saronic gulph, declared in their favour; the greater part of Arcadia paid them contributions; the Aetolians as well as the Spartans were their allies; and the king of Egypt himself, the first in power of all the princes of those days, accepted the title of protector of the liberties of Achaia. As an enemy to the Macedonian kings, he saw with pleasure the Achaeans strengthening themselves against them; and he engaged to support them in the posses-

Flourishing condition of Achaia at this period.

Book IV. Sect. 1.

sion of their just rights, should his assistance at any time be necessary.

Probable consequences to Greece, had Achaia continued to flourish.

In this respectable situation were the Achaean affairs during the first years of the reign of the second Antigonus. And, could this noble fabric of liberty have retained that solidity and compactness, which it seems to have had at this period, Greece might probably have long bidden defiance to the various enemies who successively rose up against her.

But, to these fair appearances a very different scene soon succeeded. Such being the instability of human councils, that those, whose unanimity and virtuous spirit of freedom had framed this noble establishment, became now the very persons whose selfish ambition, jealousies, and dissensions, wrought its overthrow.

A more important and instructive portion of history is not to be met with in the Grecian annals. It will be necessary to unfold the various events, which led to this catastrophe.

BOOK IV.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

The Aetolians—their character—jealous of Achaia—excite Cleomenes, king of Sparta, against the Achaeans—character of Cleomenes—his abilities and ſucceſs—the Achaeans diſtreſſed by Cleomenes—call in the aid of Antigonus king of Macedon—Antigonus marches againſt Cleomenes—defeats him—Cleomenes eſcapes to Egypt—Antigonus returns to Macedon—fights the barbarians—obtains a complete victory—dies—his character.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

The Aetolians;

THE Aetolians were a people ſituated on the Ionian ſea, to the north-weſt of the iſthmus of Corinth, in that ſmall angle of country oppoſite to Achaia, and divided from it by the Corinthian gulph; bounded by Acarnania to the north, the Locri Ozolae to the eaſt, and ſtretching to the north-eaſt as far as the mountains of Theſſaly; their whole extent of territory being about fifty miles from north to ſouth, not above twenty miles from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places ſcarcely ten. Their ſtate, like that of Achaia, was compoſed

their ſituation;

composed of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other, but induced to unite from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip the son of Amyntas. Their polity, in many respects, bore a near resemblance to that of the Achaeans. They had been from early times inured to arms, which were, indeed, the principal object of their attention. Their country, mostly mountainous, affording them but a scanty subsistence; so that they owed their chief support to the descents they made into the adjacent lands, where, sweeping away whatever plunder they could seize, they rushed back with impetuosity to their strong-holds and mountain-fastnesses; whose situation, scarcely accessible without a guide, baffled all pursuit. Suitable to this mode of life were their manners; warlike, fierce, impetuous, insolent. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they saw with indignation a people noway superior to themselves, whom they had often plundered with impunity, and whose establishment, laws, and situation, so nearly resembled their own, taking the lead both in council and in arms, and bearing off the prize of empire, which, in their own idea, they might themselves have so justly claimed[1]. They endeavoured to inspire the Spartans with similar thoughts; and the Spartans were but too ready to listen to their suggestions.

polity; character; jealous of the Achaeans; excite the Spartans against them.

CLEOMENES was now seated on the Spartan throne, whose misfortune it was, that even his virtues were to be fatal to his country. To an uncommon share of understanding, this extraordinary prince joined great integrity of heart, martial spirit, and an ardent love of glory. But, too eager in the

Cleomenes king of Sparta, his character.

[1] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 45, & L. ix. c. 32 & passim. Pausan. in Achaicis. Plutarch in Cleomene & Arato.

pursuit

pursuit of his favourite object, his rapid mind often overlooked the inexpediency of the means he was to use; and he sacrificed to ambition, the prosperity of a people whose happiness he thought he was consulting.

State of Sparta at this period;

The times, in which he lived, were very different from those which the illustrious commonwealth of Lacedemon had once known: to that poverty and hardy discipline, which had formed the sinews of her strength, had succeeded excessive opulence, and an abandoned voluptuousness of manners. Some even of their kings were not ashamed to encourage the general profligacy by their edicts, as well as by their example. Arcus, and his son Acrotatus[2], as if seeking to relieve their citizens from all restraints whatsoever, had discountenanced the public meals, that last pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance. Acrotatus lived, at the same time, in the face of his country, in open adultery with the wife of Cleonymus, his father's uncle: and when he had, in consequence of this scandalous amour, involved his fellow-citizens with Pyrrhus of Epire[3], they gave a strong proof of the degenerate tameness of Spartan manners; they punished not the guilty cause of an unjust and unnecessary war. One or two of the Spartan princes, it must be allowed, had, at different times, attempted to stem the torrent of public corruption; yet had the attempt always proved abortive; deposition, banishment, and even death, having been the only recompence of their exalted virtue.

from what causes.

[2] See Athenae. Deipnosoph. Casaub. L. iv. 71.

[3] See book iii. sect 2.

Such,

Book IV. Sect. 2.

Agis king of Sparta,

Such, when Cleomenes appeared, was the ſtate of Sparta; and he himſelf had been eye-witneſs of a very affecting inſtance of the depravity of his countrymen. His father Leonidas had reigned with Agis; Leonidas of the elder branch, Agis of the younger. Leonidas was ſon to that Cleonymus, whoſe wife Chelidonis Acrotatus had ſeduced; and, upon the death of the ſon of Acrotatus, had mounted the throne. Agis, who had ſucceeded his father Eudamidas, was the ſixth in deſcent from the famous Ageſilaus, and a near kinſman of that Agis, who fell in battle againſt Antipater, fighting for the liberties of his country.

his virtuous deſigns;

Agis [4], who was himſelf of unblemiſhed manners, and animated with a ſincere zeal for the proſperity of Sparta, ſaw with deep concern the breaches which avarice, luxury, and ambition, had made in the conſtitution of his country. The laws of Lycurgus were totally diſregarded; the lands were all in the poſſeſſion of a few families, who rioted in opulence; whilſt the reſt of the Spartans, deſpoiled of their patrimony, dragged on a wretched life in indigence and humiliation. To theſe diſtreſſes, this prince reſolved to apply the natural remedy, which the inſtitutions of Lycurgus preſcribed; and, in obedience to the original appointment of that great lawgiver, he determined to inforce the ſumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new diviſion of lands. This reſolution was the more ſingular, and worthy of praiſe, as he had been educated in the midſt of delicacy and affluence; whilſt the private eſtates of his own family

diſintereſtedneſs;

[4] See Plutarch in Agide.

were

were among the greatest in Sparta. But, regardless of private interest, he pursued his plan; and, in the high fervor of youth (for he was aged but twenty years) warm in the cause of virtue, this generous prince thought he should find little difficulty in accomplishing a reformation, which was solicited by so many affecting considerations of justice and of national benefit.

attempts to restore the constitution;

He proved to be mistaken. The greater number of the monied men and proprietors of lands, together with most of the Spartan ladies, who, by the new regulations, were to lose all their wealth and articles of vanity, seeing their dearest concerns in danger, opposed him vigorously. His colleague Leonidas, whilst his father was a fugitive abroad, had spent several years at the court of Seleucus, where he was accustomed to Asiatic luxury and magnificence; he had therefore no great esteem for the Lycurgic life, and joined heartily in the opposition; which was besides supported by the whole body of the Ephori, whom the faction of the rich had secured in their interests. For some time, however, Agis and his party prevailed. He had given the strongest proof of his own integrity, by throwing all his landed property, with his whole personal fortune, amounting to six hundred talents, into the national stock. And, induced by this example, some of the first men in Sparta had acted in the same manner. The refractory Ephori had been deposed; and Leonidas himself, who had persisted in rejecting every mode of reformation, having been impeached of certain violations of the constitution, which rendered him incapable of reigning[5], had been divested of the regal dignity,

is opposed by the rich;

his colleague deposed, and Cleombrotus appointed in his stead; re-establishes the laws of Lycurgus.

[5] He had taken up his residence in foreign parts, before he came to the crown; and he had married a foreign wife.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

and his son-in-law Cleombrotus, a prince of unquestionable worth, appointed in his room.

Opposite party prevail again.

But this gleam of success was of short continuance. Some of those, who had a principal share in the councils of Agis, but strangers to his probity, were guilty of interested, unjustifiable, and violent practices. By cancelling all bonds for debt, they got themselves acquitted of what they owed; but, endeavouring then to evade the partition of lands, an insurrection ensued; which the party in opposition taking advantage of, Leonidas was restored. He returned with all the resentments of a tyrant, who had just recovered the power of which he had been despoiled; and he openly avowed his vindictive and sanguinary purposes. The life of Cleombrotus was with difficulty spared, at the intercession of his wife Chelonis[6] the daughter

Cleombrotus banished.

[6] This amiable princess, though the daughter of a flagitious tyrant, appears to have been a pattern both of filial and of conjugal piety. The following account of her has been preserved to us by Plutarch, and may be considered as a valuable monument of antient manners. Leonidas having been deposed, she refused the rank to which the promotion of her husband Cleombrotus had raised her, but, putting on mourning, accompanied her father into exile. Upon his restoration, and Cleombrotus's life being in danger, she returned back to her husband, and shared in his distresses; and at last was found by Leonidas, and his ministers of violence, in the temple of Neptune, where Cleombrotus had taken sanctuary, sitting by him in the squalid habit of a suppliant, her arms folded around him, with her two children, one on each side: When, addressing her father; "It was "not for Cleombrotus", said she, "that this garb of woe was first put on by me; "neither was it for him that these tears first began to flow. My sorrows had "their beginning with your misfortunes: nor from that time have they ever "ceased to be my portion. You are now victorious over your enemies, and "are again in possession of the throne of Sparta: must I nevertheless still con-"tinue to wear these weeds of affliction? or shall I array myself in festive or-"naments, when the husband of my youth, the husband you gave to me, is "doomed

daughter of Leonidas, on condition of his going into banishment. But to Agis no mercy was to be shewn. His popularity, his abilities, his virtues, pleaded too powerfully against him; and it was determined, that his fate should deter future patriots from the like daring innovations.

Overpowered by the triumphant faction, this unhappy prince had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Chalcioecos[7], from whence he never ventured, unless to the bath; and then was guarded by a band of friends, in whose firm attachment he had placed an entire confidence. But, seduced at

Agis betrayed,

" doomed to be the victim of your vengeance?—— If, however, neither my " tears, nor the tears of these little innocents, have the power of moving you, " more severe will Cleombrotus's punishment be, than even you wish it—he shall " see his beloved wife die before him. For how shall I endure to live, under " the reproach of having had my supplications rejected both by my husband " and by my father? a wretched wife! a wretched daughter!—Whatever plea " the unhappy Cleombrotus might have had to offer in his justification, I have " already in some measure destroyed the force of it, by avowing your cause " in prejudice to his. But, indeed, you yourself, by this inexorable cruelty, " plead his apology; and shew how powerful a temptation a crown is, when " the blood of a son-in-law must be shed, and a daughter abandoned, for the " sake of it."——So saying, she leaned her face against her husband's cheek, turning her dimmed and streaming eyes on the croud around her. Every heart melted. Even Leonidas was overcome: " Rise," said he to Cleombrotus, " and " get thou into exile."—" And as for thee, Chelonis," continued he, " repay " to thy father the kindness he has shewn in giving thee thy husband's life, " and remain with me."—Chelonis, notwithstanding, would not be persuaded. But, her husband rising from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and, after paying due homage at the altar, where they had taken sanctuary, went with him into banishment.

[7] Minerva *of the brazen temple.* This temple, as appears from Pausanias (in Laconicis) stood on an eminence the highest in Sparta, and seems to have been a kind of strong hold. And thence probably the name πολιοῦχος, *guardian of the city*, which, he tells us, was given to this Minerva.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

length by the tempting offers of Leonidas, to whom the basest means were honourable, these infamous friends consented to become his betrayers, and perfidiously delivered him into the hands of Leonidas.

No sooner was the person of Agis thus treacherously in the tyrant's power, than he convened a packed council of the Ephori, and of his most devoted partizans. The shew of a judicial enquiry was resolved upon; and this unfortunate prince was arraigned before a tribunal predetermined to destroy him. On this occasion, however, he appears to have assumed a firmness not natural to him; his usual manner being rather gentle and diffident. He beheld his pretended judges with indignation and scorn; and, when charged by them with a design of altering the government, he boldly declared that he had formed the resolution from the fullest conviction of the indispensable obligations he was under, a resolution, he told them, he never should repent of, "to "restore the laws of Lycurgus to their antient vigour, and "to make those laws the sole rule of his administration." Unable to humble him to any sentiment of abjectness, they hastened to relieve themselves from the presence of a man whose superiority they could not but feel; they ordered him to be dragged away and strangled. Yet did they find it difficult to get these orders obeyed; the common officers of justice, and even the mercenary soldiers, refusing to be concerned in the execution of the unjust sentence. At length Demochares, one of those perfidious friends who had betrayed his master, laying hands on him, dragged him into the dungeon, where he was immediately executed.

and put to death.

To

Cruel fate of his mother and grand-mother.

To make the vengeance of the party more complete, his mother Agesistrata, and grandmother Archidamia, were also involved in the same destruction, with aggravated circumstances of uncommon barbarity. These ladies were held in the highest veneration in Sparta, not merely on account of their rank, but for their amiable manners and irreproachable lives. Upon hearing of the detention of Agis, they had hurried away to the prison, in order to employ their intercessions in his favour; when Amphares, another of the perfidious friends of this unfortunate prince, coming out, assured them that Agis was safe, and invited them to go in and satisfy themselves of his situation. He accordingly introduced them into the dreadful place, where lay the lifeless corse of the unhappy Agis; when, after enjoying their distress at this sight of horror, the inhuman villain ordered them to be seized and strangled.

If any thing could be wanting to excite in us the strongest detestation of so extraordinary a wretch, there is a circumstance of still greater ingratitude, mentioned by Plutarch [8]. Amphares had been much indebted to the generosity of Agesistrata, who, being possessed of great wealth, had often bountifully assisted him in his distress; and the expectation of being acquitted of what he owed to her, Plutarch thinks, with good reason, was one of the motives that urged him to the perpetration of the horrid deed.

The effect of these events on the mind of Cleomenes:

Cleomenes was very young when these things happened, and had but an imperfect knowledge of this affecting

[8] In Agide.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

ſtory; for a time, therefore, he had attended to it but ſlightly; it ſoon, however, made a very different impreſſion upon him [9]. Compelled by his father's orders, he had married Agiatis, who had already been wedded to Archidamus, Agis's brother, now a proſcribed exile. She was conſiderably older than Cleomenes; and being beſides, as may naturally be conceived, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt Leonidas and all his race, ſhe had yielded to this ſecond marriage with great reluctance. But the rich inheritance, to which ſhe was entitled (for ſhe was the only child of one of the wealthieſt men in Sparta) had tempted Leonidas; and his commands were not to be diſobeyed. By degrees, the ingenuous diſpoſition and generous deportment of the young prince, and, on her part, the moſt amiable ſweetneſs of temper and elegance of mind, reconciled and endeared them to each other; a confidence, which knew no reſerve, grew up between them. He often found her bathed in tears at the recollection of Agis and his fortunes; and, anxious to know the cauſe, would liſten eagerly to the tale of woe; inquiring minutely, what were the manners of Agis; what his motives; his plan; in what manner he had been betrayed; and how he had fallen. At the melancholy recital of theſe particulars, he was wont to mix his tears with hers, admiring the public ſpirit and exalted purpoſes of that excellent prince, and wiſhing he could have the glory to reſemble him. With theſe ſentiments, which he carefully diſguiſed whilſt his father lived, had Cleomenes aſcended the throne.

[9] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

feels for the distresses of his country:

At his accession, he found not only the internal constitution of Sparta, but the whole system of Spartan affairs, in a ruinous and perplexed condition. The domestic distress in which the disuse of the laws of Lycurgus had involved most of the Spartan families, with that despondent imbecillity of spirit, which generally accompanies such distress, had caused a general depopulation throughout Laconia; so that, instead of natives sufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thousand shares, into which Lycurgus had originally divided the lands, only seven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; of whom about six hundred, far from being capable of exerting any degree of vigour in the public service, were pining in abject penury, wretchedness, and contempt. Even the slaves, who formerly swarmed over all the country, were now considerably thinned in their numbers; many of them, as the Spartan families had gone to decay, having neither employment nor subsistence, had perished; and many others had been carried off by plunderers; the Aetolians alone having, in one inroad [10], swept off above fifty thousand of them. At the same time, all Peloponnesus, as well as a great part of the rest of Greece, confessed the power of Achaia; and the little importance which still remained to Sparta, she seemed now chiefly to owe to the alliance she enjoyed with that formidable republic.

Cleomenes felt all the embarrassments of his situation. Feeble at home, his measures were controuled by the insolence of the Ephori and the faction of the rich: whilst,

[10] Plutarch in Cleomene.

despised

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

despised abroad, he had to endure, with humiliating indignation, the haughty pretensions of the Achaean states, and the dictatorial mandates of the high-spirited Aratus.

attempts to revive the martial spirit of the Spartans;

IN this choice of difficulties, it was hard to say which of them he should begin to contend with. His natural turn to martial enterprise determined him: and it is not improbable, that the representations of the Aetolians, of which we have already made mention, had a large share in this determination. It appears from Polybius [11], that they had been exceedingly earnest to inspire the Spartan king with a jealousy of Achaia. They had even engaged, if we may believe that historian, to serve Sparta at the expence of their own honour; and, whilst they kept up the appearance of acting in concert with the Achaean confederacy, to favour the progress of the Spartan arms.

with what views;

THIS was, at the same time, the only plausible measure he could embrace to rouse the Spartans themselves; for, immersed as they were in corruption, the glory of the Spartan name was still with them a favourite theme; and they were always disposed to think well of the prince who attempted to retrieve it. At the head also of an army, he would be more powerful; and, if he returned with victory, he might then assume the same dominion over the factious Ephori, which at present they exercised over him; and find, in consequence, a season for the restoration of those laws, of which he now durst not even seem to think.

[11] L. ii. c. 45, 46.

SUCH,

Book IV. Sect. 2.

Such, as far as a judgment can be formed, at this distance of time, from the accounts of different historians, appear to have been the views of Cleomenes. The tenor of his conduct will best explain them.

his success;

His first attempt was on some cities of Arcadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, of which he made himself master. From Polybius [12] we learn, that on this occasion he employed the arts of intrigue rather than force; and that the Aetolians, in whose charge those cities appear to have been, were supposed to have betrayed them into his hands. There is also reason to believe, that he engaged in this enterprise at his own risque, and without the authority of the magistracy of Sparta. His view, unquestionably, was to to spirit them up, if possible, to a war: and his design succeeded accordingly.

is supported by the Ephori:

Encouraged by these favourable beginnings, the Ephori ordered him to seize and fortify a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded on that side the entrance into Laconia; historians call it Athenaeum. It must have been a pass of considerable importance, as the Achaean states, though hitherto passive, immediately upon this act of hostility declared war against the Spartans. This was the very measure Cleomenes wished for: he forthwith took the field with what troops he could muster, and began to commit great ravages throughout the territories of the cities in league with Achaia. But his whole force amounted only to five thousand men, and the Achaeans were marching against him

[12] L. ii. c. 46.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

with upwards of twenty thousand. He advanced, neverthe- less, in order of battle, and with such appearance of reso- lution, that the enemy declined the engagement, and retired. So shameful a retreat, before such a handful of men, was nearly as prejudicial to the Achaeans as a discomfiture could have been, and raised exceedingly the reputation of the Spar- tan king. The blame of this dastardly conduct fell on Aratus, as he had, it seems, advised it. The truth was, Ara- tus, though in council the first man in Greece, of great capacity and boldness in the direction of affairs, and posses- sing an uncommon genius for intrigue and decisive measures, was generally lost to himself in the time of action; a certain constitutional defect prevailing then over that admirable judgment and presence of mind which he possessed in the cabinet[13]. His life affords several remarkable instances of this frailty.

the Achaeans retreat before him;

The behaviour of the Achaean chief gave new vigour to Cleomenes: his numbers encreased; and the Eleans, who had never been steady in the interests of Achaia, now openly declared against her. To chastise this defection (for such the Achaeans seem to have thought it) they made a rapid move- ment towards Elis; and were followed with the same ex- pedition by Cleomenes, who came up with them at Lycaeum, near the Elean borders; and, as they were endeavouring to retreat, put them entirely to the rout, killing great num- bers, and taking many prisoners. But, by a strange reverse, whilst the Spartans were exulting in their victory, Aratus, who watched the opportunity, having rallied some of his troops,

brings the Achaeans to an engagement; defeats them; loses Mantinea:

[13] See Plutarch in Arato.

struck

ſtruck off into the road to Mantinea, and made himſelf amends by ſurpriſing that city [14].

resentment of the Spartan Ephori;

This loſs, ſeemingly of no great moment, but probably aggravated by the enemies of Cleomenes, was conſidered at Sparta as overbalancing all the advantages which might be derived from the late ſucceſsful action; and ſo alarmed did the Ephori pretend to be, that Cleomenes was inſtantly recalled home, and all deſign of continuing the war laid aſide.

prevails on them to continue the war;

This check, if not obviated, muſt have been to Cleomenes the final ruin of all his projects; but he employed every expedient in his power to prevent the conſequences he ſo much dreaded. He had recourſe to ſupplications: he had recourſe to corruption; and at length, by intereſting their avarice, he obtained of the Ephori, that he ſhould be permitted to continue his operations. From what followed ſoon after, it is likely, that the haughtineſs he experienced on this occaſion from theſe imperious controllers of kings, fixed him in the reſolution of freeing himſelf effectually from ſo mortifying a reſtraint.

overthrows the Achaeans near Leuctra.

The enſuing campaign was ſignalized by the total overthrow of the Achaean army near Leuctra. Cleomenes had marched thither in the view of ſurpriſing the town; and, the Achaeans having haſtened to its relief, attacked him

[14] The Mantineans, who at firſt belonged to the Achaean confederacy, having renounced their alliance, had ſurrendered their city firſt to the Aetolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes. This ſurpriſe of Mantinea by Aratus happened, according to Polybius, four years before the invaſion of Peloponneſus by Antigonus. See Polyb. Caſ. Oct. L. ii. c. 57. p. 198.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

under the walls. For ſome time the battle was in favour of the Achaeans, who puſhed the Lacedemonians vigorouſly on every ſide. But Cleomenes, having with great art drawn the enemy into ſome woody incloſures and hollow grounds, turned the fortune of the day, and defeated them with much ſlaughter; Lyſiadas, then general of Achaia, and formerly tyrant of Megalopolis, after having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, being numbered among the ſlain.

Aratus blamed for this overthrow, and diſgraced.

This misfortune was imputed to Aratus. He was charged with having neglected to ſupport Lyſiadas [15]; and ſo exaſperated were the Achaeans, that in their next general aſſembly they declared him unworthy of national confidence, forbidding him either to levy troops in their name, or to interfere with their finances; leaving it to him to carry on the war, if he thought proper, at his own expence.

Cleomenes reduces ſeveral of the towns of Arcadia, and places Spartan garriſons in them;

This victory of Cleomenes was ſucceeded by the general devaſtation of Arcadia, and the reduction of ſeveral towns; for no ſooner was one enterpriſe atchieved, than the Spartans attempted another; Cleomenes not allowing his army the leaſt interval of repoſe [16]. In this he had his own private views. Harraſſed in the ſevereſt manner during the time they had been kept in the field, the Lacedemonians gladly accepted the offer of being left to garriſon the Arcadian towns during the winter months. So that at the cloſe of the campaign, the king returned to Sparta with the mercenary troops alone. As he approached the city, he opened his intentions to Euryclidas and ſome choſen friends, to whom the Ephori

returns to Sparta with the mercenaries only;

[15] See Plutarch in Arato.

[16] Plutarch in Cleomene.

were

were obnoxious. He contrived to reach Sparta in the evening, about the hour when the Ephori uſually aſſembled in the hall in which they ſupped. Euryclidas having accordingly entered with his aſſociates, upon pretence of a meſſage from the king, whilſt he was holding the Ephori in diſcourſe, the reſt ruſhed upon them, and buried their ſwords in their bodies; one only eſcaping, who having fallen pierced with wounds, lay in appearance dead; but recovering afterwards, he crept out, and was ſuffered to ſurvive.

aſſaſſinates the Ephori;

What Cleomenes himſelf thought of this act of violence, we may eaſily gather from the uncommon pains he took to reconcile the Spartans to what had happened. He convened them togetner the enſuing day, and, after pleading warmly againſt the unconſtitutional eſtabliſhment of this order of magiſtrates [17], he went through an invidious recital of the ſeveral acts of iniquity the Ephori, collectively or individually, had been guilty of; which, whilſt they marked them as proper objects of public vengeance, led him to lament the unhappy neceſſity which compelled him to have recourſe to aſſaſſination, in order to deliver his country from theſe miniſters of oppreſſion [18].

ſeeks to palliate this act of violence;

The king might palliate the tranſaction; but it was impoſſible he could juſtify it. And probably the Spartans themſelves ſuſpected, what too often happens, that the overthrow of one ſpecies of deſpotiſm was only accom-

[17] This body had ſubſiſted, however, and become a part of the conſtitution, three hundred and fifty years before the time of Cleomenes.

[18] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

pliſhed,

Book IV. Sect. 2.

plished, with the view of raising on its ruins a despotism of another kind, not less formidable than what had been destroyed.

seizes on the administration;

The Ephori being thus removed, he commanded the judicial seats, on which they sat in the hall of justice, to be also taken away, one only excepted, to be left for the king, in whose hands, solely, he told them, the dispensation of justice was thenceforth to be placed. He then proceeded to banish eighty of the Spartan citizens, friends of the late administration; and, so difficult is it to use power with moderation, he appointed, in violation of that very original constitution, which he pretended to restore, his own brother, Euclidas to be joint-king with him. Archidamus, the brother of Agis, had lived till lately an exile in Messenia, and had been recalled to Sparta, in order to take his seat on the throne belonging to his family; but on his way thither, he had been murdered. By whom he was recalled, whether by Cleomenes, or by the party against him; or to whom the guilt of his murder was to be imputed; are matters not well ascertained. Some historians, indeed, have not scrupled to charge his death to the account of Cleomenes himself[19]; a suspicion

[19] Polybius (L.v. c. 37. p. 533, 534. & L. viii. c. 1. p. 711.) says, that Archidamus had been restored to the Spartan throne, and that, after some time, suspecting the ambitious views of Cleomenes, he had again fled from Sparta; but afterwards, through the mediation of Nicagoras, the intimate friend of Archidamus, Cleomenes prevailed on him to return; and that, as he was on his way to Sparta, upon Cleomenes's plighted faith, he was murdered by him; Cleomenes having gone to meet him, and (a circumstance highly improbable) perpetrating with his own hand the bloody deed. And he assigns this as the reason why Cleomenes, when at the court of Ptolemy Philopater, was betrayed, (as we shall read in the history of Egyptian

suspicion which will be thought, perhaps, not altogether void of probability, when it is remembered, that, besides the danger of a revolution, should his colleague disapprove of the new mode of government he meant to introduce, there was another interest, not less powerful with Cleomenes: Agiatis was his wife, to whom Archidamus had a prior right.

re-establishes the agrarian and sumptuary laws of Lycurgus, and enforces them by his own example.

His next care was the re-establishment of the agrarian and sumptuary laws of Sparta[20]. He had before this period revived in his own person and family, the strictness of the Lycurgic discipline; and his dress, his table, his furniture, his equipage, were all of the simplest kind. He was now the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His relations and

Egyptian affairs, see b. x. sect. 2. of this work) by this very Nicagoras. It was to revenge the death of Archidamus, of whose ruin he had, through the artifice of Cleomenes, been made the instrument.—But Plutarch, less ready to credit every charge against Cleomenes, than seems to have been the case with Polybius, gives this story a very different turn. Cleomenes, according to him, had resolved, before he would proceed to any violence against the Ephori, to recall Archidamus, to whom the crown, in that branch of the royal family, belonged, in order to humble those imperious magistrates; who, he imagined, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and could maintain its due weight, would not be so formidable. The party which had put Agis to death, discovering this design, and dreading the vengeance of Archidamus, if he should be re-established on the throne, formed their plan accordingly. They joined in inviting him to Sparta, and even assisted in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus, a cotemporary historian, thinks, or whether his friends prevailed on him to abandon that unhappy prince, Plutarch does not take upon him to determine. If he gave his consent, Plutarch, however, is of opinion, it must have been owing to the importunities of his friends; and the greatest part of the blame, he asserts, is therefore to be charged to the account of those friends, who had the guilt of teazing him into it.

[20] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

and friends followed his example. And the rest of the citizens having also done the same, (for a refusal was what no man at this juncture would presume to attempt) the lands were immediately divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had banished, declaring, that they should be all recalled, when tranquillity was once more re-established. And, to remedy the present depopulation, he filled up the number of citizens out of the most virtuous of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. He then gave his attention to the education of the youths, in order to train them according to the original severity of the Lacedemonian laws. He restored their hardy manner of clothing, their schools of exercise, their public meals, and arranged their whole course of discipline upon the system of ancient times. A new face of things soon appeared in Sparta; neither the drooping look of indigence, nor the scornful insolence of wealth, were any longer to be seen; a people healthy and robust began again to croud her streets, and all the arts, that administer to luxury and effeminacy, disappeared. Above all, he took care to instruct his subjects by his own example; he appeared a pattern of temperance and of plain manners; he assumed no kind of parade or shew above a common citizen, but conversed among his people with unaffected familiarity; and, whenever they made application to him in his regal capacity, he received them with cheerfulness, and entered upon their business with the utmost readiness and attention.

This was a noble reformation, and surely well deserving of the highest praise, had it been effected by Cleomenes, not by bloodshed and iniquity, but by the fair and constitu-

tional

tional road of law and general consent! The perplexing circumstances he was placed in, at the beginning of his reign, joined to the natural impetuosity of his own temper, rendered perhaps more violent by the opposition he had to contend with, form all the apology, that history has to offer for him[21].

Having

[21] Polybius, however, on most occasions, treats Cleomenes's character with a severity not to be justified. He even charges him (L. ii. c. 47. p. 185.) with *having dissolved* τὸ πάτριον πολίτευμα, *the political constitution of his country*, and *having changed* τὴν ἔννομον βασιλείαν εἰς τυραννίδα, *the legal kingly power into a tyranny*. Yet Polybius himself acknowledges, in more places than one, that at his accession the Spartan constitution was nearly destroyed, by the corrupt innovations which ambition and the lust of power had introduced into it. To the praise of Cleomenes it certainly is, that he endeavoured to restore the original establishments of the Lycurgic law. But, to his reproach, that he effected it by means to which he ought never to have had recourse; by arbitrary oppression and bloodshed.—Polybius himself seems to account for his severe strictures on this prince. He compiled this part of his history, he tells us (L. ii. c. 55. p. 196.) from the commentaries of Aratus, the avowed enemy of the Spartan king, and who doubtless sought for a justification of his own unconstitutional counsels by throwing what blame he could on Cleomenes. And that so judicious and generally candid a writer as Polybius, should have been betrayed into this track, we shall not wonder, when we recall to mind, that he himself was of Megalopolis, that very city whose ruins were a monument of Cleomenes's violence.—As for Livy, he is the copyer of Polybius, and therefore, in conformity with him, pronounces (L. xxxiv. c. 26.) Cleomenes to have been *the tyrant of Sparta*.—Plutarch has dealt more fairly by him; blaming his acts that deserved censure; and, at the same time, doing justice to the noble and princely qualities of this extraordinary man. Plutarch therefore we have chiefly followed, without losing sight of the information that was to be found in other writers.—As to Pausanias, his account of Cleomenes deserves little regard. He tells us (in Corinthiacis) of Eurydamidas, a young prince on the throne jointly with him, whom he took off by poison, though neither Polybius nor Plutarch make mention of such a king. And he would have us even believe, that the Lacedemonians held him in abhorrence; in express contradiction to the testimony of the two last-mentioned historians, from whom it appears, that, notwithstanding the unhappy issue of the wars he engaged in, and the calamities brought upon Sparta by their means, he was still held in high veneration among

Book IV. Sect. 2.

Having thus rendered himself absolute master of Sparta, policy as well as inclination urged him to give employment to that vigour, which he had now improved or created, and which, if not exerted abroad, might prove fatal to him at home. He[22] marched his Spartans into the territories of Megalopolis, which he plundered and laid waste, none daring to oppose him; and, after some other exploits of this depredatory nature, he prepared to carry the war into the heart of Achaia. The Achaeans had formed a strong encampment at Hecatomboeum, a place at some distance from Dymé, one of their frontier towns near the Elean borders; in which situation they expected, in case the Spartans attempted this pass, to inclose them between Dymé and the Achaean camp, and render their escape difficult. Cleomenes was not to be deterred. He began by ravaging the other side of Achaia, which he had entered from the Arcadian frontier, and, advancing at length towards them, he attacked them on this very ground, where they had fortified themselves with so much confidence, forced their lines, and defeated them with great slaughter. This was the severest blow the Achaeans had yet received. Their army had been composed of the flower of their nation; and they were almost all cut off. Their allies, besides, were falling off. The Mantineans before this period, after putting the Achaean garrison in their city to the sword, had called in the Spartans. And the same spirit was now said to prevail

marches against the enemy; lays waste the territories of Megalopolis;

forces the Achaean lines at Hecatomboeum and obtains a complete victory.

among them; so that, though a captive in Egypt, they refused, as long as he lived, to have any other king, in hopes of his restoration. See Polyb. L. iv. c. 35. et Plut. in Cleomene.

[22] Plutarch in Cleom. et Arato.

in most of the other cities of Peloponnesus. In this emergency, they had not even Aratus to depend upon. Not knowing what measures to pursue, or whom to employ, they had applied to him, and again had offered him the command. But, either in resentment of the disgrace he lately experienced, as his friends would have it believed, or discouraged perhaps by the difficult posture of affairs, he had declined to be employed.

Achaeans are reduced to sue for peace to Cleomenes.

The only resource left them was to sue to Cleomenes for conditions of peace. The king of Lacedaemon required, that Sparta should be restored to her former pre-eminence among the nations of Peloponnesus; that he himself should be considered as the head of the Achaean confederacy; and be permitted to direct their councils and operations. To a people in dread of much harder terms, the demand seemed moderate. A congress was accordingly appointed to be held at Lerna in Arcadia, to which Cleomenes was invited. But, unhappily for Greece, a sudden indisposition obliged him to return to Sparta; and the final settlement of the various arrangements of the proposed pacification was postponed until his recovery.

Aratus resumes his influence;

Mean while, Aratus had found means to resume his former influence in the Achaean councils. He looked upon the present establishment of Achaia as the work of his wisdom; and he could not bear to think, that the Spartans, whom he had been accustomed to number among the dependents of his republic, should now take the lead, and prescribe laws; or that the prize, for which he had been contending

 thirty

Book IV. Sect. 2.

thirty and three years[23], the monument of his fame, and the recompence of all his cares, should, in the decline of life, be wrested from him by a young prince, whose name till now was hardly known. Agitated by these reflections, he employed himself in devising means to elude the intended measure. A second congress had been appointed at Argos, and Cleomenes, with a respectable force, was on his way to that city. Aratus took this opportunity to execute his purpose. Under a show of zeal for the public safety, he threw out surmises of the intentions of Cleomenes; he hinted to the Achaeans, how dangerous it might be to admit within the city a body of enemies led on by a young ambitious warrior; and at last prevailed on them to dispatch an embassy to the Spartan king, requiring him not to come within the gates of Argos, unless he came alone; in which case three hundred hostages should be given for the security of his person; or, if he did not approve of this expedient, he might advance, at the head of his army, to a certain spot without the walls, called the Cyllarabis, where the wrestlers performed their exercises, and in that place they would treat with him.

contrives to prevent a peace with Sparta.

[23] Aratus was twenty years old when he delivered Sicyon. Eight years after, he restored also Corinth to her liberties, two years before the death of Antigonus Gonatas. He was therefore thirty years old at the time of Gonatas's death, which happened about the 4th year of the 133d Olympiad, 244 years before Christ. Demetrius, the successor of Gonatas, reigned ten years. If therefore, at the time when the victorious arms of Cleomenes obliged the Achaeans to have recourse to Macedon, thirty-three years had elapsed since Aratus first entered on the administration of affairs, it follows, that the calling in of Antigonus must have been about the 2d or 3d year of the 139th Olympiad, or the 222d or 221st year before Christ; Aratus being then aged about fifty-three years.

To

To a prince naturally high-ſpirited, and at this period elated with victory, it might eaſily be foreſeen what an appearance of mockery ſuch a propoſal would carry with it. He treated both meſſage and meſſenger with the utmoſt diſdain; and, in a high and menacing tone, diſcovered his ſenſe of the indignity offered to his character. It is ſaid, that afterwards, when too late, Cleomenes diſcovered the part Aratus had acted on this occaſion.

Cleomenes, affronted by the Achaeans, breaks off negotiating.

Thus, through the high ſpirit of one chief, and the duplicity of another, was the only meaſure which could have preſerved Greece from bondage, irretrievably loſt. Had Aratus, truly faithful to his country, placed his glory in her happineſs, and been content with his counſels to aſſiſt operations, which now he had neither capacity nor courage to lead; or had Cleomenes, ſubduing reſentment, condeſcended, on Aratus's own terms, to have entered Argos, where probably his demands, ſupported by his preſence and perſuaſive powers, had found little oppoſition; they might have then prevented, what after that day there never was another opportunity of preventing; the ruin of their country. But the pride of Cleomenes, and the far more criminal pride and duplicity of Aratus, forbade it. And to that fatal pride Greece owed her deſtruction.

The artifice and ruinous meaſures of Aratus:

It is remarkable, that both Aratus and Cleomenes had the ſame ſcheme in view; both wiſhed to unite all the nations of Peloponneſus into one commonwealth, and, by this means, to form ſuch a bulwark for the defence of the common liberties of Greece, as might have bidden defiance to every foreign power. The only queſtion was, to what people,

Book IV. Sect. 2.

people, and to what chief was the direction to be committed? Aratus was determined that he would have the glory of doing all, or that no other should save or aggrandize his country; and, rather than suffer the administration to be in any hands but his own, resolved to throw all things into confusion. Unfortunately for mankind, there hardly has been a country, or an age, that has not had its Aratus!

the consequences throughout Peloponnesus and the parts adjoining,

The breaking-off the treaty of pacification occasioned a general ferment throughout all Peloponnesus. Cleomenes, fired at the indignity the Achaeans had offered, urged the war with more vigour than ever; he ravaged their territories, and he sacked their towns. Even in those places, which his arms had not yet reached, every thing threatened insurrection and hostility to the Achaeans, either from the intrigues of the Spartan emissaries, or from the rankling suspicions to which the conduct of Aratus had given birth. The Athenians, as well as the Aetolians, refused to assist Achaia. Aristomachus, formerly tyrant of the Argives, and now a member of the Achaean confederacy, betrayed Argos to the Spartan king. The Corinthians were on the point of delivering their city into his hands; and even Sicyon must have been lost, had not a timely discovery prevented the conspiracy from taking effect.

Aratus conceives the thought of calling in the Macedonians;

These mischiefs, nevertheless, with the guilt of which Aratus could not but charge himself, served only to hurry him into counsels pregnant with circumstances still more fatal. Resolved, at any risque, to exclude Sparta from the superintendency of Peloponnesian affairs, he fixed upon a measure the most pernicious, that any statesman of Greece

could

could in these times have adopted [24]. The power then the most formidable to the Grecian liberties, was the kingdom of Macedon. Since the days of Philip, it had been the favourite object of its princes to bring Greece into subjection. The terror and devastation of war, the insidious arts of corruption and intrigue, whatever, indeed, could contribute to the breaking of that republican spirit, which animated her councils, had to this end been successfully employed. To these dangerous neighbours Aratus, as we have seen, had from his early years distinguished himself by his opposition; and to this noble opposition, which had rescued Greece from Macedonian usurpation, he owed all the glory of his life. But a total change of principles was now to take place. Rather than see Cleomenes at the head of Greece, he conceived the pernicious thought of making Antigonus of Macedon the instrument of Sparta's destruction. In order to accomplish this, he proposed to restore the Macedonians to the full possession of that power, from which he himself had driven them; and, from motives of envy and disappointed ambition, to invest its natural enemies with the sovereignty of his country.

difficulties in his way;

There lay, however, two powerful obstacles in his way. In Greece the attempt was unpopular; and Antigonus seemed regardless of ambitious projects. With this prince Aratus had not the least connection, and he must have been considered by him as a person most hostile to

[24] Polyb. L. ii. c. 47, & seq. Plutarch in Cleomen. & Arato.

the

Book IV. Sect. 2.

the Macedonian intereſt. With his uſual addreſs, however, he ſurmounted both theſe difficulties.

his manner of ſurmounting them.

Megalopolis, of all the cities of Peloponneſus, lay the moſt expoſed to invaſions from Laconia; and there had antiently ſubſiſted a friendly intercourſe between the Megalopolitans and the Macedonians. Having gained over to his views two of the principal men of this city, he directed them to apply to the Achaean ſtates for protection againſt Sparta; and, ſhould they not be able to grant it, which Aratus well knew, they were not, to aſk permiſſion to implore the aid of Antigonus. The ſcheme ſucceeded as he had wiſhed, and his inſtruments were appointed to proceed to the Macedonian court. He then inſtructed them, to mention him favourably to the king; to be active in removing from his mind the prejudices he might have conceived againſt him; and to offer him whatever pledge he ſhould deſire of the devotion and future fealty of Aratus. They were particularly to repreſent to Antigonus, that his intereſts and thoſe of Achaia were the ſame; that the enterprizing Cleomenes, when he had once ſubjected Greece, would ſoon make his way to the Macedonian frontiers; and that what Antigonus might now eaſily accompliſh in Peloponneſus, he might find difficult to effect within his own kingdom, if invaded by a prince made bold by ſucceſs, and made ſtrong by his victories, whoſe very name would invite to his banners all the antient enemies of Macedon.

Antigonus averſe from meddling

Hitherto, as we have already obſerved, Antigonus had affected a total diſregard of Grecian affairs. The expelling even

even of the Macedonian garrifons from the Grecian towns, had not provoked him to interpofe. And though often folicited by many of the ftates of Greece, and lately by the Aetolians in particular, to take advantage of the prefent diftractions, he had always, attentive to the profperity of his own kingdom, fteadily refufed the invitation.

with the affairs of Greece;

But now, to fee the leader of Achaia his fuppliant, and thofe very Achaeans, by whom his predeceffors had been expelled from Peloponnefus, voluntarily opening their gates to him; to be prefented with the opportunity of humbling that Sparta, which had held in fcorn the mightieft of Macedon's kings; to enjoy the profpect of uniting Greece and Macedon into one fovereignty, and of feeing himfelf mafter of what even Alexander could never boaft; were temptations, which even the temperate mind of Antigonus could not withftand.

but yields to the folicitations of the Achaeans:

He promifed all that was defired. Aratus, to give the more credit to the negotiation, had fent his own fon to Antigonus by way of hoftage; who ftipulated, on the part of Achaia—" That the citadel of Corinth fhould be delivered into the king's hands—that he fhould be at the head of the Achaean confederacy, fuperintend their councils, and direct their operations—that money and provifions fhould be fupplied at their expence, for the fupport of his army—that neither embaffy nor letter fhould be fent to any power, without his approbation—nor any city, ftate, or people, be from that time admitted into the Achaean league, without his exprefs confent[25]." The two laft ftipulations were, in

extraordinary compact made by Aratus with Antigonus;

[25] See Polyb. L. ii. et paffim. Plutarch in Arato.

fact,

Book IV. Sect. 2.

fact, bonds of allegiance to Antigonus. They had their foundation in the original confederacy of the Achaean states; but were at this time new-modelled, to serve the purpose of the present negotiation; and in this form, the several members of the Achaean league were required to swear to the observation of them: which oath was to be administered every year. From these articles it is evident, that the Achaean liberties were now but a name. The lord of Achaia was Antigonus.

the duplicity of Aratus;

It is not, however, to be imagined, that Aratus ventured at once to avow every clause of this exceptionable compact. The whole transaction seems to have been the work of subtilty and dark disguise. Even previous to the appointment of the second congress at Argos, it appears from Plutarch, that he had entered privately into a negotiation with Antigonus; and probably most of the articles here mentioned were kept secret for a time, and disclosed gradually, as the nature of the case made it necessary, and as the power of Antigonus came to be more firmly established [26].

ndignation of the Peloponnesian states at this transaction.

When the other Peloponnesian states, especially those who had lately felt the yoke of Macedon, found their suspicions turned to certainty, and that it was determined they should

[26] Aratus, throughout this whole transaction, appears to have conducted himself with the greatest subtilty. Though the scheme was his own, in public he affected to have many difficulties concerning its expediency; and to offer many specious objections; which, doubtless, at the same time, his creatures had instructions, and were prepared to answer. Even in Aratus's Commentaries, Polybius himself (L. ii. c. 47.) acknowledges, that several material circumstances respecting this business were omitted by him, conscious it was not to his honour that the world should be apprized of them.

again be given up into the hands of their oppressors, they were exasperated to the utmost against Achaia. So violent, in particular, were the people at Corinth, that they rose against Aratus to put him to death; and with difficulty he escaped from the city. Their only hopes were now in Cleomenes, the last refuge of the Grecian liberties; who, unequal as he appeared to the dangers he had to encounter, seemed to draw fresh vigour from his difficulties. Upon the first advice of the Macedonians being in motion, he had entered the isthmus, and had taken possession of a pass [27] on the Onean mountains, which commanded the opening of the defile on the northern side; so that, whilst he continued in this position, it was impracticable for Antigonus to force his way, nor could he be joined by his friends from Peloponnesus; Aratus, who with the demiurgi had been deputed to wait on Antigonus, being obliged to cross the Corinthian gulph in order to get to the Macedonian camp [28]. But it was not possible that Cleomenes should provide for the safety of every place. The Achaeans found means to surprise Argos, with a design to cut off the communication of Cleomenes with Sparta. This laid the Spartan king under the necessity of returning back into Peloponnesus, and to leave the pass open for the Macedonians.

Cleomenes possesses himself of the Corinthian isthmus; is forced to abandon it: the pass open for the Macedonians;

Such a formidable body of auxiliaries, for the Macedonians amounted in numbers to near twenty-two thousand men, soon enabled the Achaeans to resume their superiority in Peloponnesus. Corinth, with most of the other cities, which had declared for Sparta, surrendered to Antigonus;

most of the Peloponnesian cities surrender to Antigonus;

[27] Polyb. L. ii. c. 52.

[28] Plutarch in Arato.

 and

Book IV. Sect. 2.

the distress of Cleomenes; and in less than one campaign, Cleomenes had nothing but Laconia remaining. Amidst this wreck of his public fortunes, he lost the virtuous Agiatis, whose excellent sense and tender affection had been his resource in his severest exigencies. And, as if every comfort were to be withdrawn from him, Ptolemy Euergetes, then king of Egypt, to whom he had applied for succours, refused to grant his request, unless his mother and his children were sent into Egypt as pledges of his fidelity. The perfidy which the Egyptian king had experienced from the Achaeans, in deserting his alliance, and calling in Antigonus, had induced Ptolemy, a prince otherwise remarkably humane, to make this ungenerous requisition; with which, however, such was the situation of his affairs, that Cleomenes was forced to comply [29].

he obtains a supply of men and money; His spirit, nevertheless, remained still unsubdued. Besides what he had received from Egypt, he had contrived to raise at home a farther supply of men and money, by enfranchising such of the Helotes as could pay a certain fine

[29] The reader will not be displeased to find here, the account which Plutarch has preserved to us, of the noble firmness of Cratesiclea, the mother of Cleomenes, on this affecting occasion, when the necessity of affairs obliged this prince to send her and his children to Egypt. Having conducted them to Taenarus, where they were to take shipping, the hour of parting being come, his wonted fortitude forsook him; and the fierce warrior was seen to melt into the tender son and fond parent. Cratesiclea with concern marked his emotion; and, drawing him aside into an adjoining temple, "King "of Sparta," said she to him, clasping her aged arms around him, and pressing him to her bosom, "take care that, when we go hence, no one may perceive us weeping, or "behaving in any shape unworthy of the illustrious city that gave us birth. *This* "*alone* is in our power; the issue is in the hands of God." This said; composing her countenance, she embarked, bearing her grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea with all possible expedition.—*Plutarch in Cleomene.*

for their freedom, and by inlisting among his troops a great many more of those that were fit for military service. Thus recruited in strength, he determined to strike terror into the enemy. The city of Megalopolis has been already mentioned. It was one of the most considerable in Peloponnesus, and scarcely inferior even to Sparta; stately, populous, opulent, and, from its situation, of great importance; commanding most parts of Arcadia, of which it was the chief city. It had been planned by the illustrious Epaminondas, as a strong hold for the Arcadians, at that time scattered mostly in defenceless villages, and to curb the power of Sparta. Cleomenes formed the design of surprising this city, though the Achaeans lay encamped on the one side, and the Macedonians on the other. With this view he deceived the enemy by a feint march, as if he had intended to fall on Argos; but he turned suddenly short, and was in possession of Megalopolis, before either Antigonus or Aratus suspected his purpose. He had a particular view in forming this enterprize. The Megalopolitans were the sanguine friends of Macedon, and he hoped, by the possession of their city, to have it in his power to detach them from Antigonus; an object certainly of the highest moment to his affairs, could it have been effected. He accordingly sent messengers after the inhabitants, most of whom had escaped by flight, and offered to restore the city, with all the spoil, entire and unhurt, on condition of their renouncing the friendship of the Macedonian king: but the Megalopolitans, at the instigation of Philopoemen, afterwards a distinguished character in the Achaean history, having rejected the offer, Cleomenes was so transported with resentment, that he plundered the city, and caused it to be laid in ruins.

surprises Megalopolis,

and lays it in ruins:

THIS

Book IV. Sect. 2.

the affliction of Aratus and the Achaeans on this occasion.

This was a deep wound to the Achaean interest; and we may judge of its magnitude from what Plutarch relates. The general assembly of Achaia had met, and Aratus was preparing to harangue them, when he received the tidings. He mounted the suggestum; but, unable to speak, he burst into tears, covering his face with his robe. After some minutes of extreme agitation and distress, the whole assembly calling out to know what it was that thus moved him, with difficulty at length he uttered, "Megalopolis is destroyed "by Cleomenes!" Consternation instantly filled every breast; all public business was suspended; and the convention broke up in silent amazement and horror.

Cleomenes attempts Argos, in order to bring on an engagement;

Emboldened by this success, Cleomenes, at the opening of the ensuing spring, appeared before Argos, where Antigonus was encamped, and defied him to battle; but his challenge not being accepted, he spread devastation through all the country around. His purpose was, either to force the Macedonian king to the field, whilst most of his troops were still in their winter-cantonments, or to excite against him the indignation of the Argives. But neither his insults nor their murmurs moved Antigonus. He saw clearly, that this predatory war, however successful, must nevertheless prove, in the end, of little service to Cleomenes; whose army, consisting mostly of mercenaries, were not to be kept together without regular pay, for which he had no fund to depend upon, but the precarious remittances from Egypt. Antigonus, on the contrary, rich in treasure, saw the advantage he must derive from thence; and, by opposing Cleomenes at first, faintly, yet cautiously, he artfully adhered to a

but is baffled;

plan

plan of operations, which, it was evident, muſt ſoon exhauſt his adverſary. Book IV. Sect. 2.

Baffled in this manner by a ſubtil foe, and preſſed by his own difficulties, Cleomenes found himſelf obliged to retire again within Laconia. Beſides, the Macedonian and Peloponneſian forces now aſſembling, he began to fear that Sparta was their object, and he reſolved to cover it, if poſſible, from inſult. Near the town of Selaſia, the road leading to Sparta became exceedingly narrow, being confined between two hills, the Eſa and the Olympus, both high and difficult of aſcent; and in the glen, that divided theſe hills, ran the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. This paſs Cleomenes undertook to defend. On one hill was ſtationed his brother Euclidas, with part of the army, whilſt he himſelf took poſt on the other; the bottom of each hill, and the opening of the defile, being ſecured by a ditch and a ſtrong rampart. retreats to Selaſia, in order to cover Sparta; entrenches himſelf

Antigonus, who ſoon approached, beheld with admiration the poſition of the enemy. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural ſtrength of this important paſs, had been performed; and no part was to be ſeen on which an impreſſion could be made with effect. Though conſiderably ſuperior in point of numbers [30], he had too much wiſdom to hazard an attack upon men drawn up ſo advantageouſly; he encamped therefore at a diſtance on the plain below, in order to obſerve the motions with great ſkill;

[30] He was thirty thouſand ſtrong, and the Spartans were but twenty thouſand.

of

Book IV. Sect. 2.

of his enemy, and take his measures as circumstances might offer. This deliberate caution and coolness of Antigonus, prepared the way for the ruin of Cleomenes, who had expected, that the Macedonians would immediately have advanced; all his hopes resting on the speedy decision of a battle. His supplies from Egypt had failed; yet he carefully concealed from his army the distressed state of his finances, being well assured, that, should it once be suspected, his mercenaries would instantly crumble away, and leave him to the mercy of Antigonus. Any fortune seemed to him preferable; and, rather than be reduced to a dilemma so humiliating, he determined to throw open his entrenchments, and, without farther delay, to risque an engagement.

forced to hazard an engagement;

The same admirable skill which he had exhibited in forming his encampment, he now shewed in the disposition of his army; and he charged with such vigour the Macedonians, who, led on by Antigonus, had attacked the wing in which he fought, that for some time he compelled the phalanx to give ground, and had nearly wrested the victory from them. But the injudicious management of Euclidas, according to Polybius[31], or, according to others[32], the treachery of an officer in the Spartan army, corrupted by Antigonus, having caused the total discomfiture of the other wing, the confusion soon involved the whole Spartan line; and Cleomenes, overpowered by numbers, most of his men having fallen, was forced at length to quit the field.

is defeated;

[31] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 68.

[32] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

He

He fled to Sparta; informed the citizens of the disastrous event; and advised them to submit to Antigonus. "For my "part," continued he, "I am prepared either to live or to "die, as the one or the other may be most for the interest of "my country." He then retired to his own house, where he refused every kind of refreshment, not even suffering his armour to be taken off; but after having leaned his head for a few minutes against a pillar, he set off for Gythium, the principal station of the Spartan fleets; and, with some chosen friends, going immediately on board, stretched away for Egypt[33].

flies to Sparta,

and from thence to Egypt:

[33] A farther insight into the character of this prince, may be had from a curious anecdote recorded of him when on his way to Egypt. Therycion, one of the Spartans who attended him, borne down by his reverse of fortune, proposed to Cleomenes to kill himself, setting off the proposal with that specious colouring, which the imbecillity of an oppressed mind is apt to mistake for argument. "Think-"est thou, wicked man," replied Cleomenes, "to shew thy fortitude by rushing "upon death, a refuge always easily to be had, and which every man has open "to him? That were a flight far more shameful than even that to which we have "now been compelled. Better men than we are, have, either by the fortune of "arms, or overpowered by numbers, left the field of battle to their enemies; but "the man, who, to avoid pain and calamity, or from a slavish regard to the praise "or censures of men, gives up the contest, is overcome by his own cowardice. If "we are to seek for death, that death ought to be in action, not in the deserting of "action; for it argues baseness to live or to die to ourselves. By adopting thy ex-"pedient, all that we can gain is, to get rid of our present difficulties, without "either glory to ourselves, or benefit to our country. In hopes, then, that we shall "some time or other be of service to our country, both thou and I, methinks, are "bound to preserve life. Whenever these hopes shall have altogether abandoned "us, death, if sought for, will readily be found." Plutarch in Cleomene.

Traits such as these place a character in a strong light. With such sentiments, it is difficult to suppose this prince to have been the unfeeling tyrant, which some authors have described.——At last, it is true, he fell by his own hand; but that was in the transport of despair. His cool judgment had condemned the rash deed.

Book IV. Sect. 2.

His adventures in Ægypt belong rather to the history of that kingdom; at present it may be sufficient to mention a few of the principal circumstances.

adventures in that kingdom;

Ptolemy Euergetes, whose ally he had for some time been, received him honourably; and, when better acquainted with his character, held him in the highest esteem; lamenting that he had not assisted him more effectually, and promising to take the first opportunity of replacing him on the throne of his ancestors. This probably he might have effected; but, dying soon afterwards, he was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philopator; a prince totally the reverse of what his father had been; immersed in dissoluteness; and governed altogether by an insolent and rapacious minister. Cleomenes had too great a spirit to brook the indignities, which he experienced from this vicious court. Ptolemy's ministers marked his resentment; and, enraged that he should dare to be displeased, they added insult to injury, till, fired by his wrongs, this unhappy prince would have revenged them by open violence; but he perished in the wild attempt, after he had lived about three years in Egypt[34].

and fatal end.

Generous treatment of the Spartans by Antigonus.

Sparta, which till this period had never suffered the fate of a captive city, could not have fallen into the power of a more merciful conqueror. Antigonus[35], rather a protector than an enemy, would not permit the least injury to be offered to any part of the city, or inhabitants, but contented himself with re-establishing the jurisdiction

[34] See Plutarch in Cleomene.

[35] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. et L. v. c. 9.

of

of the Ephori, as it had been before the time of Cleomenes. He even ſhewed a tender regard for the intereſts of that unfortunate prince; for, obſerving that the Spartans, by whom he was affectionately remembered, could not bear the thought of another king whilſt he ſurvived, Antigonus complied with their wiſhes, and left the throne open as he found it. He ſtaid in Sparta but three days, being recalled home by a ſudden emergency, which demanded his immediate preſence. So critical was the fate of Cleomenes. Had the latter deferred fighting for three days longer, Antigonus muſt have withdrawn his troops, and Cleomenes been relieved.

He is called home by an incurſion of barbarians,

It had been, as we have already obſerved, a favourite maxim with Antigonus, notwithſtanding he had of late been induced to depart from it, "that foreign conqueſts were "not to be obtained but at the expence of the happineſs "of his own kingdom." And it is remarkable, how fully the laſt ſcenes of his life verified his obſervation. Encouraged by his abſence, a multitude of Illyrians, and the barbarous nations adjoining, had made an inroad into Macedon, and committed dreadful devaſtation. And it was the account of this irruption that had haſtened the return of Antigonus into his own dominions. The barbarians, who had as yet found no force able to oppoſe them, heard of his approach undiſmayed; and even advanced to meet him, in full confidence of victory. The battle was deciſive againſt them: but it was alſo fatal to the Macedonians. The king, by the violent exertion of his voice during the engagement, burſt a blood-veſſel; and the large effuſion of blood, that followed, having thrown him into a languiſhing ſtate, he died

defeats the invaders;

burſts a blood-veſſel,

Book IV. Sect. 2.

and dies, lamented by all Greece.

died [36] in a few days, universally lamented for his great military abilities, but much more for his exalted virtues, and the noble generosity of soul by which he had been distinguished [37]. Among many instances of his humane disposition, the manner, in which he used his victories, is particularly recorded. For he seemed to forget, that the vanquished had ever been his foes; his first care was, to soften their lot, and, as far as consisted with the public safety, to restore to them those privileges and enjoyments, of which other conquerors would have had a pride in depriving them. In what manner he behaved to the Spartans, we have seen. And such, Polybius informs us, was their veneration for him, though the captor of their virgin-city, that, far from considering him as an enemy, by whom they had been humbled, they proclaimed him in the general assembly of Greece their *benefactor* and *preserver* [38]. He reigned but sixteen years, too short a period for the happiness of his kingdom and of mankind.

Character of this prince.

ANTIGONUS certainly appears to have been one of the ablest princes that ever sat on the throne of Macedon; to him probably was owing that vigour, which the Macedonians, after all their losses, were enabled to exert in the succeeding reign; and, had his example been imitated by his successors, it may fairly be conjectured, that the fate of Macedon, if not prevented, had been at least not so rapid and

[36] OLYMP. CXXXIX. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 220. See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70.

[37] Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. It appears from Polybius, that in military reputation he was one of the first among the princes of his time.

[38] Ευεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα.—See Polyb. L. ix. c. 30.

humiliating.

humiliating. In his laſt hours he took care to confirm the appointment he had already made, of Philip, the ſon of Demetrius, to ſucceed him on the throne [39]. Book IV. Sect. 2.

He appoints Philip to ſucceed him.

[39] Antigonus is known in hiſtory by the name of *Doſon, the promiſer*. He acquired this name, Plutarch tells us, from his facility in promiſing and his ſlowneſs in performing. But, if by this we are to underſtand, that he either was avaricious, or that he employed that low expedient, to which ſhallow politicians have often recourſe, of encreaſing the number of their dependents by holding out alluring promiſes, which they never propoſe to fulfil, we ſhall conceive of him a very different character from what is aſcribed to him by Polybius, who lived near his time. Poſſibly, at his acceſſion, he had the importunities of ſelf-intereſted courtiers to contend with; and from his natural facility of temper, and the difficulty of his ſituation, he was often under a neceſſity to put off, in the gentleſt manner he could, expectations, which were not to be gratified but at the expence of the public weal. And thence, perhaps, was the name given to him by ſome of the witlings of the age; and, as the points of ſatire are more faithfully remembered than actions of well-earned praiſe, Antigonus retains to this day the name of *Doſon*.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK V.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Philip, the laſt of the Macedonian kings of that name, ſucceeds to the kingdom upon the death of the ſecond Antigonus—proſperous ſtate of Macedon at his acceſſion—he enters into a confederacy with the ſtates of Achaia againſt the Aetolians—entertains thoughts of reducing the ſeveral Greek republics—prevented by Aratus—endeavours to weaken the influence of Aratus—fails—affects to treat him with confidence—his miniſters grow jealous of Aratus—and ſeek his deſtruction, though to the ruin of their maſter's affairs—Philip diſcovers their treaſonable practices—proceeds with ſeverity againſt them.

Book V. Sect. I.

The laſt Philip aſcends the throne of Macedon:

PHILIP aſcended the throne [1] with the general applauſe of all Macedon [2]. The extraordinary care beſtowed on his education, the inſtructions he was known to have received from the late king, the opportunity he had enjoyed of obſerv-

[1] Olymp. cxxxix. 4. Before Christ 216.

[2] See Polyb. Caſaub. Oct. p. 1371. de virt. et vitiis.

ing

Book V. Sect. 1.

ing the virtues of that excellent prince, together with the high expectations which his own natural endowments had taught his subjects to form of him, induced them to hope, that in him Antigonus would be revived; and, though only in his seventeenth year at the time of his accession, his manner of entering on the government strengthened these expectations: intelligent, affable, munificent, attentive to the several duties of the royal station, he appeared to have no other end in view but the happiness of Macedon, and to have every qualification necessary to accomplish that great object.

his character.

Prosperous state of Macedon at his accession.

MACEDON, at the same time, had never been in a more flourishing condition. The wise policy of the last reign had restored industry and opulence; her cities were populous; her lands cultivated, and covered with inhabitants; and her armies high in reputation for discipline and courage. The barbarian borderers had been lately humbled; and even that spirit of hostility, which for ages had animated the councils of Greece against Macedon, had almost died away. Who could have thought, that these were the times, and this the prince, destined to humble this ancient kingdom, and to prepare the way for it's final ruin!

The Aetolians invade Achaia.

THE Aetolians[3] were the first people to disturb the peace of Greece. The jealousy, which they had long entertained of the Achaean states, was much encreased by that importance which Achaia had assumed from her alliance with Macedon; and no sooner were they relieved from the dread of Antigonus,

[6] Polyb. L. iv. c. 3. et seq. Plut. in Arato.

than

than the Aetolian bands poured again into Peloponnesus. They landed on the Achaean coast, which after ravaging, they proceeded to a strong hold they possessed on the Messenian frontier; from whence they made severe depredations on all the country around. These, however, were said to have been only private adventurers, who went forth merely for the sake of plunder, without the authority, and, as it was pretended, even without the knowledge of the Aetolian government.

Aratus marches against them,

TIMOXENUS, then general of Achaia, whose term of office was nearly expired, declining to march against them, Aratus, general-elect, assumed the command, and, taking the field, required them instantly to leave Peloponnesus. They promised they would: but Aratus, although he had already dismissed a part of his force, suspecting the sincerity of their intentions, and finding, as he thought, a favourable opportunity of chastising these unprovoked plunderers, attacked them on their march near Caphyae, a town of Arcadia; but meeting with an unexpected and vigorous resistance, he was entirely defeated.

and is defeated,

partly by his own fault,

THE blame of this discomfiture fell wholly on Aratus. He had presumed to act, though not in office; he had weakened his army, whilst the enemy was yet in the field; and he had exposed his troops to slaughter by his rashness and the ill-digested orders he had given. To answer to these articles of charge, he was summoned before the convention of the Achaean states; and he had probably been condemned, had not an open confession of his error deprecated the resentment of his judges. The fault, nevertheless, was not al-

Book V. Sect. 1.

and partly by the fault of the Achaeans.

together to be imputed to him. It appears, that the Achaean troops had been deficient in discipline and in courage. The pernicious effects of their having called in the aid of foreign arms, both Polybius[4] and Plutarch[5] inform us, began already to be felt. And the Achaeans, who thought no enterprise too arduous, whilst left to the exertion of their own vigour; those men, who with such glory to themselves had established the liberties of Achaia, now reposing themselves on the power of Macedon, had sunk insensibly into sloth, timidity, and weakness.

Aratus applies to Philip for aid.

The evil was not at present to be remedied. And nothing remained to the Achaeans but the alternative of making friends of the Aetolians, by admitting them to a share in the administration of Grecian affairs (an object which the Aetolians seem long to have had in view) or to implore the assistance of the Macedonian king. The former must have been a measure of wiser policy; as the strength of Greece would then have been collected into one formidable confederacy; and the different states, by pursuing separate interests, had not hastened the ruin of their common liberties. But the pride of Aratus led him to a more pernicious choice. He could not bear that Achaia should yield up, or even divide a sovereignty, which however was now little more than nominal; and still less that she should receive orders from those to whom she had been accustomed to prescribe them. Aratus, besides, had been the first person to call in the Macedonians to the support of the Achaean body; and he would not seem to

[4] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 7. [5] Plutarch. in Arato.

condemn a meaſure, which had originated from himſelf. Unfortunately for Greece, the counſels of Aratus prevailed. Book V. Sect. 1.

Philip's pride gratified by this application:

Philip received the application with pleaſure. To ſee himſelf, at the opening of his reign, the acknowledged arbiter of Greece, and to have the firſt of the Peloponneſian ſtates taking ſhelter under his protection, were circumſtances too flattering for a young prince, to be conſidered with indifference; whilſt his compliance with the requeſt of the Achaeans gave him an opportunity, at the ſame time, of ſhewing his regard to the injunctions of the late king, who had charged him to cultivate the friendſhip of Aratus, and to pay particular attention to the counſels of that experienced ſtateſman.

he promiſes to co-operate with Achaia.

He accordingly promiſed, as ſoon as he had ſettled the affairs of his own kingdom, to repair to Corinth, in order to meet the convention of the ſtates in alliance with Achaia; and in conjunction with them to ſettle their plan of future operations.

The Aetolians ſack Cynaetha.

During theſe tranſactions, the Aetolians had committed a freſh act of violence, far more outrageous as their enemies, affected to repreſent it, than any thing they had yet been guilty of[6]. Making a new inroad into Peloponneſus, they had ſacked Cynaetha, a city of Arcadia, putting to the ſword moſt of the inhabitants, and laying the place in ruins. The inhabitants of Cynaetha had, it ſeems, been long noted for fierce and barbarous manners. Some time before the pre-

[6] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 17.

Book V. Sect. 1.

ſent period, one party of them had riſen againſt another, whom they drove into baniſhment; but the exiles, on certain conditions, having obtained their recall, contrived to betray the city to the Aetolians, who, without diſtinction of friend or foe, exterminated the whole inhabitants. How far the wickedneſs of the Cynaetheans might afford an apology for this inhuman proceeding, it is now difficult to ſay. So exceedingly great, it certainly appears, was their profligacy, that they were held in ſuch abhorrence by the reſt of the Arcadians, that into ſome of their cities it was even deemed a defilement to admit them. What makes this profligacy the more worthy of hiſtorical notice, is the extraordinary manner in which antient writers account for it.

The neglect of muſic the cauſe of its misfortunes:

THEY aſcribe it[7] to a neglect of the ſtudy of muſic. The Arcadians, ſay they, being accuſtomed, from the unkindly ſoil they had to cultivate, to a rough and hardy life, and breathing an air keen and inclement, required ſome gentler relaxation to ſoften and humanize their minds, which might otherwiſe have contracted an aſperity ſimilar to that of the country they inhabited; and this alteration, experience taught them, muſic had the power of effecting in a greater degree than any other ſpecies of amuſement. Muſic was accordingly, with them, the great national object. Their children, from the time they firſt began to ſpeak, were inſtructed to ſing hymns to the gods, and to chant the praiſes of their antient chieftains; and this ſtudy they were, by the laws of Arcadia, to continue until the age of thirty, no other amuſement being allowed among them, nor any other

[7] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 20, 21. & Athen. Deipnos. L. xiv.

art

art held in equal estimation. At their sacred festivals, the boys and men were obliged to make trial of their skill, and to celebrate the solemnity with melody, song, and dance. And even at their convivial meetings, every person was in his turn to raise some instructive song; which to be incapable of doing, was ignominious in the highest degree. But the Cynaetheans, history tells us, having departed from the institutions of their ancestors, had degenerated into savage ferocity, delighting in cruelty, perfidy, and every vicious habit which debases the nature of man.

accounted for.

The fact, however strange it may be esteemed in our present state of cold and artificial manners, is far from being incredible. The music here spoken of, Polybius expressly tells us, consisted of hymns and paeans in honour of their deities and antient heroes [8], and was altogether of the moral class, conveying to the mind whatever was awful and affecting in their religion, their policy, or national events. So that songs such as these, aided besides by that power of melody [9], in which,

[8] Ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὑμνοῦσι.
See Polyb. L. iv. c. 20.

[9] Dr. Brown (Union of Poetry and Music, sect. 5.) insists that the boasted efficacy of antient music among the Greek tribes was chiefly owing to the powerful and affecting song, which, according to him, derived but little aid from the musical accompaniment, their melody being exceedingly simple and inartificial. And he criticises Dacier and Montesquieu, for ascribing too much to the manual execution in those early ages. But "their music being simple and inartificial" is one of the very reasons why it was so amazingly powerful; "simplicity in melody" being a necessary requisite, as an ingenious writer confesses, (see Dr. Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World.*) "in all music intended to reach the heart, or even greatly to delight the ear." And thence in

BOOK V. Sect. I.

which, if there is truth in the records of antient days, the Grecian artists avowedly excelled, could not fail, especially when operating on young and uncorrupted minds, to inspire exalted sentiments, and to make the heart beat high in the cause of virtue [10]. No wonder, therefore, that the Cynaetheans,

in part it is, that music has always been of more consequence among the less cultivated, than among what are called highly-civilized nations; the latter, by refining their music, and rendering it more complex, have lessened, if not destroyed, it's power of affecting. We may therefore venture to suppose, and the testimony of the most respectable of the antients justifies the conjecture, that, simple as their instrumental music may have been, and however unacquainted with that concentual harmony, probably the invention of later ages (see Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music*, B. iii. c. 2, 3.) it was nevertheless in strength of expression and deep pathetic force far beyond any thing known amongst us. So that, with all the energy that poetry, generous affection, and tender sentiment, can give (for to these heart-ennobling subjects was the antient Grecian song altogether sacred) (see Plutarch. de Musica) the songs of Greece had also every advantage that genuine and inspirited melody can bestow. When such a combination took place, among a people of quick and strong perception, and who had not yet attained the art of suppressing their feelings, is it strange, that every passion, as we are told was often the case, should have confessed it's controuling power?—See Hawkins's *History of Music*, prel. disc. p. 12. B. ii. c. 2. p. 166, 167. & B. iii. c. 1. p. 251. See also Harris on *Music, Painting*, and *Poetry*; and De Guy *Voyage en Grece*, Lettre 36.

[10] It will readily be acknowledged, that several of the effects ascribed by the writers of Greece to their antient music (such as, stimulating or controlling the passions; the relieving from bodily pain or infirmity, &c. &c.) are to be understood allegorically, or to be considered as the enthusiastic flights of a yet rude, and therefore wondering people. Nevertheless, when we see the legislator seriously employing himself in regulating the music to be permitted within the state, on account of *the influence* which, he tells us, *it had on the public manners*, it is impossible not to perceive, that their music must have had a power, which, whether the cause is in our manners or our musical expression, we now seek for in vain. Ecprepes, a Spartan Ephore, Plutarch (in Agide) informs us, cut off two of the nine strings from the instrument of Phrynis the musician, in order to check the voluptuousness of the music which this artist was introducing, and *which might destroy the harmony of the state*. And some years after, Timotheus was prosecuted and banished from Sparta,

theans, by proſcribing ſo important a part of education, ſhould have ſuffered in the way we are told; as the effacing of every religious impreſſion, and a total depravation of manners, muſt evidently have followed.

But how great ſoever the contempt in which the Cynaetheans were held, the deſtruction of their city by the Aetolians excited much indignation throughout Peloponneſus; and the Achaean confederates being now met at Corinth, it was urged before them, as a new inſtance of that ſpirit of violence, of which the Aetolians ſtood accuſed. In ſuch an aſſembly, convened under the influence of Aratus and his friends, in which the king of Macedon himſelf preſided, every charge againſt the Aetolians was readily admitted. The whole convention, with joint ſuffrages, agreed, that the

Sparta, for having attempted the like innovation in the ſtrings of the lyre, *to the corruption of the Spartan youth.* The decree Boethius has preſerved to us—

"Whereas Timotheus the Mileſian, coming to our city, has deformed the "antient muſic, and, laying aſide the uſe of the ſeven-ſtringed lyre, and intro-"ducing a multiplicity of notes, endeavours *to corrupt the ears of our youth,* by "means of theſe his novel and complicated conceits, which he calls *chromatic,* "by him employed in the room of our *eſtabliſhed, orderly,* and *ſimple* muſic— "It therefore ſeemeth good to us, the King and Ephori, after having cut off the "ſuperfluous ſtrings of his lyre, and leaving only ſeven thereon, to baniſh the "ſaid Timotheus out of our dominions, that every one beholding the whole-"ſome ſeverity of this city, may be deterred from bringing in amongſt us any "*unbecoming* cuſtoms."—See Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, B. ii. c. 7. and Principles and Power of Harmony. See alſo Boethius de Muſicâ; et Decretum Lacedaemon. contra Timotheum miles. E. Codd. MSS^tis Oxonienſibus, Oxon. 1777.

Compare what this curious monument ſays, and what likewiſe Polybius and other antient writers relate concerning the Arcadian muſic, with the utmoſt that can be ſaid of our muſic, conſidered as an inſtrument of national virtue; and how ſtriking muſt our inferiority appear!

Aetolians were guilty; that reparation should be demanded; and that, unless it was obtained, war should forthwith be declared against them; and the direction of it committed to the Macedonian king.

Social war.

Such was the beginning of the *social war*[11], so called from the association entered into by the several states engaged against Aetolia. It commenced the first year of the 140th Olympiad, the same in which Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, and continued for the space of three years after. Though this war was not attended with any overthrow of states, nor remarkable revolution of power, it was nevertheless in two respects of pernicious consequence to Greece; it gave to Philip an ascendant in the Grecian councils, of which a fatal use was afterwards made by that ambitious prince; and it aggravated that animosity and deep-rankling hatred, which had long subsisted between state and state, and which ended at last in the utter subversion of them all.

Philip lays siege to Ambracos, and takes it:

Philip began his operations in a manner that afforded little benefit to his Achaean allies. The Aetolians, by their frequent inroads into the countries that lay between them and the Macedonian frontiers, were become the terror of all the nations of those parts. The Epirots in particular, no longer the respectable people they once had been, were now fallen under a kind of subjection to the Aetolians; and, though disposed to follow the Macedonian banners, they were with-held by a dread of the Aetolian power. Philip formed the plan of restraining these incursions,

[11] Πόλεμος συμμάχικος.—See Polyb. L. ii. c. 36.

which,

which, whilſt Greece appeared as the oſtenſible object of his care, tended at the ſame time to the ſecurity of his own kingdom. He accordingly laid ſiege to Ambracos[12], an important fortreſs, commanding Ambracia and the country adjacent, which properly belonged to Epire, but was now in the hands of the Aetolians. Having reduced this fortreſs, he put the Epirots in poſſeſſion of it, and prepared to carry the war into the heart of Aetolia.

the Aetolians invade Macedon,

The fierceneſs of the Aetolian ſpirit was in no ſhape humbled by this loſs; on the contrary, whilſt the enemy was thus at their gates, they detached a large body of forces to invade Macedon; who, after committing great devaſtation wherever they appeared, puſhed on as far as Dium[13], a place of note near the Thermaic gulph, famed for its ſumptuous temples, which were enriched by valuable offerings, and adorned with the monuments and ſtatues of the Macedonian kings. This city the Aetolians laid in ruins; they ſpared not even the ſacred edifices; and they carried off immenſe ſpoils. About the ſame time, another Aetolian band had paſſed over into Achaia[14], and nearly ſurpriſed Aegium, one of the cities of the Achaean league; whilſt a third army, in conjunction with the Eleans, had fallen on that part of Achaia which bordered on Elis, ravaged the territory of Dymé, Pharae, and Tritaea, and taken Teichos, a ſtrong caſtle in that neighbourhood, by which they kept in awe all the country around.

and make incurſions into Achaia;

[12] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 61. & Palmerii Græc. Ant. L. ii. c. 7. [13] Polyb. L. iv. c. 62. [14] Polyb. L. iv. c. 57.

Book V. Sect. I.

distress of the Achaeans:

Meanwhile, every resource seemed to fail the Achaeans. They had sent to Philip to hasten to their assistance; but the ravages of the Aetolians, joined to the hostile movements of the Dardanians, had already made his own dominions the first and most necessary object of his attention. Aratus, the general of Achaia, judged it imprudent to risk a battle, to which he knew himself unequal, as the mercenaries in the Achaean service had mutinied for want of pay; and the native Achaeans alone were not to be depended on. Their Peloponnesian confederates were all, at the same time, either spiritless or disaffected. Even the Messenians[15], in whose cause chiefly Achaia had at the beginning taken up arms, were unwilling and afraid to act against the Aetolians, who kept a formidable garrison at Phialea[16] on their frontiers, from whence they could at any time lay Messenia waste.

the Spartans renounce their alliance,

Whilst the Spartans, though under no such apprehensions, and notwithstanding their having, at the late convention, pledged themselves to Achaia, had now massacred or banished[17] all their own citizens who were supposed to be in the interest of the Achaeans, and had openly declared against them.

It will be necessary to explain the causes of this sudden revolution in the Spartan councils; and from them we shall be instructed what was the condition of Sparta at this period.

[15] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 31.

[16] Polybius (L. iv. c. 3, 6, & 31.) makes mention of Phigalea, a strong-hold on the Messenian borders; and (L. iv. c. 79.) of the Φιαλεῖς or people of Phialea, a strong-hold likewise on the borders of Messenia. From several circumstances it is probable, that it is the same strong-hold which is spoken of in all these places.

[17] Polyb. L. iv. c. 34 & seq.

Book V. Sect. 1.

from what causes.

SINCE the battle of Selasia, where, as already related, Cleomenes was defeated by Antigonus Doson king of Macedon, the Spartans, amidst their greatest humiliation, had ever been impatient of the domination of Achaia; to which the haughtiness of that republic had in all probability very much contributed. When the Aetolians, after the death of Antigonus, first invaded Peloponnesus, they had been disposed to join them; but the Ephori then in office could not agree about the expediency of the measure; two of them being strenuous in the cause of Achaia, the other three on the side of the Aetolians; upon which an insurrection having ensued, the Ephori in the interest of the Achaeans were slain. The arrival of Philip at Corinth, and the association of the Peloponnesian states against Aetolia, checked for a time this turbulence of spirit; and though most of the Spartans were secretly friends to the Aetolians, they found it adviseable to disguise their sentiments, and to appear well affected to the Achaean confederacy.

THE following year encouraged other views. The Achaeans, harrassed by the Aetolians, and unsupported by the king of Macedon, became less considerable; and the Aetolians openly solicited the alliance of the Spartan people. Their party was powerful; and the proposal had, without doubt, been accepted, had not the Ephori, who were then all devoted to the interests of Achaia, vigorously opposed it. This opposition proved fatal to these magistrates. They were shortly after massacred in the temple of Minerva, whilst they were employed in the performance of certain sacred rites; and other Ephori, of whose compliance the friends of Aetolia were well assured, were appointed in their room.

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

room. In consequence of these transactions, the Spartans renounced all connection with the Achaean states, and declared the Aetolians their allies.

Cleomenes dies in Egypt.

SUCH was the situation of affairs at Sparta, when tidings arrived, that Cleomenes, of whose return they still cherished hopes, had died in Egypt. The Ephori laid hold on this occasion; and, under the appearance of zeal for the antient Spartan polity, proposed, even at the expence of their own power, that the regal government should be restored. The nomination they made explained fully their purpose. On the throne of the elder branch they placed an infant, named Agesipolis, of the royal line, and grandson to that Cleombrotus, who had been advanced to the regal dignity upon the expulsion of Leonidas. The other throne they filled with Lycurgus, an ambitious partizan of their own party, although he had not the least right by inheritance, and several princes of the younger branch were still alive; but Polybius [18] tells us, that Lycurgus had bought the suffrages of the Ephori, at the rate of a talent to each.

Interested conduct of the Ephori; they sell the Spartan throne to Lycurgus,

BY these arrangements, amongst other favourite objects, the Ephori effectually secured the political union of Sparta with the Aetolians; Lycurgus ratifying all the stipulations they had made, and commencing immediate hostilities against the Achaean confederates.

who confirms all their acts.

Philip marches into Peloponnesus;

ABOVE a year had elapsed, since the alliance had been formed against Achaia; during which time, Philip had per-

[18] L. iv. c. 35.

formed

formed but little of what he had promiſed. The Dardanians, however, who had threatened the Macedonian borders, having, upon his approach, retired homeward, he now found himſelf at leiſure to attend to the diſtreſſed ſituation of his Peloponneſian friends; and, though in the depth of winter, he ſet out [19] with the utmoſt ſecrecy for Corinth, where a part of his forces lay.

ſurpriſes a party of Eleans;

The Aetolians, and the ſtates in their alliance, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his having left Macedon: they had entertained an early contempt of Philip, on account of his youth; and the ſucceſs, with which they had carried on their depredations, had confirmed them in an opinion, that they had nothing of conſequence to fear from him. They ſoon found themſelves to be miſtaken. Philip having adviſed the Achaeans of his arrival, and ſummoned them to join his ſtandard, ſurpriſed a party of Eleans, who, lulled into ſecurity, had gone forth to ravage the Sicyonian territories, and cut to pieces or took priſoners almoſt the whole body; out of two thouſand five hundred men, ſcarcely one hundred eſcaping. From thence, notwithſtanding the rugged precipices and deep ſnows in his march, he advanced to Pſophis, a remarkable ſtrong-hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had got poſſeſſion. The ſituation of this place, together with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſeemed to render any attempt againſt it impracticable. It was a ſquare fortification, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls. On three ſides the approaches to it were defended either by the Erymanthus, a deep and impetuous river, or by rapid torrents,

lays ſiege to Pſophis,

[19] Polyb. L. iv. c. 67 & ſeq.

all

Book V. Sect. I.

all of them ſwollen high with the winter floods; and on the fourth ſide, it was covered by an hill difficult of aſcent and well fortified. Philip, nevertheleſs, ſurmounted all theſe obſtructions; he brought his ſcaling-ladders to bear againſt it; and he puſhed on the aſſault with ſo much vigour, and in ſo many different parts at once, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of it. Laſion and Stratum, two other cities in that neighbourhood, the Eleans had alſo ſurpriſed; but, terrified at the fate of Pſophis, they immediately abandoned them.

and takes it;

Elis, one of the fineſt regions of Greece in point of cultivation, and rich in every ſpecies of rural wealth, was now open to Philip. Through this country he ſpread devaſtation; purſuing the Eleans even to their mountains, and carrying off cattle and other plunder to an immenſe amount. He next entered Tryphalia, a diſtrict of Peloponneſus to the ſouthward of Elis, which had ſome towns capable of defence, garriſoned by the Eleans and Aetolians; but in ſix days he reduced them all.

ravages Elis,

reduces Tryphalia,

The reduction of theſe places brought about alſo that of Phialea, on the Meſſenian borders. Phialea had for ſome years been under the domination of the Aetolians; who, as we have already obſerved, on all occaſions infeſted from thence the Meſſenian territories, controlling the councils of that people, and permitting them to have neither friend nor foe, but in common with themſelves: but now, deriving courage from the ſucceſs of Philip's arms, and the report of his advancing to their aſſiſtance, the inhabitants roſe upon the Aetolians, and forced them to evacuate their city. This

and frees the Meſſenians from the Aetolian yoke:

event had important consequences; the Messenian states recovered their independence, and, no longer intimidated by their Aetolian oppressors, declared immediately on the side of Macedon.

Book V. Sect. I.

the temperate use he makes of his victories;

The capacity and vigour shewn by Philip in the course of this expedition, which he had completed in the short space of a few weeks, during the severity of the winter-season, received an additional lustre from the temperate use he made of his victories. He granted peace to all who sued for it. Of the places which he had reduced, he retained few in his own possession. In some, content with having expelled the Aetolian garrisons, he re-established the former inhabitants, and restored to them their ancient polity. Other cities he bestowed on his Peloponnesian confederates: the Achaean states, in particular, he had gratified with Psophis, the most important strong-hold in this part of Greece; and which to them was an acquisition of great importance, as it strengthened their frontier towards that quarter. His whole conduct, indeed, seemed to proceed on the same generous plan which Antigonus had formerly adopted. The friend of liberty, and the enemy of oppression, these martial exploits carried with them no appearance of selfish ambition; but seemed only to have in view the advantage of his allies, and the defence of Peloponnesus against the encroachments of Aetolian usurpation.

adopts other principles:

But amidst all these fair appearances, a strange alteration [20] began to discover itself in the character of Philip, who had

[20] Polyb. L. iv. c. 76, 82 & seq. Plutarch in Arato.

now

Book V. Sect. I.

now retired to Argos, and there kept his court. Some time before the death of Antigonus, that excellent prince, sensible of his declining health, and apprehensive of the consequences which the intrigues of faction might occasion under a minority, had appointed the different persons to whom the principal administration of affairs was, upon his demise, to be intrusted. At the head of the council of regency he had placed Apelles, whom he also appointed tutor to the young king; a man versed in affairs of state, and supposed to be of strict integrity; but all was artful fallacy and deception. Under a plausible outside, he concealed the greatest duplicity of heart, the imperiousness of a tyrant, and an insatiable lust of power. Leontius, with the title of captain of the cuirassiers, Antigonus had named to the command of the army; Megaleas was appointed secretary of state; Taurion to be king's lieutenant in Peloponnesus; and Alexander to be captain of the life-guard. These dispositions had been implicitly acquiesced in by Philip: and Apelles was at this time prime minister, and the royal favourite. Of the other chief officers of the crown, Megaleas and Leontius were the creatures of the minister, and paid an implicit obedience to his instructions. Apelles, who in Macedon acted without control, was soon disgusted at the rigid firmness and unpliable character of the republican Greeks; who frequently presumed to dispute his orders, and to talk of laws and privileges, which they would not suffer to be infringed. He therefore resolved to humble them: and, so early as the late expedition into Elis, he had given directions to the several Macedonian officers, to take every opportunity of treating them with contempt and injustice, particularly in the division of the plunder, and in the distribution of quarters;

character of his ministers;

their pride,

and duplicity;

with ſtrict injunctions, ſhould they preſume to complain, to charge them with mutiny, and to puniſh them accordingly. The Macedonians, Polybius obſerves [21], had, by a ſimilar policy, eſtabliſhed their dominion over the nations of Theſſaly, who had now only the ſhadow of liberty remaining; and Apelles expected, that he ſhould with as little difficulty effect the ſame in Peloponneſus. But the Achaeans were not ſo eaſily to be ſubdued. They applied directly to Aratus, who, with a becoming ſpirit, remonſtrated to Philip againſt the conduct of his miniſters. Philip ſaw that matters were not yet ripe for the execution of the intended project: he therefore temporized; and, affecting to throw the blame on his ſervants, commanded them to deſiſt from giving offence to his Achaean allies.

they are oppoſed by Aratus,

Some other method of accompliſhing their deſigns was now to be employed. Aratus, at this time, had the lead in the Achaean councils, and the perſon who was ſupported by his recommendation, was always ſure to ſucceed to the appointment of General of Achaia. That it might not, therefore, be in his power again to obſtruct the views of Macedon, Apelles laid his plan to withdraw from this ſtateſman the confidence of the Achaeans, by throwing the adminiſtration of affairs into other hands; and he accordingly adviſed Philip to attach himſelf to the party in oppoſition to Aratus [22]. Philip entered readily into the views of his miniſter, and immediately ſet out for Achaia, in order, by his preſence, to influence, if poſſible, the approaching election of General. The moſt eminent and the worthieſt of the

whom they endeavour to ſupplant:

[21] L. iv. c. 76. [22] Polyb. L. iv. c. 83. Plutarch in Arato.

Achaeans were all the friends of Aratus; but to be the friend of Aratus was now a crime. Philip supported, therefore, the election of Eperatus, whose only merit was his enmity to this great man; yet, without abilities, and without personal weight, Eperatus, by dint of the intrigues, the threatenings, and the bribes, which Philip and his ministers employed, defeated the united opposition of Aratus and every honest Achaean. He was elected. To counterbalance, however, this unpopular measure, and to strengthen himself in the affections of the Achaean people, Philip laid siege to Teichos [21], the fortress of which the Aetolians had possessed themselves the preceding year, took it, and restored it to the Achaeans of Dymé, to whom it belonged; and, having made an inroad into Elis, he presented the Dymeans, and the cities in that neighbourhood, with all the plunder he had carried off.

PHILIP was now, in his own imagination, master of Achaia; the administration was devoted to him; and the wealth and vigour of that republic, he fancied absolutely at his disposal; but he soon found what an empty phantom he had been pursuing. The season for action approached; provisions were necessary for the subsistence of the army, and funds were wanted for their pay. The new general was applied to upon this occasion; but no magazines had been provided; and the treasury was exhausted; Eperatus had neither credit nor invention for immediate resource; and the king had to suffer the mortification of courting the interest of Aratus, in order to obtain supplies

are disappointed:

[21] Polyb. L. iv. c. 84.

of

of money and ſtores; to apologize for the affront he had caſt upon him; and to confeſs himſelf indebted to him, even for the means of carrying on the war.

invent an accuſation againſt him;

Apelles, however, ſtill perſiſted. Nothing leſs than the deſtruction of Aratus was now his object. He accuſed him of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. Philip had ſent overtures of peace, with large offers of protection, to the Eleans, on condition of their renouncing the friendſhip of Aetolia: and the Eleans had rejected the propoſal. Apelles[34] pretended to have proof, that the obſtinacy of the Elean people was owing to ſecret inſtructions they had received from Aratus; and with this he had the inſolence, in the preſence of the king, to charge both Aratus and his ſon; in the moſt ſolemn manner averring the truth of what he had alledged againſt them. But this charge failed alſo of its effect. Aratus found means fully to prove his innocence; and Philip, from this time, either aſhamed of the mean practices he had been induced to countenance, or more probably, convinced that he could not act with vigour without Aratus, affected to place much confidence in that Achaean ſtateſman, and to give leſs attention to the ſuggeſtions of his enemies.

but are defeated;

resolve to compaſs the deſtruction of Aratus, though at the expence of their maſter.

But, whatever might be the diſſimulation of Philip, Apelles was tranſported with indignation at this appearance of favour to the man he hated. He had formed a plan for the ſubjection of Greece; and, in return for ſo important

[34] Polyb. ubi ſup.

 a ſervice,

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

a service, had promised himself whatever the gratitude of his master had to bestow; but now, amidst these visions of greatness, he saw himself supplanted by the man, whom he had marked out for destruction. Urged then by ambition, disappointment, jealousy, and revenge, he conceived a design far more atrocious than any he had yet imagined. In conjunction with Megaleas and Leontius, a formal conspiracy[25] was entered into for defeating the views of the king in whatever he should undertake; of exposing his troops to distress and discomfiture; and of encompassing him with such insuperable difficulties, as might either compel him to abandon a war, which his ministers were not allowed to guide, or to meet his ruin in the prosecution of it. Apelles was still at the head of administration, and had powerful influence over the several departments of government throughout the kingdom of Macedon. The more effectually to execute what he and his accomplices had projected, it was agreed, that under the pretence of public service, the first should remove to Chalcis in Euboea, where he might find opportunities of intercepting all remittances from Philip's hereditary dominions. Meanwhile, it was to be the province of Megaleas and Leontius to throw obstacles in the way of every expedition that promised advantage to their sovereign and his Achaean confederates; to mislead the king into ruinous measures; and even, if found necessary, to spread disaffection and mutiny in the army, in order to render its operations feeble and ineffectual.

[25] See Polyb. L. v. c. 2 & seq.

PHILIP

Philip soon felt the fatal effects of this treasonable combination. Disappointed of the customary supplies, he was reduced to great distress. To whatever measure Aratus recommended, the king's officers urged numberless objections; and in their turn, rather to distract than to promote the public operations, proposed attempts generally useless and often impracticable. Aratus at length prevailed on the king to attack the Aetolians in their maritime settlements, as the only method of annoying them effectually; and he proposed to begin by a descent on Cephallenia, an island in the Ionian sea, near the coast of Peloponnesus; the great resort of the Aetolian pirates, from whence they continually infested the neighbouring coasts of Achaia, Acarnania, and Epire. This attempt, however, was attended with real difficulties. Ships were to be procured, and mariners to be trained; the Macedonians not being conversant in naval affairs. The enemy at the same time had many vessels in actual service; and there was not a creek or a current in those seas with which they were not well acquainted. Aratus nevertheless persevered, and Philip soon saw himself in a condition to appear before Palaea, one of the chief cities of the island; which he certainly must have taken, had he not been prevented by Leontius. A practicable breach had been made, and the assault ordered; but that traitor, who still kept the command, contrived to have the party, that mounted the breach, repulsed; when Philip, seeing his troops dispirited at this check, and uncertain upon whom to fix the charge of treachery, in vexation raised the siege[26].

Philip attempts the island of Cephallenia,

is baffled by his ministers:

[26] Polyb. L. v. c. 4.

THE

Book V. Sect. I.

by Aratus's advice invades Aetolia,

The Macedonian ministry thought they had now carried their point. But they deceived themselves. Aratus, notwithstanding this disgrace, besought the king not to abandon the expedition, but to endeavour to make an impression upon Aetolia itself, where he might have an opportunity of revenging the wrongs of Greece, and of essentially distressing the common enemy. Philip felt himself strongly inclined to follow this advice. He could not but remember the sacking of Dium by the Aetolians; the barbarity and rapine which had marked their incursions into Epire; and the sacrilegious ruin of the famous and revered oracle of Dodona, which they had spoiled of its treasures, and levelled with the ground[27].

with success.

To cover this design, however, from the enemy, the fleet had instructions not to touch at any part of the Aetolian coast[28], but to shape their course to Leucas, the famed promontory[29] of Acarnania, across which had been cut a canal, which opened into the Ambracian gulph. Through this canal the fleet was to make its way, and, proceeding up the gulph, was to land the forces on the upper part of the Acarnanian coast, within a few hours march of the Aetolian confines. Leontius, who now saw clearly into Aratus's plan, trembled for the issue. The Aetolians could scarcely escape destruction. They had, he knew, but a small part of their forces at home, Dorymachus, the Aetolian general, having marched with a considerable body to invade Thessaly, with the view of forcing Philip to fly to the defence of his own dominions.

[27] See Polyb. L. iv. c. 67. [28] Polyb. L. v. c. 5 et seq. [29] See Mr. Addison's elegant account of the virtues ascribed to this promontory by the pagan world. Spect. N° 223, 227, 233.

minions. The Aetolians, at the ſame time, had received no intimation of the intended invaſion, and on that ſide eſpecially were unſuſpicious of any hoſtile attempt. He endeavoured, however, to baffle Aratus, if poſſible. Under various pretences, he endeavoured to gain time. He talked of encamping; of halting but for a few hours; of not exhauſting the troops, fatigued already by conſtant ſervice. But all his repreſentations ſerved only to encreaſe the ardor of Aratus, who entreated Philip not to liſten to any propoſal of delay, but to puſh on, day and night, ſucceſs depending entirely on the rapidity of their march. The ſecond day from their landing they entered Thermum, one of the moſt remarkable citadels of Aetolia, if not of Greece, for ſituation and opulence. It was ſeated on the brow of a craggy mountain, encompaſſed on every ſide by a rocky and hilly country, and though without wall or defence, but what nature had formed around it, ſeemed to defy every hoſtile approach; the only road, that led to it, being a narrow rugged path, of ſteep aſcent, ſkirted either by thick woods, or deep lakes, by yawning precipices, or tremendous rocks. This remarkable ſtrong-hold, the boldeſt foe had never dared to attempt: and here was depoſited the chief wealth of Aetolia; their ſtores; their arms; their treaſure; all that was elegant or curious in workmanſhip of which Greece could boaſt, paintings and ſtatues, ſplendid porticoes and ſumptuous temples, adorning a city where the Aetolian eſtates held their conventions, and their annual fairs; where they celebrated their national feaſts and ſacrifices; and where was ſent every thing in Aetolia of value and magnificence, for the double purpoſe of oſtentation and ſecurity.

Philip had now the faireſt opportunity of ſatiating his revenge;

Book V. Sect. I.

He surprises Thermum, and lays it in ruins;

revenge; which Polybius himself[30], the professed enemy of the Aetolians, acknowledges he indulged to an excess altogether unjustifiable. Not content with having abandoned the place to pillage, he afterwards laid it in ruins. Of more than two thousand statues, such only were spared as appeared to have been dedicated to the gods; the rest being either broken in pieces or defaced; the temples were rifled, and the sacred ornaments, which the piety of ages had dedicated, were defaced or torn down; and when the soldiers had selected from the booty all the precious things, which they thought they should be able to carry off, they collected the rest into a heap, and set them on fire; whereby fifty thousand suits of armour, besides an immense quantity of rich stuffs, were consumed. The same success which attended Philip in his march to Thermum, he also met with in his return, having had the precaution to secure by strong guards all the important passes on the way. Some flying parties hung indeed upon his rear, and followed him to the place of embarkation; but they were not able to make any sensible impression: and, by the time Dorymachus, who upon the first advice hastened homeward, had reached Aetolia, the Macedonians had retired.

returns into Peloponnesus and ravages Laconia.

PHILIP resolved to follow his blow, before the enemy had recovered from the consternation which this bold enterprize had spread among them. Having embarked his troops, and committed some slight ravages along that part of the Aetolian coast which lay on the Ionian sea, he entered again the Corinthian gulph, landed at Lechaeum, and marched into Laconia; Lycurgus the Spartan king having, during

[30] L. v. c. 9.

the late fiege of Palaea, committed devaftation in the Meffenian territories, for which Philip now meant to make reprifals. The Spartans had juft heard of the facking of Thermum, and were preparing to fend fuccours to their Aetolian confederates, when they difcovered the Macedonian army within a fhort diftance of Sparta. The fudden appearance of the enemy, the report of their operations, and the amazing expedition they had ufed, left the Spartans without the power of defence. They kept within the city, whilft the Macedonians, uncontrouled, extended their depredations to the utmoft verge of Laconia on the fea of Crete; laying wafte with fire and fword the faireft parts of the country, and deftroying, wherever they moved, every trace of cultivation. On their return, the Spartans prepared to intercept them, but here again they failed; their troops were put to flight, and the Macedonians carried off a prodigious booty.

What renders thefe fpirited operations more honourable to Philip's military character, is the difficult fituation in which he found himfelf at the time they were executed; befet with obftructions, which his treacherous miniftry were inceffantly raifing to his meafures; deeply diftreffed in mind from the difcoveries he had already made; and ftill more perplexed from the grounds he had to fufpect that much more was yet to be difcovered. A more minute detail of thefe dark treafons will not be improper in this place. Though matters of a private nature, they are clofely connected with the tranfactions we record.

Treafonable practices of the king's minifters.

We have mentioned the difloyal machinations of Apelles, and the minifters in combination with him, to embarrafs and

and defeat their royal maſter in whatever he ſhould undertake, rather than ſuffer Aratus to guide his councils. The attempt on Thermum, and the ſucceſs that attended it, had inflamed their reſentment higher than ever. Megaleas and Leontius, who accompanied the king in that expedition, had employed every artifice to diſappoint him; but, as we have ſeen, they had been baffled. The ſullen gloom [31] that ſat on their countenances, in the midſt of the general joy upon the ſafe return of the army to the place of embarkation, plainly demonſtrated their treacherous wiſhes, and ſtruck the obſervation of the king in ſo forcible a manner, that, from this appearance, combined with other circumſtances, he was ſtrengthened in his ſuſpicions, that villainy and treaſon had taken root among them; and the conduct of Megaleas ſoon afforded proofs of what he ſuſpected. Determined at any rate to deſtroy Aratus, he contrived, under colour of an affray, to inſtigate ruffians to attempt his life; and he had probably effected his purpoſe, had not the intervention of Philip himſelf, whom the uproar had called forth, compelled the aſſailants to deſiſt. When ſummoned on this account before the king, Megaleas had even the inſolence to avow his intentions, and his unchanged reſolution of executing them: and Philip, who in the art of temporizing was exceeded by none, contented himſelf at preſent with putting him under arreſt, and impoſing on him a fine of twenty talents; for which Leontius binding himſelf as ſecurity, the arreſt was ſoon after removed.

The king ſuſpects them, but temporizes,

The Laconian expedition now engroſſing all the king's

[31] See Polyb. L. v. c. 14, 15.

thoughts,

thoughts, the matter rested here for the present. But upon the return of the army from Laconia to the Corinthian isthmus, Leontius[32], uneasy at the suspected situation of Megaleas, in whose condemnation he was conscious he must be finally involved, formed a scheme to intimidate the king from proceeding farther in this inquiry, under pretence that there were dangerous discontents in the army, on account of what had been already done; and, his interest among the soldiery being powerful, he even excited an insurrection. This, however, availed him little. Philip, with great vigour and address, suppressed the mutiny upon it's first breaking out; but appeared to take no pains to be informed by whom it had been fomented. This unexpected indifference struck Leontius and his associate with new terror: they began to dread that the king knew more of their proceedings than they had suspected; and that his affected calmness was grounded on temporizing dissimulation. Under the impression of this fear, they dispatched messengers to Apelles, to hasten his appearance at court, in order that his influence might restore their drooping cause. He appeared accordingly; but the king, who had been already apprized of his criminal connections, received him with a coolness so striking, that Megaleas, who now saw that he had no protection to expect, fled: leaving Leontius, his security, to be responsible for his fine; which accordingly Philip immediately demanded.

and counter-acts them:

The guilt of great ministers is seldom more than suspected during their day of favour; it is their disgrace which completes the discovery. The fullest evidence now poured

[32] Polyb. L. v. c. 26. et seq.

in

Book V. Sect. 1.

makes a full discovery of their treason,

in from every quarter. It appeared, that Apelles had possessed himself of an authority not inferior to that of the king; and that he had used it to the most treasonable of purposes; that he had usurped an absolute dominion over the royal revenues, and, with a design to ruin the king's affairs, had diverted them from the public service; that he had, in his own name, and by his sole authority, issued orders of the first importance, and received and answered all dispatches, without even consulting his master; that every department of government throughout Macedon was filled with his creatures, who looked up to no sovereign but him, and were prepared to execute whatever he should command:—that Leontius, in like manner, had established such an interest among the military, as to be able to command them as he pleased; and that the discomfiture at Palaea, and the repeated disappointments which had of late cramped the king's operations, had all originated in him:—that Megaleas had entertained a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and, by letter under his own hand, had encouraged the Aetolians to prosecute the war, assuring them of the low state of the king's finances, and throwing out against him many illiberal reflections. Such daring treasons against his honour, his crown, and his life, fully justified the utmost rigour on the part of Philip. Apelles and his son were seized and executed. Leontius had been imprisoned upon Megaleas's flight, and the army had interceded in his behalf; but Philip, not intimidated, ordered him also to be immediately put to death. Whilst Megaleas, who had fled to Thebes, hearing that the king was in pursuit of him, endeavoured to expiate his crimes by putting a voluntary period to his life.

and punishes them with the utmost severity.

BOOK

BOOK V.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Philip treats Aratus with dissimulation—forms a connection with Demetrius of Pharos.—The history and character of Demetrius—he prevails on Philip to aim at the subjection of all Greece; and to join Hannibal against the Romans—Philip finds his schemes opposed by Aratus—has him taken off by poison—and behaves to his son in a manner still more cruel and flagitious—prepares a considerable force to act against the Romans—his pusillanimity—defeat—and flight.—The Romans stir up the Aetolians against him—the fatal consequences of this measure to Greece.—Philip makes peace with the Aetolians—and with Rome—with what view—conspires with Antiochus to deprive the infant king of Egypt of his paternal kingdom—besieges Abydos—is reproved and threatened by an embassador from Rome—his haughty answer—dreadful ruin of Abydos.

Seeming advantages to Aratus from.

THE removal of the Macedonian ministers promised considerable advantages to Aratus. They had been avowedly his enemies; his destruction was one principal article of their original plan; and he had taken, therefore, an active

the removal of the Macedonian ministers;

active part against them during the late inquiry. To his sagacity and zeal Philip owed most of the material discoveries he had made; and the king seemed to acknowledge his services, by the unbounded confidence he now reposed in him; living with him as his friend, and paying uncommon attention to his counsels.

Philip acts deceitfully towards him;

THIS fair appearance of trust and royal favour was, nevertheless, all fallacy and artifice. It soon appeared, that Philip still entertained the same insidious designs against the liberties of his Peloponnesian confederates, in which Apelles had led the way; and, however highly he might affect to prize Aratus, it became evident, that he considered him merely as the instrument of his ambition, to be employed whilst serviceable; and, when he ceased to answer his views, to be removed as dangerous, or cast aside as useless.

entertains views hostile to the Grecian liberties.

IN fact, the crime of the late ministry, in the eyes of Philip, was not, that they had endeavoured to lessen the importance of Aratus in the Peloponnesian states, or to reduce those Greek republics under subjection to Macedon. So far they had acted in concurrence with the views of their royal master. Their crime was, that they had not suffered Aratus to take the lead, when it became necessary to the interests of Philip; and that, instead of acquiescing in that subordination which the complexion of the times rendered expedient, they had rashly adopted pernicious counsels; and, in their attempt to overthrow this Achaean chief, endeavoured to involve their sovereign with him in one common ruin.

THE

The war ſtill continued, though its operations were now for the moſt part languid and unintereſting; the ſeveral ſtates being rather employed in adding to the ſtrength of their own frontiers, than in annoying thoſe of the enemy. Twice had a negociation for peace been ſet on foot, under the mediation of Rhodes and other maritime powers, but without effect; when on a ſudden Philip declared his reſolution of putting an immediate end to the war[1]. This meaſure, however precipitate and myſterious it might appear, when the profound diſſimulation of that prince is conſidered, had nevertheleſs been formed upon motives, which he had long revolved in his mind. It will be neceſſary to explain what theſe motives were, as they have an important influence on the ſubſequent fortunes of the Grecian people.

Philip changes his plan; on what account.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Antigonus, the Romans had, for the firſt time, paſſed over into Illyricum[2], the north-weſt boundary of Greece, and bordering upon Macedon, to revenge an inſult offered to their embaſſadors by Teuta, queen of a diſtrict of that country. At the ſame time, a prince named Demetrius reigned in Pharos an iſland on the Illyrian coaſt, which, together with a few places on the neighbouring continent, formed the whole of his poſſeſſions. Whether from hatred of the Illyrian princeſs, whoſe reſentment, Polybius[3] tells us, he had reaſon to dread, or in hopes of ſharing her ſpoils, he had joined the Romans, and at the cloſe of the war, which ended in the defeat of Teuta, had been rewarded with a conſiderable ad-

Demetrius of Pharos aſſiſts the Romans againſt Teuta; is rewarded by them for his ſervices;

[1] Olymp. cxl. 4. Before Christ 212. [2] Polyb. L. ii. c. 11.
[3] Ubi ſup.

dition

Book V. Sect. 2.

dition to his little principality. But, after their departure, emboldened by a report, that the Gauls threatened Italy, and that Hannibal alſo was preparing to invade it, he renounced the fealty he had promiſed them, ſtrengthened himſelf in men and ſhips, paſſed beyond the limits they had preſcribed for his conduct, infeſted the iſlands and coaſts around, and even deſtroyed cities, in which the Romans had an immediate property [4]. Of theſe outrages complaint having been brought to Rome, the Roman forces returned, and expelled him from his dominions. In this reverſe of fortune, he had taken refuge at the court of Philip. His misfortunes, his military reputation, his impetuous and enterpriſing ſpirit, ſuited to the natural genius of Philip himſelf, gained favour with the king, which he cultivated with aſſiduity and art. He penetrated into his character; addreſſed himſelf to his fears, to his vanity, to his ambition. "Such abilities as his," he told him, "were meanly employed in the petty wars in which he was engaged, when ſo noble an object as Italy was in view; that, inſtead of fighting the battles of one republic of Greece againſt another, it ought rather to be his policy to extend his dominion over them all, and to mould theſe now disjointed ſtates into one ſolid maſs of empire; which, beloved as he was by ſome of them, and dreaded by others, he might effect without much difficulty; that, were the Romans once to eſtabliſh themſelves in the neighbourhood of Macedon, it would not be long ere that kingdom would find herſelf reduced to the ſame abject ſituation to which Illyricum was already humbled; that the Carthaginians were then on their march to reſcue the liber-

revolts againſt them; is deprived of all his poſſeſſions; flies to Philip, and incites him to enter into alliance with the Carthaginians, and attack the Romans;

[4] Polyb. L. iii. c. 16 & ſeq.

ties

ties of mankind from Roman usurpation; that a more favourable opportunity never could offer, as his friendship, whilst the issue of the war was yet doubtful, would be of value at Carthage; but, should once the Roman power be subdued, he might then find enemies, where now he might have friends and allies [5]."

Philip listens to him:

THE most frivolous arguments, when our own passions plead on the same side, become powerful. Philip, inattentive to the dangers he was plunging into, saw nothing before him but victory, glory, and dominion. He enjoined, however, the strictest secrecy to Demetrius, until it was known what progress Hannibal should make. He had faithful accounts transmitted to him of all his motions. His passage of the Rhône, his march over the Alps, his victory at the Ticinus, and again at the Trebia, had successively added to the hopes and exultations of Philip; but the tidings of his having overthrown and slain a Roman consul at the lake Thrasimenus, and of his being master of Etruria, proved decisive. Philip, without farther delay, resolved to put an end to the war in Greece, to enter into alliance with Hannibal, and to pour all his forces into Italy.

Aratus endeavours to dissuade Philip, but in vain.

ARATUS [6] would have dissuaded him from this imprudent project; but his representations were disregarded. The other part of Philip's plan, "to make himself absolute lord "of Greece," he was obliged to manage, however, with greater caution. He had already, by intrigue and artful

[5] Polyb. L. v. c. 101. Just. L. xxix. c. 2. [6] Polyb. de virtutibus et vitiis, p. 1371.

Book V. Sect. 2.

Philip forms a strong interest in several of the Grecian states;

services, contrived to form a strong interest among the Argives; among the Arcadians; as well as among some of the Achaean cities; and these, he expected, would lead the way to the subjection of all the Peloponnesian states. To accomplish this great object, it was necessary to be master, at the same time, of the citadel of Corinth, and of the castle of Ithome, two fortresses, emphatically called *the fetters of Peloponnesus*. The first was already in his power; and the other he hoped soon to possess. Ithome was situated in the Messenian territories; and the dissensions which then prevailed in that state, seemed greatly to favour his views. The people complained of the tyranny and oppression of the nobles; and the nobles were jealous of the unbounded spirit of liberty which predominated among the people. To both parties Philip pretended to be a friend, and both parties he deceived. The nobles he encouraged not to give way; the people not to submit. His mediation served only to pour oil upon the flames; and the contending factions had recourse to violence. The people prevailed, and, after much bloodshed, possessed themselves of Ithome: when Philip, under pretence of offering sacrifices for their prosperity to Ithomean Jupiter, had address to get admission into the fortress. Yet, even in this stage, he was disappointed of his object. Demetrius of Pharos, and Aratus, had both accompanied him, though with different views. Demetrius, privy to the fraud meditated by Philip, was incessant in urging him on to the execution of his purpose: whilst Aratus, suspicious of his design, was watchful to defeat it. The instant, therefore, that Philip's intention [7] became apparent, he re-

has a design on Messenia;

[7] Polyb. Excerpt. L. vii. Plutarch in Arato.

monstrated

monstrated against it in the most spirited manner; reminded him of the honourable part the late Antigonus had acted towards the Grecian states; and entreated him to reflect, in what a disadvantageous light he must stand, should he, who had been considered as their protector, become the invader of their common liberties. Shame, or more probably the fear of a formidable opposition, which he saw Aratus was prepared to raise, induced him to desist.

but is prevented by Aratus.

From that time Philip's real character began to display itself. Aratus and his son, who now perceived but too evidently the treacherous views of their Macedonian ally, withdrew immediately their confidence; and this step precipitated their destruction, which Philip appears already to have meditated. The disappointment of Ithome still dwelt upon his mind; and he had long felt with indignant pride the superior and impracticable virtue of those republican chiefs. Their avowed diffidence of his principles and honour, had convinced him that he could now no longer conciliate their friendship, but at the expence of the great object of his ambition, the subjugation of Greece; and he resolved they should live no longer to disturb his pursuits[a]. Taurion, who commanded under Philip in Peloponnesus, was the instrument he employed: he lived in intimacy with Aratus, and soon found an opportunity of executing his master's orders. Poison was the means: to prevent detection, the deadly preparation was not to destroy life at once, but to undermine it, and waste it away by slow degrees, that the disease might have the appearance of a natural decay. But Aratus was

Causes Aratus to be taken off by poison;

[a] Polyb. Excerpt. L. viii. Plutarch in Arato.

not

Book V. Sect. 2.

not so deceived. His friend Cephalon, Plutarch[9] tells us, visiting him one day, and observing with concern, that he spit blood, "such, Cephalon," replied Aratus "are the "fruits of royal friendship."

corrupts the wife of the younger Aratus,

Before this period, in violation of the rights of hospitality, generally held in the highest reverence by the pagan world, Philip had privately seduced Polycratia[10], the wife of the younger Aratus, who, in the confidence of friendship, had received him into his family. The elder Aratus had indeed suspected the intrigue, but in tenderness to his son had concealed his suspicion. Philip now, however, gloried in the action, and not only prevailed on the wife to elope, but contrived to have a poisonous draught administered to the husband, which, from the quality of the ingredients, or the strength of his constitution, deprived him not immediately of life, but disordered his understanding to such a deplorable degree of imbecillity, as led him to the commission of actions so abominable and ignominious, that his death, in the flower of his age, was considered at length as the greatest blessing that could have befallen his family or himself.

and with a poisonous draught disorders the husband's understanding.

The opinion to be entertained of this prince,

When it is remembered, by what strong ties Philip was bound to Aratus; the many important services which he had received from him; the regard which he owed to the dying charge of the excellent Antigonus; the attachment and almost filial reverence which he affected towards him; when it is considered, too, that the crimes above-mentioned were the deeds of a prince, celebrated till then for integrity of soul and gene-

[9] Plut. ub sup. [10] Plutarch. ub sup. Liv. L. xxvii. c. 31.

5 rosity

rosity of sentiment, one would almost question the historian's testimony. Polybius[11] accounts for this extraordinary alteration, upon the supposition of his having been perverted by the Pharian Demetrius, a daring and most unprincipled statesman; whilst Plutarch[12], is of opinion, that the virtues of which Philip had made a show in the early part of his reign were all feigned[13]; and that, as opportunity invited, as his fears diminished, and his power increased, he discovered those vicious principles which dark policy had taught him hitherto to conceal. If so, such deep dissimulation, such finished and unrelenting profligacy of mind, at so early a season of life, is hardly to be paralleled in history; for at this period his twenty-fourth year was not yet completed; and Plutarch's honest indignation, at the review of such a character, led him to pronounce, that the many and severe misfortunes, which befell him in the succeeding part of his reign, were judgments of heaven for his atrocious crimes: "The vengeance," says he, "of Jupiter, the patron of hospitality "and of friendship, visiting him for the breach of both, "and pursuing him through life."

and of the judgments that befell him afterwards.

AMIDST the abhorrence, however, which the guilt of Philip naturally excites, it may be of use to observe, that to Aratus's own mistaken counsels, the calamities that overwhelmed him were in a great measure to be imputed. Jealous first of Cleomenes, and afterwards of the Aetolians, he

Aratus himself to blame for calling in the Macedonian power.

[11] Polyb. L. v. c. 12. Et devistut. et vitiis, p. 1371. [12] In Arato.

[13] It is evident, from Polybius's own account, that, antecedently to any influence which Demetrius of Pharos could have had on him, he had been privy to all the machinations of Apelles and his fellows, and only then disavowed them, when he found, they were not likely to succeed.

had

Book V. Sect. 2.

had called in that very Macedonian power, which in the end destroyed him; and in his last hours he had the mortification to reflect, that his country, his family, and himself, were the victims of an ill-directed ambition, which sought too eagerly the aggrandisement of Achaia at the expence of the rest of Greece. Yet, with some blemishes, Aratus was certainly one of the greatest men of antiquity. An able statesman, and a firm patriot, by his genius, vigour, and perseverance, he gave to his republick that form and splendor which raised it to the first rank among the states of Greece; and, had he been less jealous of Sparta and of Aetolia, history perhaps had not left us a more finished character.

Philip sends an embassy to Hannibal;

PHILIP, in the mean time, had seriously resolved to pass into Italy, and to co-operate with Hannibal in humbling the Roman power. With this view, he had sent ambassadors to the Carthaginian general; but they had been intercepted soon after their landing on the Italian coast. Pretending, however, that their errand was to Rome, they in a little time obtained their release, and made their way to Hannibal, with whom they concluded a treaty; but on their return, being taken at sea by a Roman squadron, they were sent with all their papers to Rome. This intelligence, however, did not discourage Philip. Another embassy was immediately dispatched, and a second ratification of the treaty was obtained. If we are to believe Livy[14], Philip engaged "to furnish a fleet of two hundred ships, to be employed "in spreading devastation along the Italian coasts; and also "to assist Hannibal with a considerable body of land-forces:"

his embassadors are taken by the Romans; he sends a second embassy, and concludes a treaty;

[14] See Liv. L. xxiii. c. 33.

 in

in return for which, when Rome and Italy ſhould be finally reduced, the ſole poſſeſſion of which the Carthaginians were to retain, Hannibal was to paſs into Epire at the head of a Carthaginian army, to carry on the war there in any manner Philip ſhould deſire; and, having made a conqueſt of the whole country, to yield up to him thoſe parts of it, and thoſe iſlands, that lay convenient for Macedon[15].

It is not the buſineſs of the preſent work, to enter into a detail of the wars which Philip had to ſuſtain againſt the Romans. They belong to another hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to take a ſummary view of the principal events, as far as they affect the fortunes of Greece.

enters the Ionian gulph with a conſiderable fleet;

Philip's firſt exploits diſcovered little of that ſpirit, which his bold ſtipulations with Hannibal ſeemed to promiſe. He had equipped a conſiderable fleet, and, ſetting ſail from Macedon, coaſted along the eaſtern ſhore of Peloponneſus, doubled the cape of Malea, entered the Ionian gulph, and advanced as high as the mouth of the Aous, on which ſtood the city of Apollonia; when, receiving advice that the Roman fleet, which lay off Sicily, had weighed anchor to give him battle, ſeized with a panic, he immediately haſtened back to Cephal-

[15] The treaty, which we find in Polybius (Excerpt. L. vii. c. 2.) is of a different tenor, and ſeems to be conceived in more modeſt terms. It contains only general ſtipulations of mutual amity and aid between Carthage and Macedon, and that *the one* ſhould have the ſame friends and enemies as *the other*, except where otherwiſe bound by antecedent treaties; with a particular clauſe, by which the Carthaginians obliged themſelves, in caſe of a peace with the Romans, to inſiſt previouſly on their evacuating Corcyra, Pharos, and all the iſlands which they held along the coaſts of Illyricum and Epire, and on their reſtoring to liberty all *thoſe of the family* (οἰκείους) of the Pharian Demetrius, whom they had priſoners.

Book V. Sect. 2.

lenia, hauled his vessels on shore, crossed over into Peloponnesus, as if called away by some urgent business, and made his escape into Macedon[16].

steers down to the coast of Epire, takes Oricum, and lays siege to Apollonia;

His next attempt ended in a manner equally disgraceful. He had surprised Oricum, on the coast of Epire, an unwalled and defenceless sea-port, considerable only on account of it's situation, as from thence there was a short course to Italy. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the Roman commander at Brundusium, who knew Philip's connections with Hannibal, and had instructions from Rome to observe him, upon the first information of his having possessed himself of this port, hastened to dislodge him. Philip had in the mean while marched to Apollonia, situated at a short distance from Oricum, and laid siege to it. Into this place, before Philip had the least idea of his approach, Laevinus contrived to introduce a chosen body of Romans; who, together with the garrison, having sallied out in the night, broke into Philip's camp, and with much slaughter routed the whole Macedonian army, the king himself, half-naked, escaping with difficulty. He made towards his fleet, which lay off Apollonia, on the Aous, with an intention of pushing to sea; but, Laevinus having blocked up the mouth of the river, Philip, after running his vessels aground, or setting them on fire, was obliged to steal homeward across the mountains[17].

is surprised and defeated by the Romans:

steals away homeward.

The embarrassed situation, however, of the Romans did not permit them to attend to this Macedonian war. The

[16] Polyb. L. v. c. 110. [17] Liv. L. xxiv. c. 40.

flower

flower of their nation had lately fallen at Cannae. Posthumus with his whole army had been cut off by the Gauls. Campania had revolted. The faith of Calabria was doubtful. And, exclusive of the variety of armaments, which these complicated dangers rendered necessary, they had wars to sustain in Spain, in Sicily, and in Sardinia.

Book V. Sect. 2.

The Romans stir up the Aetolians against Philip.

It was therefore determined to endeavour, if possible, to raise enemies against Philip in Greece, that he might be employed at home in defending his own dominions. Valerius Laevinus applied accordingly to the Aetolians, of all the Greeks the most likely to listen to such an overture. He found in them the very temper of mind he wished. Naturally warlike, they entertained a violent resentment of what they had suffered from Macedon in the course of the last war, and they looked impatiently for opportunities of revenge. These favourable dispositions Laevinus took care to cultivate by the most lavish promises on the part of Rome: "they "were," he told them, "the first nation beyond sea, with "whom Rome had deigned to make alliance, and they might "therefore be assured of holding a more distinguished place "in her friendship than any other people"[18]: Philip had "been hitherto a troublesome and a faithless neighbour; he

[18] "Aetolos eo in majore futuros honore," says Livy (L. xxvi. c. 24) "quod "gentium transmarinarum in amicitiam primi venissent." This, however, is not true. It appears from Polybius (L. iii c. 22, 24, & 25) that so early as the consulship of Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, the Romans had made a treaty of amity with the Carthaginians; and that this amity was solemnly renewed on two subsequent occasions. And that such a treaty subsisted between Rome and Carthage, and had been thrice ratified, Livy himself (L. ix. c. 43) acknowledges. The language of negotiation had, it seems, it's tricks and subterfuges in antient days as well as in modern.

Book V. Sect. 2.

" ſhould henceforth be diſabled from injuring them: and " Acarnania, which they had formerly poſſeſſed, ſhould be " reſtored to them." The Aetolians believed theſe flattering declarations, and they haſtened to conclude a treaty with the Roman ambaſſador, of which the principal articles were, " that the Aetolians ſhould wage immediate war againſt " Philip by land, which the Romans were to ſupport by a " fleet of twenty galleys; that, whatever conqueſts might be " made from the confines of Aetolia to Corcyra, the cities, " buildings, and territory, ſhould belong to the Aetolians; " the other plunder of every kind to the Romans; and that " the Romans ſhould endeavour to put the Aetolians in poſ- " ſeſſion of Acarnania." The Aetolians made it their requeſt, that in this treaty of alliance the Eleans and Spartans, together with Attalus king of Pergamus, with Pleuratus and Scerdiletus princes of Illyricum, ſhould, if agreeable to them, be alſo included. Nothing could conſpire better with Laevinus's views. The more enemies Philip had to contend with, the leſs he was to be feared. Laevinus, on the concluſion of this treaty, immediately employed his arms in reducing Zacynthus, a ſmall iſland on the Peloponneſian coaſt, with Oeniadae and Naxus, two cities ſituate in that part of Acarnania bordering on Aetolia; which, as an earneſt of what they might expect from the generoſity of Rome, he inſtantly gave up to the Aetolians; and, having thus lighted up the torch of war in Greece[19], he retired to Corcyra[20].

From this period the humiliation and final ſubjection of the Grecian ſtates advanced; for ſome time, by ſlow degrees,

[19] Olymp. cxli. 4. Before Christ 208. [20] Liv. L. xxvi. c. 24.

but

but afterwards with wonderful rapidity. The Romans, having once obtained a footing in Greece, soon found means to establish themselves there with firmness; at first the confederates, and, ere long, the imperious controllers of that very people, who had opened to them the gates of Greece; extending their influence from city to city, by artfully availing themselves of the credulity, the domestic feuds, the ambition, and the avarice, of the different leaders; always ready to support the weaker against the mightier, that, the strength of each individual state being broken by degrees, it should be less difficult in time to accomplish the destruction of the whole; covering all the while their ambitious views with the smooth semblance of moderation, equity, and friendship; until, the vigour of Greece being on every side gradually undermined, the whole tide of the Roman power rushing in, it was totally overwhelmed.

Fatal consequences to Greece of the Romans obtaining a footing in it;

Among the many calamities, which the unfortunate introduction of the Romans brought immediately upon Greece, it had the effect to give Philip a stronger interest in most of the Grecian states than he had ever before possessed [21]. It was now no longer remembered, that he was the flagitious tyrant, who had rewarded hospitality with libidinous violation and treacherous murder, and had harboured projects the most hostile to public liberty; the people now even looked up to him as the champion of freedom, and their bulwark against the barbarians (for so they stiled the Romans) whom the perfidious Aetolians had invited into Greece; in conse-

the influence it had on the Achaean councils,

[21] Polyb. Excerpt. L. x. c. 38. Just. L. xxix. c. 4.

Book V. Sect. 2.

quence of which, not only the Greeks to the north of the Corinthian isthmus, but even the Achaean league, prepared to arm in his support. The Achaeans, in particular, were at the same time stimulated by apprehensions of immediate danger to themselves. Between them and the Aetolians, as we have seen, an inveterate enmity had long subsisted, and in the present posture of affairs they had nothing to expect from the latter but hostility and devastation. The Spartans too, and the Eleans, the ancient enemies of Achaia, now in avowed confederacy with the Romans and Aetolians, were also on their frontiers. The Spartans especially, proud of their alliance with Rome, seemed to have resumed all their antient spirit, and to meditate the recovery of that sovereignty they had formerly claimed over the rest of the Peloponnesian nations. The prince at present on the Spartan throne, was at the same time of a warlike and enterprising temper. Lycurgus, who had purchased the kingdom of the Ephori, having died, after a short and turbulent [22] reign, Machanidas, another adventurer, had usurped the throne; and having expelled the young king Agesipolis, reigned now the sole tyrant of Sparta; and, whether impelled by his own disposition, or the situation of affairs at home, he gladly availed himself of the opportunity of leading out his Spartans to war.

and on those of the other Peloponnesian states.

[22] Chilon, a prince of the royal line of Sparta, formed the plan of dethroning Lycurgus; and, with a party of his friends, having fallen on the Ephori, who had sold the kingdom to him, put them all to the sword; but Lycurgus himself made his escape. And the Spartan people, though Chilon promised them a new division of lands, refusing to join him, he was obliged to abandon the design, and to go into banishment.—See Polyb. L. iv. c. 81.

DURING

Philip exerts uncommon vigour;

During theſe commotions in Peloponneſus, the tumult of arms had already ſpread throughout the northern provinces of Greece. Philip, now ſenſible of the dangers he had brought upon himſelf, exerted a vigour far different from what he had lately ſhewn. He began by ſecuring his frontiers againſt the bordering nations, whom the preſent embarraſſments of Macedon, and perhaps the expectations of ſupport from Rome, might encourage to renew their incurſions; he even carried the war into Illyricum[23], and had taken Liſſus and Acroliſſus; the former, the moſt conſiderable city in that country, and the other, a fortreſs of remarkable ſtrength, at ſome ſhort diſtance, hitherto ſuppoſed to be impregnable; ſo that moſt of the other cities of thoſe parts, terrified at the vigour and rapidity of his progreſs, opened their gates without reſiſtance. Theſe ſucceſſes were followed by his marching to the relief of the Acarnanians, whom the Aetolians were preparing to invade: they had implored aid of Philip; but before he reached their borders, the Aetolians had retired. The like ſpirited meaſures he purſued throughout Theſſaly and the countries adjacent, counteracting the Aetolian influence, wherever he ſuſpected it to prevail, and putting in a poſture of defence every place, which he thought to be in danger of an attack from the enemy.

takes Liſſus and Acroliſſus;

marches to the relief of the Acarnanians,

and ſtrengthens himſelf in Theſſaly.

Hitherto, the Aetolians had gained little by their alliance with Rome. Their great object had been the reduction of Acarnania; but the report, that Philip was on his march to relieve it, together with the deſperate reſolution

The Aetolians receive little benefit from their alliance with Rome;

[23] Polyb. Excerpt. L. viii. c. 10, 11.

of

Book V. Sect. 2.

of the Acarnanians[24], who, determined not to survive their liberties, had armed all their males from fifteen years to sixty, and bound them under a heavy curse, never to quit the field of battle unless victorious, had obliged them to abandon the attempt. And, although Laevinus, at the return of spring, had re-entered Greece, the whole of his operations amounted only to the taking of Anticyra, a city of the Locri, on the north side of the Corinthian gulph; the spoils of which, with all the prisoners, he seized on as Roman property, leaving to the Aetolians, according to the strict letter of his treaty, the bare soil and a desolated city[25]. And soon after which he set out for Rome, to take possession of the consulship, to which he had been elected.

but, from their hatred of Philip, continue the war;

Stimulated, however, by their hatred of Philip, and of the states confederated with him, they disregarded these discouragements, and pressed the war with the same ardour with which they had at first engaged. Sulpicius, who had been appointed to the command of the fleet on the Ionian station, in the room of Laevinus, had sent them a supply of near a thousand men; and they had likewise received succours from Attalus. They immediately passed over into Peloponnesus, and, in conjunction with the Spartans, fell upon Achaia; but as they were returning homeward, laden with plunder, they were met by Philip, who, having had notice of the distressed condition of the Achaeans, was hastening to their assistance; a battle immediately ensued, and the Aetolians were defeated. Undaunted, however, they a second

defeated by Philip in two engagements.

[24] Liv. L. xxvi. c. 25. Polyb. L. xvi. c. 17, & fragm. p. 1519. [25] Ibid. L. xxvi. c. 26.

time engaged; but were not more fortunate; they were again discomfited, with the loss of a great part of their army, the remainder with difficulty saving themselves in one of the neighbouring cities. Philip's success, however, roused the jealousy of some of the adjoining states. They saw the danger with which they were threatened, should the power of Macedon be encreased by the reduction of Aetolia; and they interested themselves in mediating a peace [26]. Philip listened readily to the proposal, his ambitious views leading him to other wars; and a peace was on the point of being concluded, when the Romans, to whom the prolongation of the war in Greece was of the utmost importance, sent their fleet to the support of the Aetolians; who, being emboldened also by assurances they at the same time received from Asia, that Attalus was preparing to join them with a considerable force, set Philip at defiance; and, in the style of victory, talked of conditions, to which they knew he could not give his consent [27].

Peace proposed by the neighbouring states;

Philip willing to treat;

rejected by the Aetolians.

THIS, however, was by no means prejudicial to Philip; it gave, on the contrary, his Greek confederates a high opinion of his moderation and pacific purposes; whilst it strengthened their indignation against the Aetolians. These favourable dispositions he soon found a brilliant opportunity of cultivating. He was assisting at the celebration of the Nemean games, when tidings arrived that the Romans had

Philip sets out from the Nemean games, and repulses the Romans;

[26] The principal mediators were, the Athenians, the Rhodians, the people of Chios, and the king of Egypt.

[27] See Liv. L. xxvii. c. 30.

landed,

Book V. Sect. 2.

landed, and were ravaging the country from Corinth to Sicyon. He instantly set out, attacked the enemy, obliged them to fly to their ships, recovered the booty they had taken, and was again at Argos before the games were concluded. This rapid and splendid atchievement against Roman troops, gave to Philip a high degree of lustre in the eyes of Greece, now assembled at the Nemean solemnity; which he greatly improved by the affability and familiar deportment he affected towards these republicans, who, accustomed to liberty, were wonderfully flattered in beholding a prince in the height of power, and just crowned with victory, mix freely among them, and, divesting himself of the pomp of royalty, wear the garb and manners of a fellow-citizen[28].

distinguishes himself in a second engagement;

His next enterprize, though not so successful, was not less honourable to his valour. The Aetolians having got possession of Elis, near the borders of Achaia, Philip advanced in order to dislodge them; but, upon giving them battle, he found they were stronger than he had conceived, and that they had Roman soldiers among them; Sulpicius, who lay off the Peloponnesian coast, having, unobserved by Philip, contrived to reinforce the Aetolian garrison with five thousand men. He nevertheless charged the enemy with vigour; when, his horse being killed under him, he continued to fight on foot, until, numbers being slain on every side, and the enemy pressing on, he must undoubtedly have been taken or killed, had not his men, by one bold effort, rushed in and borne him off. Disappointed in his design

overpowered by numbers;

[28] Liv. L. xxvii. c. 31.

on

on Elis, he did not, however, return without ſucceſs. There ſtood at ſome diſtance a ſtrong caſtle, in which the Elean peaſants had taken ſhelter, with their flocks and herds, the principal wealth of the country; this caſtle he ſurpriſed, and carried off twenty thouſand head of cattle, together with four thouſand priſoners.

yet ſurpriſes a ſtrong caſtle, and carries off immenſe plunder:

But [29], amidſt all this exertion of vigour, and ſeeming regard for the independence of Greece, the unprincipled profligacy of Philip's character ſtill betrayed itſelf. Not long before this period, he had, a ſecond time, attempted the liberties of the Meſſenians, but had been baffled by the manly ſtand they had made againſt him; the Pharian Demetrius, to whom he had committed the conduct of his plan, having loſt his life in the attempt [30]. At Argos he had, at the ſame time, incurred much diſgrace by his exceſſive diſſoluteneſs; invading, with the moſt daring licentiouſneſs, the honour of private families, and employing even terror and violence [31], where the powers of ſeduction failed. Happily for his Peloponneſian confederates, the neceſſities of Macedon called him away; a report of his death having encouraged domeſtic inſurrections, and the inroads of hoſtile borderers.

his diſſoluteneſs renders him odious; returns to Macedon.

Notwithstanding Philip's departure, the military operations of the Achaean ſtates ſuffered no interruption: a very important alteration having taken place in relation to that people, who now, inſtead of placing their whole de-

Philopoemen begins to diſtinguiſh himſelf;

[29] Liv. L. xxvii. c. 32. [30] Polyb. L. iii. c. 19. [31] Liv. ubi ſupra.

Book V. Sect. 2.

pendence on foreign aid, difplayed abilities and refources equal to the moft fpirited enterprize. It was by Philopoemen[32] this change had been effected. Originally of Megalopolis in Arcadia, this great man had diftinguifhed himfelf, from his early years, by ardent exertions for the liberties of his country, and a ftrenuous oppofition to the Spartan power, then the moft formidable in Peloponnefus; having chofen even to abandon his property, and fubmit to the miferies of exile, rather than live in fubjection to the Spartans, who had made themfelves mafters of his native city. Aratus, about the fame time, was employed in ftrengthening the commonwealth of Achaia, in order to form it into an effectual barrier againft the ambitious attempts of his Spartan neighbours. The difinterefted and enlarged views of Aratus, attached Philopoemen[33] to his interefts; he co-operated in many of his fchemes, and was active in bringing over feveral of the Arcadian citizens to join the Achaean league. Soon after the death of Aratus, the integrity and military capacity of Philopoemen gave him the principal lead in the Achaean councils; in the conduct of which, though inferior to Aratus in political abilities, he equalled him in zeal for the caufe of freedom; and, in the martial line, he far furpaffed him. War, indeed, was peculiarly his province; fo that, although he wifhed to refemble Epaminondas, whom he had propofed for his model, it was only in his military genius, according to Plutarch[34], in his activity, his fagacity, and his contempt of riches, that the parallel was ftrong; but, to the mildnefs, the gravity,

his character.

[32] Polyb. Excerpt. L. xi. c. 7. Plutarch in Philopoem. [33] Polyb. L. ii. c. 40. [34] Ubi fupra.

and

and the wisdom of that illustrious Greek, the character of Philopoemen could never rise; the department of arms, says this historian, being far more suited to his genius than the administration of civil affairs. The first great battle, in which Philopoemen distinguished himself remarkably, was that of Selasia; the success of that memorable day being in a great measure decided by a judicious movement of the corps which he commanded[35]. He passed afterwards into Crete, in order to perfect himself in some parts of the military science, for which the Cretans were famed. But it was not in the field of war alone that Philopoemen shewed his genius for military affairs. They were his constant occupation; in his walks, even in his journeys, in his rural sports, his whole attention was employed in observing the difficulties of steep or broken grounds; the advantages which might be derived from passes, woods, inclosed fields, or open plains; the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles, with every situation, where the ranks of an army should be extended in front or in file. By this singular and incessant attention to the military line, he acquired an extraordinary knowledge and readiness in martial affairs; no emergency, however sudden, finding him unprepared. When advanced to be general of Achaia, he saw with concern the state to which a foreign yoke had reduced his countrymen, and he conceived the noble resolution of relieving them from their humiliating condition. He altered altogether their discipline; he made them acquainted with hardship and toil; he gave them weightier armour, and weapons of greater execution. Their cavalry, hitherto

[35] Polyb. L. ii. c. 67, 68.

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

ostentatious and useless, because mostly composed of young men of rank, who entered into it more from vanity than from public-spirited motives, he modelled so as to render it vigorous and respectable. He turned even to advantage the frivolousness of the Achaeans. The young men of wealth and rank affected much splendor in their dress; this taste for magnificence he persuaded them to transfer to their armour and military accoutrements[36]. This displayed a great knowledge of the human heart. To combine a love of splendor with a love of arms, will ever have a powerful effect on youthful minds. To have attempted to enforce the simplicity of the ancient garb, at the period of refinement to which the Achaeans had then arrived, would only, in all probability, have generated sullenness and resistance. Philopoemen judged therefore with wisdom, when he made the foibles of his fellow-citizens subservient to the glory of the state; whilst even the richness of their armour, among men naturally warlike, might powerfully assist the point of honour in the day of battle, and produce wonderful exertions, to prevent the loss, as well as the disgrace, of such armour becoming the property of their foes. The effect indeed of this judicious and insinuating discipline became sensibly felt. The Achaeans recovered much of the prowess of former days; the armies of Aetolia and Elis, who, promising themselves, as usual, an easy victory, had ventured, upon Philip's absence, to attack them, being totally defeated.

The Romans with Attalus attack Euboea.

SULPICIUS had in the mean time engaged in an expedition against Euboea[37]. Finding that Philip had marched from

[36] Plutarch. in Philopoem. Polyb. Excerpt. L. xi. c. 7. [37] Liv. L. xxviii. c. 5. et seq.

Peloponnesus,

Peloponnesus, he sailed to Aegina, and wintered in that island, after having made a conquest of it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Attalus king of Pergamus having afterwards joined him with his fleet, as soon as the season permitted, they shaped their course towards Euboea. Of all the provinces of Greece, this, though an island, was one of the most considerable for fertility of soil, extent of territory, and situation[38]. To the east, it opened to the trade of Asia, and the numerous islands that cover the Hellespontine and Aegean seas; and, to the west, it reached along the coasts of Locris, Boeotia, and Attica, from the Maliac bay to the promontory of Sunium; being divided from the continent by a channel, so exceedingly narrow in one part, as to admit a bridge over it. Opposite to this pass was Chalcis, the principal city of the island, accounted, from it's advantageous seat, the key to this quarter of Greece. The king of Macedon had a very valuable stake in these parts; most of the cities, both of Euboea and the adjacent continent, being held by Macedonian garrisons.

Philip makes vigorous preparations:

Philip was not inattentive to the designs of the enemy. He had settled the affairs of his own kingdom in the best manner he could, and had moved down to Demetrias in Thessaly; he had assembled a numerous force, and given assurances of effectual support to all his allies. Signals by fire[39] he ordered to be made from the heights of Euboea, and from Peparethus, a small island at some distance from it, and also from certain mountains of Phocis and Thessaly, that he might thereby have regular and speedy intelligence of the enemy's

[38] See Strabo, L. x. p. 306. [39] See Polyb. L. x. c. 42, 43, 44.

enemy's motions, in order to haſten to the relief of places in moſt immediate danger[40]. With all theſe ſpirited and judicious preparations, Philip did not remain merely on the defenſive. He endeavoured to ſurpriſe Heraclea, a city on the confines of Theſſaly, where the Aetolian ſtates had aſſembled in order to confer with Attalus; but before Philip got thither, the convention was diſſolved, and he could only lay waſte the country all around. In the mean time, Oreum, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Euboea, was taken by the Romans; having been betrayed to them by the governor, whom they had corrupted. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Sulpicius had laid ſiege to Chalcis. But the ſtrength of the place, and the vigorous defence made by the commanding officer, who was not to be tampered with, added to a report that Philip was approaching, obliged him to abandon the attempt. Whilſt Philip, however, was employed in ſaving Chalcis, Opus, a wealthy city of the Locri, his allies, was ſtormed and plundered by Attalus; and though the king of Macedon, upon the firſt advice of the movements of Attalus, marched towards Opus with all poſſible expedition, and warmly purſued the plunderers, who had haſtily retired on his approach, they nevertheleſs eſcaped to their fleet on the Euripus, and ſecured all the booty they had taken.

loſes Oreum by the treachery of the governor,

but ſaves Chalcis.

Attalus ſtorms and plunders Opus.

In this fluctuating manner had the war continued ſix years, neither the Aetolian confederates, nor thoſe of Macedon, having much cauſe to boaſt; when a ſudden revolution in the fortunes of Philip left him arbiter of Greece. Attalus was called away to the defence of his own kingdom, which Pru-

The Romans and Attalus retire from Greece.

[40] Liv. ubi ſup.

ſias of Bithynia was preparing to invade: and the Romans alſo, to whom the defeat of Aſdrubal had opened other views, and tired at the ſame time of a war, the events of which were indeciſive, and the iſſue doubtful, withdrew from Euboea, and ſoon after ſailed homeward.

Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, ſlain in battle by Philopoemen;

THESE changes were followed by an event very unfavourable to the intereſts of the Aetolians. Machanidas of Sparta, the moſt warlike and powerful of their Grecian confederates, fell[41] in battle by the hands of Philopoemen. Upon the departure of the Romans and Attalus, Philip had returned to Macedon, to oppoſe the inroads of the bordering nations; and Machanidas, who had long ſought occaſion to reduce all Peloponneſus, availed himſelf of his abſence, and at the head of a conſiderable army advanced towards Mantinea, a city of Arcadia under the protection of the Achaean ſtates. Philopoemen was at this time general of Achaia. He obſerved all the tyrant's motions; and, aſſembling immediately his forces, gave him battle. The victory at firſt inclined to the ſide of Sparta; Machanidas, who had begun the charge with great vigour, having broken and put to flight the left wing, compoſed of a body of Tarentines and other auxiliaries; but urging the purſuit too far, and ſeparating himſelf from the reſt of his army, Philopoemen marked his opportunity; and falling upon the main body of the Spartans, defeated them totally. Machanidas, who ſaw the confuſion of the Spartan line, haſtened back; but, Philopoemen having poſſeſſed himſelf of a ditch, interſecting the field of battle, acroſs which it was neceſſary for Machanidas to paſs, in order to rejoin his troops;

[41] OLYMP. cxliii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 202.

Book V. Sect. 2.

as he was attempting to ſpur his horſe over it, Philopoemen killed him with his javelin[42]. The death, however, of Machanidas did not reſtore liberty to Sparta; he was ſucceeded by Nabis, another tyrant, much inferior to him in military abilities, but infinitely more flagitious and cruel.

Nabis ſucceeds him.

Philip makes peace with the Aetolians and Romans:

Every thing now, in appearance, favoured the ambitious deſigns of Philip. The Aetolians could no longer oppoſe his arms; and Italy lay open to him; where, notwithſtanding the declining ſtate of the Carthaginian affairs, he might ſtill have made a powerful diverſion in favour of Hannibal. But he had at preſent adopted other views. He not only, therefore, made peace with the Aetolians, but entered alſo into terms with the Romans; who, though they affected to be diſpleaſed with the Aetolian ſtates for having liſtened to an accommodation with Philip, ſoon after followed their example, relieving themſelves with ſecret ſatisfaction from a war, which, whatever they might boaſt, had certainly greatly embarraſſed them.

The cauſe of this alteration in the Macedonian councils deſerves notice.

this alteration occaſioned by his views on Egypt;

Ptolemy Philopator was at this time on the throne of Egypt, a prince of the moſt diſſolute manners; and, though in the prime of life, languiſhing under an infirm and decayed conſtitution, the conſequence of vicious exceſſes. He had only one child, an infant ſon, whoſe weakly conſtitution afforded but a precarious hope of long life. This

[42] Polyb. Excerpt. L. xi. c. 7. Plutarch in Philopoem.

complexion

complexion of Egyptian affairs ſeemed to open new and magnificent objects for Philip's ambition. He had already entered into a negotiation [43] with Antiochus of Syria, in relation to the partition of the Egyptian monarchy, in caſe of Philopator's demiſe: and he now reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf in thoſe parts of Aſia and Europe, through which he might, upon occaſion, open himſelf a way into the adjoining Egyptian provinces. Under pretence, therefore, of aſſiſting Pruſias king of Bithynia, his ſon-in-law, he paſſed over to Cius [44], a free city on the Bithynian frontiers, laid ſiege to it, and took it; putting to the ſword, or ſelling for ſlaves, all the inhabitants, and ſeizing on all the rich plunder [45]. His views, in this ſeverity, were probably the amaſſing of treaſure, and at the ſame time, the making his name formidable in that country, near to which the Egyptian king had large poſſeſſions. The neighbouring ſtates, however, provoked at the cruelties he had been guilty of at Cius, and perhaps ſuſpecting that he had deſigns alſo againſt them, took up arms; which immediately involved him in a new war with Attalus and the Rhodians. He attempted Pergamus, the capital city of Attalus; but was diſappointed in every effort againſt it. He laid waſte, however, the open country, and obtained ſome trifling advantages by ſea; but he was at length defeated, with the loſs of moſt of his ſhips and ſeamen.

endeavours to ſtrengthen himſelf in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian provinces; beſieges Cius, and takes it.

His cruelties provoke indignation;

he attempts Pergamus; fails; lays the country waſte.

[43] Polyb. Excerpt. L. xv. c. 20.

[44] Ibid. c. 21.

[45] It appears from Polybius, (Excerpt. L. xv. c. 21.) that theſe Cianeans were a people exceedingly corrupted, employed in the oppreſſing, and the compaſſing of the deſtruction of, each other. Continual feuds were the natural conſequence of ſuch a ſpirit. Philip availed himſelf of the opportunity, which theſe feuds afforded him, and laid their city in ruins.

Book V. Sect. 2.

Philopator king of Egypt dies;

Antiochus and Philip haſten to divide his dominions.

Philip attacks the Thracian Cherſoneſe.

Meanwhile, Philopator was dead, and Antiochus, in conſequence of his compact with Philip, had already begun the reduction of Coeloſyria and Paleſtine. Upon the firſt tidings of this event, Philip haſtened to ſecure thoſe places to the northward of Macedon, which belonged to Egypt; and, entering the Thracian Cherſōneſe, attacked the ſtrong-holds which the Egyptians held there, and, either by intrigue or force of arms, ejected all their garriſons. Croſſing over, he laid ſiege to Abydos [46], the moſt important place of this part of the Aſiatic coaſt; it commanded the paſs of the Helleſpont on that ſide, as Seſtos did on the ſide of Europe; and whoever was maſter of it, had in his hands the key of Aſia. Philip found here a reſiſtance he little expected. Spirited up by promiſes of aid from Attalus and the Rhodians, the inhabitants, who abhorred Philip, had determined to bury themſelves under the ruins of their city, rather than to ſubmit to his dominion. He was not, however, diſcouraged. The more difficulties he had to combat, the more ſtrenuouſly he puſhed the ſiege; and, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate defence, he ſoon reduced the garriſon to the laſt extremity.

The Romans jealous of Philip;

But, whilſt employed in theſe ruthleſs works of ambition, he ſaw not the ſtorm which threatened to retaliate upon himſelf the miſeries with which his luſt of empire had overwhelmed other ſtates. The Romans, diſtreſſed by the Carthaginian war, had unwillingly conſented to a peace with Macedon; but that war was at an end: and they now wiſhed for a pretence to break with a prince, whoſe power,

[46] Liv. L. xxxi. c. 14 & 16.

if

if not humbled, might one day become too formidable. A pretence soon offered. Philip stood charged with having, in direct violation of the treaty subsisting between him and Rome, sent supplies both of men and money to Hannibal. Attalus and the Rhodians likewise complained, that, regardless of their being expressly comprised in that treaty, he had waged war against them. The Athenians accused him of infractions of the same treaty in relation to them; they had been acknowledged by the Romans as their allies; and yet Philip had assisted the Acarnanians in their invasion of Attica. The Egyptian ministry also, terrified at the dangers which threatened their young prince from the rapacity of Antiochus and Philip, sued to Rome for protection against the confederate kings, and implored the senate and Roman people to accept of the guardianship of the infant Ptolemy, and to superintend the administration of his kingdom [47].

receive complaints against him from Attalus and the Rhodians; from the Athenians; from Egypt.

Every thing that tended to criminate Philip was heard favourably in the Roman senate. They had, however, the

The Romans declare themselves the

[47] These complaints had a plausible appearance, the accusation from Athens excepted. Even the Roman historian *, though the Athenians were now in the interests of Rome, observes with indignation the meanness they shewed on this occasion. In fact, they themselves had been the aggressors. They had cruelly murdered two young men of Acarnania, who had innocently strayed into the temple of Eleusis, at the time of the mystical celebration, and by the questions they asked, had betrayed their ignorance of the rites of initiation. Provoked at this, the Acarnanians, together with some Macedonian troops, had ravaged Attica. And the Athenians, not having the spirit either to support the outrage they had committed, or to make due reparation for it, called in a foreign force, and, in the gratification of their revenge, assisted in subverting the liberties of their country.

* Liv. xxxi. c. 14.

policy to begin by that act, which did moſt honour to Rome. Embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched into Egypt, to take upon them the guardianſhip of the young king, in the name of the ſenate and Roman people, and to command Antiochus to withdraw from the Egyptian territories. The youngeſt of the embaſſadors, Marcus Aemilius, had alſo inſtructions, on his way to Egypt, to inform Philip of the intentions of the Roman ſenate. Aemilius found Philip before Abydos, in a ſituation which muſt probably have not a little heightened that impatient ferocity for which he was remarkable; at the head of an army fluſhed with victory; on the point of carrying the city he was beſieging; and in high exultation from the alliance he had lately concluded with Antiochus. Philip ſeemed to feel the importance of his ſituation; yet, unabaſhed at the Macedonian monarch's deportment, the Roman delivered his orders with dignity and firmneſs. He charged Philip not to attack the poſſeſſions of the crown of Egypt; nor to wage war againſt any of the Grecian ſtates; and to ſubmit to fair arbitration the diſcuſſion of the matters in diſpute between him, Attalus, and the Rhodians.—Philip's pride could endure no longer. "Attalus and Rhodes," replied he, "provoked the war, of which they complain. They themſelves were the aggreſſors."—"And were the Athenians," ſaid Aemilius, "were the people of Cius, were the unhappy Abydonians, the aggreſſors alſo?"—"The boaſtful inexperience of youth," interrupted the king; "thy gracefulneſs of perſon, perhaps; and, ſtill more, the name of Roman, that thou beareſt; inſpire thee with this haughtineſs. It is my wiſh, that Rome may prove faithful to the treaties which ſubſiſt between us. But, ſhould ſhe

guardians of the young king of Egypt.

The Roman embaſſador finds Philip before Abydos;

delivers the orders of the ſenate:

the firmneſs of the Roman on this occaſion;

Philip's bold reply.

"be

"be diſpoſed to try again the iſſue of arms, I truſt, with "the protection of the gods, to render the Macedonian "name as formidable as that of Roman[48]."

Abydos is reduced to great ſtraits,

Soon after the departure of Aemilius, followed the deſtruction of Abydos[49]. No hope of eſcape remaining, the Abydonians determined to man the breaches with the few fighting men they had left; to reſiſt, until they were all either ſlain or diſabled; and then, having put to the ſword their women and children, to conſume with fire what remained of the city. This deſperate reſolution was executed in part, when ſome of the prieſts, though ſolemnly ſworn to the execution of the dreadful reſolution, found it to be more than humanity could bear, and opened the gates of the city to Philip. Upon the entrance of the Macedonians was exhibited one of the moſt tremendous ſcenes recorded in hiſtory; fathers, huſbands, in every quarter of the city, plunging the poniard into the breaſts, or daſhing out the brains, of their deareſt connexions; and then, pierced by their own hands, expiring on heaps of mangled carcaſes. Philip himſelf felt the horror of the ſight. He would have checked the fury of the infatuated multitude; but in vain; and was at laſt obliged to draw off his troops, and to allow them three days for completing the carnage. So that, the priſoners excepted, hardly one man ſurvived of this unhappy and devoted people[50].

and taken;

Deſpair of the Abydonians.

[48] Polyb. L. xvi. c. 19. Liv. L. xxxi. c. 17, 18.

[49] Olymp. cxliv. 1. Before Christ 199.

[50] Polyb. ubi ſup.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK VI.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Second Macedonian war — Sulpicius the consul enters Greece— Villius succeeds him—Flamininus is appointed to the consulship, and conduct of the war—his abilities—vigour—success—detaches the most considerable of the Grecian states, particularly the Aetolians and Achaeans, from their connection with Macedon—draws Philip into an engagement—defeats him—compels him to accept of peace on terms highly disadvantageous—ingratiates himself with the Grecian states, by making a pompous proclamation of their freedom, at the Isthmian and Nemaean games —insidiousness of this grant—the Aetolians avow their jealousy; condemn the peace with Macedon; and charge the proconsul

with entertaining unfriendly designs against Greece—under a pretence of a zeal for liberty, he proposes making war on Nabis tyrant of Sparta, lately his confederate against Philip—the Aetolians object to this war—the other Grecian states cooperate with Flamininus.—Nabis attacked, and reduced to extremity—Flamininus, against the opinion of his Greek confederates, concludes a treaty with him; and by artifice extorts their consent—his motives—he returns to Rome, having first obtained the freedom of all the Romans who were in slavery throughout Greece.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

Prosperous state of Roman affairs at the beginning of the second Macedonian war;

ROME could hardly have chosen a conjuncture more favourable to her ambitious designs, than that which marks the commencement of the second Macedonian war: Carthage was subdued; all remains of revolt and popular tumult had subsided throughout Italy; Sicily, the prize so long contended for, in fertility and opulence the pride of the western world, was now, together with most of the adjacent islands, annexed to her dominions; even those nations, whom her arms had not reached, heard with terror the fame of a power, to which Hannibal had proved unequal.

situation of those of Macedon.

PHILIP, on the other hand, instead of availing himself of the barrier pointed out by nature for his defence, seemed to be laying himself open to invasion and discomfiture. He was on hostile terms with most of the circumjacent nations. He had lost the affection and confidence of the most considerable of the Grecian states. From Egypt no succours were to be expected; and from Asia but few. The Rhodians, who, on account of their maritime strength, might have been

been powerful allies, had by his depredations, and ill-timed attempts, been compelled to take part with his enemies. And Antiochus, of whose alliance he made his boast, was too intent on his own schemes of empire, and too remote from Macedon, to be anxious about the fate of a kingdom, on which, he injudiciously imagined, the prosperity of Syria did not at all depend.

The consul Sulpicius enters Greece; sends a fleet to the relief of Athens, besieged by Philip's forces; surprises Chalcis and lays it in ruins. Resentment of Philip; he attempts to wreak his vengeance on Athens;

Three years had elapsed, since peace had been concluded with Philip, when the Romans, under the command of the consul Sulpicius, landed on the coast of Epire. The ostensible cause of this expedition was the relief of Athens, then besieged by Philip. Accordingly, part of the Roman fleet was detached to Attica, and was soon after joined by the combined fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians. Philip was fired with indignation against the Athenians, whom he looked upon as the cause of the war, and marked them out as objects of his keenest vengeance. To add to his resentment, the Roman commander had detached from the coast of Attica some armed vessels to Chalcis, which surprised the city, destroyed the arsenals and military stores, and left the place a smoaking ruin. Philip, who lay at Demetrius in Thessaly when tidings were brought him of this event, immediately set out, at the head of a chosen body of men, in hopes of overtaking the enemy; but, disappointed of his aim, he advanced towards Attica, continuing his march all night, with the design of surprising Athens, and of treating it as the Romans had treated Chalcis. He had probably succeeded, had not one[1] of those couriers, whom the Greeks usually employed on

[1] Ἡμεροδρόμος—See Polluc. Onomast. L. i. c. 7.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

is disappointed;

occasions of dispatch, descried him on his march, and alarmed the Athenians. Finding that he could not carry this point, he took his revenge in another manner. The country of Attica was every where adorned with the most exquisite works of art, stately temples, sumptuous villas, statues of finished beauty, and noble sepulchral monuments; in which the richness of the marble, though of the most perfect kind, was of small value, when compared with what had been stamped upon it by the hand of the artist. All of them fell victims to his fury, the temples excepted; he spared not even those awful remembrances of the illustrious dead, which the violence of war had hitherto respected. He then attempted Eleusis, and afterwards the Piraeus, but failed in both; and having made a short excursion into Peloponnesus, he returned again, with redoubled rage, and destroyed even the temples, which till now he had seemed to venerate; mangling and defacing every work of art in such a manner, that scarce a vestige of symmetry or beauty remained[2].

lays waste the country around it.

Manner in which the Athenians vented their resentment;

The Athenians, on their part, had recourse to the only weapons, they were now expert in, the invectives of their orators, and the acrimony of their popular decrees. It was resolved, "that Philip should for ever be the object of the execration of the Athenian people—that whatever statues had "been raised to him, or to any of the Macedonian princes, "should be thrown down; whatever had been enacted in their "favour rescinded; and the several festivals and orders of "priests, which had been instituted in their honour abolished "—that every place, in which had been set up any inscrip-

[2] Liv. L. xxxi. c. 24, 26.

"tion

" tion or memorial in praise of Philip, should henceforth be " accounted profane and defiled—that in all their solemn " feasts, when their priests were to implore a blessing on " Athens and her allies, they should pronounce curses against " him, his kindred, his arms by sea and land, and the " whole Macedonian name and nation—in a word, that " whatever had in antient times been decreed against the " Pisistratidae, should operate in full force against Philip " —and that whosoever proposed any mitigation of the re- " solutions now formed, should be adjudged a traitor to " his country, and be forthwith put to death[3]."

their excess of flattery to the Romans and their allies.

Nor was Athens less extragavant in her adulations of those, from whom she had received assistance. The Romans and Attalus were distinguished particularly by the most fulsome honours; solemn processions of all the priests and priestesses attended their entrance into Athens, as if celebrating the reception of tutelary deities. Every Rhodian born was decreed a denizen of Athens. And, in further compliment to Attalus, one of their tribes assumed the name of Attalis[4]. Into such meanness has corruption of manners the power of betraying the mind of man!

The Achaeans and Aetolians refuse to assist Philip.

Philip soon found, that from the other parts of Greece he had something yet more formidable to dread, than the wordy war of the frivolous Athenians. He had applied to the Achaean states, in their convention at Argos, for succours, offering to repel the attacks of Nabis, who was infesting

[3] Liv. L. xxxi. c. 44. [4] Polyb. Legat. iii. p. 1092. Liv. L. xxxi. c. 14, 15.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

their frontiers, on condition that some of his cities should be garrisoned by a body of their best troops. But the Achaeans, well apprized of his insidious views, rejected the proposal[5]. He applied afterwards, with as little success, to the national convention of the Aetolian states; embassadors from Athens and the Roman consul having appeared in the assembly, and urged their complaints in so forcible a manner, that, had not Damocritus, then praetor of Aetolia, bribed, as it was suspected, by Philip, put off the final determination of the matter till the next assembly, war had unquestionably been immediately declared against him[6].

Sulpicius endeavours to penetrate to the western frontier of Macedon:

MEANWHILE, Sulpicius, who was encamped on the banks of the Apsus[7], had sent off a detachment, with directions to penetrate through the countries that covered the western borders of Macedon, and attempt an impression on the Macedonian frontier[8]. This operation had all the effect that could be expected from it. The castles and strong-holds in this part of the country, though advantageously situated in the midst of defiles and broken precipices, were taken by the

[5] It was probably on this occasion that Philip attempted the life of Philopoemen; Plutarch (in Philopoem.) informing us, that he meant to have had him assassinated at Argos. This honest Greek, who was too much a friend to his country to be in amity with Philip, no doubt opposed his demand; and that prince, to whom crimes are said to have been familiar, meditated an effectual revenge.

[6] Liv. L. xxxi. c. 32.

[7] A river of Illyricum, which empties itself into the Ionian gulph between Apollonia and Dyrrachium.

[8] Liv. L. xxxi. c. 27 & seq.

Romans;

Romans; while the Illyrians, the Dardanians, the Athamanes, terrified at the progress of the Roman arms, declared against Philip. Encouraged by these fair appearances, the consul entered the country of the Dassaretii, from which there was said to be an easy passage into Macedon, and got possession of all the towns throughout the canton; dismay and desolation spreading on every side as he advanced. Philip himself began to tremble for the safety of his kingdom; he drew near to those parts which seemed to be most in danger, and employed all his military skill, of which historians allow him a large share, in watching, and, as occasion offered, obstructing the motions of the enemy: when an unlucky event[9] not only damped his vigour for the present, but left such an impression on his spirits, as well as on the minds of his subjects, as is thought to have had a considerable influence on their subsequent fortunes. A troop of Macedonian horsemen had encountered a party of Roman cavalry, and, a skirmish ensuing, forty of the former were slain, and of the Romans thirty-five. Among the Greeks the rites of sepulture were highly revered; Philip, therefore, to shew the respect he had for his gallant soldiers, removed the bodies of the Macedonians to his camp, in order to the celebration of their funeral obsequies. Hitherto the Macedonians, whose wars had chiefly been with the nations of Greece and Illyricum, had been only accustomed to wounds made by the spear, the javelin, and the arrow, which in their appearance had nothing hideous; but when they saw the bodies of their companions mangled by wide-

Philip's apprehensions.

Unhappy impression made on the minds of the Macedonians;

from what cause.

[9] Liv. L. xxxi. c. 34.

yawning

Book VI. Sect. 1.

yawning wounds; when they beheld their headless trunks, entire limbs lopped from the mutilated carcase, with all the shocking marks of slaughter, which the broad Spanish faulchion is suited to inflict; they were struck with horror and dismay. Even Philip shuddered at the thoughts of encountering such a foe, and was observed, for a considerable time afterwards, carefully to avoid any decisive action; contenting himself with skirmishes, and with cutting off occasionally some straggling parties of the enemy's foragers.

State of the war during the consulships of Sulpicius and Villius his successor.

In this languid and indecisive kind of war two years elapsed, during the consulship of Sulpicius, and that of his successor Villius, not much to the honour of the Roman commanders; whose spiritless or interested conduct was said to be the cause that nothing more had been effected. From this protracted war, however, Philip had reaped no advantage. He had met with discomfiture in almost every attempt; his frontiers had suffered severe depredation; and, far from strengthening himself with new allies, the Aetolians, who at first had preserved a kind of neutrality, had now avowedly espoused the cause of Rome, and appeared against him in the field.

Flamininus is appointed to conduct the Macedonian war:

Thus stood affairs at the close of the second year of the war, when the command of the Roman army devolved on the new consul, Titus Quintius Flamininus. The important share this Roman had in effecting the humiliation of Greece, and the subtilty and dark perfidiousness of those councils,

with the conduct of which he was intrusted, render his character [10] the object of particular attention. Book VI. Sect. 1.

his character;

Though not remarkably eminent for military abilities, he was, however, what a Roman in those days generally was, a soldier, and well acquainted with the science of war. But his excellence chiefly consisted in the business of negotiation. Gentle and conciliating in his manner, he knew how to employ every art to gain the confidence of those, to whom he was deputed. Impenetrable in his designs, yet wearing the captivating shew of cordiality and frankness, he coolly marked every opportunity, and improved every advantage that could serve the schemes he had in view. To Greece he professed himself the zealous vindicator of her liberties; though in effect their most refined destroyer: conducting himself, in every step, with such complete dissimulation, that, even to this day, it is, with some, a question, whether he was not guiltless of the treacherous policy which Rome practised on this occasion; and, in the honesty of his heart, promised what he believed was to be religiously fulfilled.

how raised to the consulship;

He had been elected to the consulship when he had not completed his thirtieth year, and without passing through the intermediate offices of aedile and praetor. This extraordinary distinction, as Plutarch [11] informs us, he owed chiefly to the reputation he had obtained among the Tarentines, over whom he had been appointed governor towards the end of Hannibal's war. Encouraged by these colonists with promises of powerful support, he stood for the con-

[10] See Polyb. passim. Liv. L. xxxii. & seq. Plut. in Flamin. [11] In Flamin.

sulship,

Book VI. Sect. 1.

sulship, and carried it; the people warmly espousing his interest, in opposition even to some of their own tribunes, and the senate underhand favouring his pretensions. Having drawn lots with his collegue, he had for his allotment the Macedonian war.

his spirited manner of entering on the duties of his office:

The prospect of so noble a field roused all his ambition; and he was resolved to pursue it with activity and ardour. It had been usual with the consuls to waste a considerable portion of their year at home, in the enjoyment of official parade: hence they seldom joined the army until the season was far advanced. Flamininus adopted a different plan. Regardless of the pomp of Rome, he hastened over into Greece, as soon as the necessary religious ceremonies were over, at which his office obliged him to preside.

dislodges Philip from a strong post,

He found Villius in that part of Epire called Chaonia, near the mouth of the [12] Aous, in a situation rather disgraceful to a Roman consul, in sight of the enemy, without daring to attack them. Philip, trusting to the slender abilities of Villius, had ventured to look the Romans in the face, and had intrenched himself in such a manner as gave him a very formidable appearance [13]. He was posted in a narrow vale, through which the Aous rolled a deep and rapid stream. The banks of the river were steep and narrow, and secured by strong entrenchments; on either side rose high and

[12] Plutarch (in Philopoem.) calls it the Apsus. It appears from Livy (L. xxxii. c. 5.) as well as from several circumstances, that it should be the Aous. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. L. i. c. 26.

[13] Livy (L. xxxii. c. 10.) gives us an account of an interview between Philip and the consul, of which no mention is made by Plutarch, and which, all circumstances considered, appears exceedingly improbable.

rugged mountains, and he had taken poffeffion of all the hollows and defiles. Flamininus having taken the command, employed fome days in reconnoitring the fituation of the enemy, and confidering the practicability of forcing their lines. At length, by means of fome neighbouring fhepherds, he difcovered a path, which led to the fummit by a winding courfe. Having detached a party to occupy the heights which hung over the Macedonian camp, on feeing the concerted fignal, he began the [14] attack. In the heat of the engagement, the fhouts of the Romans on the hills, who now poured down on the Macedonians, threw them into the utmoft confufion, and foon completed their overthrow; Philip, with the remains of his army, making his efcape through the ftraits of the mountains into Theffaly, and from thence into Macedon [15].

and puts him to flight:

It would have little availed to have purfued Philip through a country, with every ftrong pafs and intricate winding of which he was intimately acquainted. Flamininus adopted a method of operation [16] far more effectual: he prepared to deftroy all remains of power or influence which his enemy poffeffed among the Grecian ftates, and, if poffible, finally to diffolve every connexion of interefts between Greece and Macedon. This plan, artfully laid, was carried into execution with the moft confummate fkill. He began his progrefs at Epire, through which he marched, not as an enemy, but as a protector. Philip, in his flight, had marked his

detaches feveral of the Grecian ftates from their connexion with Macedon;

[14] Olymp. cxlv. 2. Before Christ 194. [15] Liv. L. xxxii. c. 11, 12.
[16] Plut. in Flamin. Liv. L. xxxii. c. 13 & feq.

Book VI. Sect. I.

route with plunder and devastation. Flamininus, on the contrary, committed no hostility; and restrained his soldiers from every act of depredation; so that the Epirots, instead of being active in the cause of Macedon, to which, before this consul's arrival, they were well affected, now offered themselves as his guides, or inlisted under his banners. From Epire he marched into Thessaly, and took possession of almost every place of strength in the country; conquering opposition by lenity and persuasion, and employing arms only where gentler means had proved ineffectual. Meanwhile, Lucius, brother to Flamininus, who commanded the Roman fleet, had reached the eastern coast of Greece; and, being joined by the fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians, made a descent on Euboea, where Philip, as we have already seen, had many important settlements. Philocles, who commanded on the island, was defeated; and Eretria and Carystus, two considerable cities, were taken. Flamininus, after a short stay in Thessaly, hastened into Phocis, with the design of extending his conquests towards the southern provinces of Greece. His great object was, to gain over the states of Achaia to the interests of Rome; for which purpose, he gave instructions to his brother, to send a joint embassy to Achaia, in the name of the Romans, Attalus, and the Rhodians, requesting a convention of the Achaean states, in order to propose to them a treaty of alliance with the Romans; while the combined fleets, entering the Corinthian gulph, were to be stationed [17] off Cenchreae, one

endeavours to gain over the states of Achaia;

and, in this view, lays siege to Corinth.

[17] Liv. L. xxiii. c. 19 & seq.

of

of the Corinthian ports, under colour of laying ſiege to Corinth, then poſſeſſed by Philip; but, in fact, the more powerfully to enforce the object of the embaſſy. Alarmed at a meaſure of the higheſt conſequence to him, Philip likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to plead his cauſe at the enſuing diet, which was appointed to be held at Sicyon; directing them to place in the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt point of view, the validity of the treaties ſubſiſting between Macedon and the Achaeans, and to remind them of the ſolemn oaths by which they had pledged themſelves: oaths rendered, if poſſible, more ſtrikingly awful by a cuſtomary yearly renewal. Upon the opening of the diet, the ſeveral embaſſadors having firſt been heard, the members were called upon to deliver their ſentiments; but a ſullen ſilence enſued: ſtunned by the variety of dangers they ſaw around them, they were either at a loſs what opinion to give, or fearful of delivering it. Ariſtaenus, general for the year, and the devoted creature of Rome, having urged the convention in vain, at laſt took the lead, declaring himſelf, in the moſt decided manner, in favour of the Romans: "The ſucceſs," he ſaid, "of whoſe "arms in Epire, in Theſſaly, in Euboea, was the cleareſt "proof of their power to protect thoſe whoſe friendſhip "they condeſcended to ſolicit; whoſe fleets and armies, "whilſt Philip was lurking in his own faſtneſſes, were "now in ſight of Achaia; whoſe chief motive, in their "Grecian expedition, was to deliver them from the yoke "of Macedon, under which they had long groaned; and "who mildly deigned to requeſt, what they might eaſily "command." At the ſame time, he poured forth the bittereſt invectives againſt the Macedonian king, whoſe crimes, whether real or imputed, he dwelt on with every poſſible aggravation.

Philip alſo ſends embaſſadors to the Achaean diet.

Ariſtaenus, the general of the year, declares for the Romans.

aggravation. This ſervile ſtrain, ſo unworthy of the firſt magiſtrate of a yet free people, raiſed an outcry of indignation, not only from the friends of Philip, but from all, who had a real concern for the liberties of their country. The Macedonian party in the convention was conſiderable, and attached to Philip by particular acts of kindneſs; there were, beſides, many of the Achaeans, who, though they diſliked the king's perſonal character, and were cautious of repoſing much confidence in him, had, with great reaſon, no leſs gloomy apprehenſions from this foreign power, which they ſaw eſtabliſhing itſelf in the midſt of their country, and conſidered the ſupporting of the royal houſe of Macedon as a meaſure of the higheſt moment to the general welfare of Greece. The aſſembly now became a ſcene of wild uproar; ſome, with indecent clamour, ſupporting the intereſts of Rome, while others as loudly and indecently oppoſed them. Both parties ſeemed callous to every tender or ſacred tie, breathing all the virulence of civil diſcord, and mutually accuſing their opponents with harbouring the moſt traitorous deſigns. What heightened the embarraſſment, the numbers on each ſide appeared nearly equal; and even of the council of ten, a majority of whom was requiſite to the formation of a decree, five were for Macedon, and five for Rome. In this ſtate of turbulence and irreſolution had the diet continued two days; and on the third, by the laws of Achaia, it was to be diſſolved. Next day, however, ſeemed likely to end as the preceding, each party making more ſtrenuous exertions, as the hour of deciſion approached; when Rhiſaſus of Pellene, a member of the diet, and in the intereſts of Rome, but whoſe ſon Memnon, one of the council of ten, notwithſtanding his father's repeated entrea-

Violent conteſts in the Achaean diet:

ties, had ſteadily refuſed to abandon the ſide of Macedon, once more attempted to ſhake the reſolution of his ſon, ſolemnly ſwearing, that he would, with his own hand, put him to death, if he did not deſiſt from an oppoſition, which muſt involve his country in ruin. A ſtriking inſtance this, both of the virulence of party ſpirit, and of the ferocity even of Grecian manners in thoſe times! Awed by his father's menaces, Memnon changed ſides, and the queſtion was carried in favour of Rome.

the queſtion carried in favour of Rome.

It is worthy of notice, that the deputies from Megalopolis, Argos, and Dymé withdrew, as ſoon as it was perceived what would be the determination of the convention, ſo to avoid giving a ſanction, by their preſence, to reſolutions injurious to Philip. The Dyméans, particularly, alledged their obligations to the Macedonian king, who had ranſomed ſeveral of their fellow-citizens that had been ſold for ſlaves by the Romans, and reſtored them to their families. This generous reaſon, Livy [18] ſays, met the approbation even of Philip's enemies; which leads us to ſuppoſe, that he was not altogether ſo profligate a monarch as the writers of thoſe days, who ſeem to be the adulators of Rome, rather than hiſtorians, have repreſented him.

Noble ſpirit of ſome of the Achaean deputies.

Soon after this affair was brought to a concluſion, the ſiege of Corinth was raiſed. It had been promiſed by the Roman conſul to the Achaeans; but it was now pretended, that the obſtinate defence made by a number of Roman deſerters, together with the reinforcements which the Macedonians

Flamininus, having gained his purpoſe, raiſes the ſiege of Corinth.

[18] Ubi ſup.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

cedonians had thrown into the garrison, had forced Flamininus to abandon the siege; which, were it even to end successfully, was likely to be bought at too high a rate. Probably, the determination of the Achaean diet had rendered the siege no longer necessary. About the same time, too, Argos had been betrayed by some of its citizens into the hands of Philip [19]. So that, after all that the Achaean states had resolved, this prince still remained master of two of the principal cities of Peloponnesus.

Philip, alarmed, applies for an interview with the consul;

PHILIP, however, was alarmed. Though possessed of these two cities, yet their distant situation afforded him but a precarious and expensive tenure. He clearly foresaw the approaching fate of Macedon; abandoned by her most useful confederates, deprived of her wonted resources, and reduced to a narrow and naked frontier. Urged by the embarrassment of his situation, he requested a conference with the Roman consul; who made choice of Nicaea, a sea-port on the Maliac bay, for the place of interview [20]. Flamininus repaired thither, attended by the chief leaders of the Aetolian and Achaean states; by Amynander king of the Athamanes; by the embassador of the king of Pergamus; and the commander of the Rhodian fleet. This pompous retinue not only administered to the consul's pride, but answered also certain political ends; it gave him an opportunity of making a plausible display to his allies of his attention to their several interests; and it afforded him the means of humbling Philip, to whom it must have been a severe mortification

obtains it.

Artful conduct of Flamininus;

[19] Liv. L. xxxii. c. 25.

[20] Polyb. Excerpt. L. xvii. c. 1 & seq. Liv. L. xxxii. c. 32 & seq.

to see so considerable a part of the strength of Greece on the side of his adversary. The Macedonian king, as he approached the shore, for he had come by sea, could not suppress his indignation; and, being invited by the consul to land, declined it. "Whom do you fear?" said Flamininus. "I fear none but the immortal gods," answered Philip; "but I suspect the faith of those by whom I see you surrounded, especially your Aetolians." The consul observed, that, in all cases of this kind, there was reciprocal danger: "But in the present case," replied Philip, "the temptation is not equal; for should mischief befall Phaeneas (the Aetolian praetor, who accompanied Flamininus) Aetolia may easily get another praetor; but if I am taken off, who is to succeed me on the throne of Macedon?" After a short pause, the consul requested the king to make his proposals, which, as the interview had been appointed at his solicitation, were properly to come from him. "It belongs not to the vanquished to propose," answered the Macedonian, "it is theirs only to accept."—"If so," resumed the consul, "I shall at once name the conditions, without which no peace is to be expected:—You are to evacuate those places you hold in Greece, and relinquish all claim to every part of it—you are to give up all prisoners and deserters belonging to Rome and her allies—you are to surrender the cities you have taken in Illyricum, since the conclusion of the last peace, and the places belonging to the crown of Egypt, you seized on the death of Philopator.——These our allies have, besides, demands of their own; it is just they should be heard and attended to."

his haughty and peremptory conditions, on which alone peace was to be had.

THE

Book VI. Sect. 1.

Demands made on Philip by Attalus and the other allies of Rome.

The embassador of king Attalus then demanded the restoration of the ships and prisoners taken in the engagement off the island of Chios, and that he should indemnify Attalus for the ravages committed in his dominions. The Rhodians required Peraea, a certain district on the continent of Asia, opposite to Rhodes, which had formerly belonged to them; together with the evacuation of all the cities and sea-ports [21] he possessed on the Asiatic coast: the Achaeans claimed Argos and Corinth: and the Aetolians, besides the demand of certain cities in Thessaly, insisted on an ample compensation for all the losses sustained by them and their allies; and his total and final exclusion from the Grecian territories.

How far Philip appears to have been guilty:

From the various charges against Philip, which Polybius and Livy have preserved to us, and in which, without doubt, whatever could make against him is accurately recorded, it appears evidently, that he had only done what ambitious

[21] Whatever opinion we may be induced to form of Philip's moral character, it clearly appears, from the demands made on him by the Rhodians, that he must have been a prince of great abilities, and strenuous in promoting the strength and opulence of his kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, when invited by Aratus into Peloponnesus, the Macedonians had no marine, they had scarcely a seaman; and yet, in about twenty two years after, we find him in possession of many considerable sea-ports; and that he had established a number of mercantile settlements (portus et emporia) along the Asiatic coast; while he, at the same time, possessed such a navy, as to be in a condition to dispute the empire of the Archipelago with the Rhodians, in those days the greatest maritime power in Greece. This accounts for the Rhodian enmity. They suspected, that he meant to rival them in the Levant-trade, the principal source of their wealth. Thus mercantile jealousy drove them into the arms of the Romans. They had soon cause to repent! Instead of a competitor, they brought upon themselves imperious masters, the slightest contradiction to whose will was a crime worthy of extermination.

monarchs

monarchs generally do, and that, however guilty he might be in the eye of reaſon, thoſe very ſtates, which preferred theſe complaints, the Aetolians eſpecially, and even the Romans, thoſe ſpirited aſſertors of the rights of mankind, were at leaſt equally criminal. In reality, his guilt conſiſted in being at the head of a kingdom of great ancient reputation, and ſtill ſuppoſed to be of conſiderable ſtrength, which obſtructed the meditated plan of Roman domination. Philip ſeems to have been aware of the Roman deſigns, and by his tameneſs on this occaſion, ſo different from his former character, to have endeavoured either to lead them to gentler purpoſes, or to diſplay to other nations what *they* might in future times expect from the inſatiable rapacity of Rome. Notwithſtanding the extent of the demands made on him, many of them ill-founded, and the aſperity of language with which they were urged, he calmly laboured to remove the obſtructions which he ſaw induſtriouſly thrown in the way of peace, yielding point after point, far beyond what could have been expected from a prince not yet of deſperate fortunes. To the Romans, he ſaid, he was ready to reſign whatever they had aſked, thoſe poſſeſſions in Greece excepted, which had deſcended to him from his anceſtors. Of his Aſiatic ſettlements he deſired to retain nothing but Bargylia and Jaſſus[22], two places on the coaſt of Caria, valuable from

Book VI. Sect. 1.

his remarkable temper in the courſe of this conference,

his conceſſions.

[22] Bargylia, on the coaſt of Caria; Jaſſus, a ſmall iſland oppoſite to it. Of this Jaſſus there is a pleaſantry related by Strabo (L. xiv. p. 453. Caſaub.) A muſician landed there, and was performing to a crouded audience; when on a ſudden, upon the ringing of a certain bell, the uſual ſignal for the opening of the fiſh-market, the whole aſſembly went off, one perſon excepted. The muſician, well pleaſed to find that his performance had power at leaſt over one; began to

Book VI. Sect. 1.

from the commercial advantages they enjoyed; Jaſſus, in particular, from it's fiſhery. Whatever elſe he held in Aſia, he conſented to abandon to Attalus and the Rhodians, together with their ſhips of war, and all the priſoners then alive. And, as the embaſſador of Attalus had charged him with having laid waſte his maſter's gardens and orchards, ſince ſuch matters were not unworthy royal notice, he would ſend over gardeners and trees to new-plant them. Of the Achaeans he complained much; they had become unprovoked enemies, in contradiction to their own public acts, in which every poſſible honour had repeatedly been decreed to him, and in violation of a number of treaties ſolemnly ſworn to: he agreed, however, that both Argos and Corinth ſhould be reſtored to them. But his reſentment ran higheſt againſt the Aetolians. There was, previous to this event, as has been already mentioned, an avowed enmity between them; which was now encreaſed by the indecent petulance of the Aetolian delegates, in the courſe of the preſent congreſs. In the very firſt conference, Alexander the Aetolian had attacked the king with remarkable acrimony, and, upon his attempting a reply, Phaeneas interrupted him in theſe inſolent terms: "You talk like a fool[23]: all that remains "for the vanquiſhed is ſubmiſſion to the commands of the "conqueror." "True," ſaid Philip, "that is clear even

to compliment him upon the excellence of his taſte, "who had not, like the reſt of his "countrymen, ſuffered the fiſh-bell to call him away."——"The fiſh-bell!" replied he; "why, has the fiſh-bell rung?" and immediately hurried after his companions. The man was deaf, and had not heard the bell.

[23] Φάσκων αὐτὸν ληρεῖν· δεῖν γὰρ ἢ μαχόμενον νικᾶν, ἢ ποιεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι τὸ προσταττόμενον. See Exc. Polyb. L. xvii. c. 4.

"to

"to a blind man[24]:" a tart, but juſtly-merited repartee: Phaeneas, it ſeems, had weak eyes. In diſcuſſing their demands, he therefore began by expreſſing the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation, that thoſe ſhould talk of excluding him from Greece, who knew not even the limits of the country, and were themſelves Greeks but in part, ſeveral of the provinces of Aetolia lying beyond the boundaries of antient Greece. What injuries they had ſuffered, he ſaid, were no more than the cuſtomary and unavoidable conſequences of war. And as to allies, they had none; influenced merely by the allurements of pay and depredation, they fought indiſcriminately for any ſtate, Aetolians being often to be found in two oppoſite armies. That, however, he would deliver up to them Larriſſa and Pharſalus, two cities lying convenient for their frontiers; but that he could not poſſibly evacuate the other Theſſalian cities which they claimed, conſiſtently with his own ſafety.

[24] Polybius and Livy blame Philip's pleaſantry on this occaſion. *Erat dicacior,* ſays the Roman hiſtorian, *quam regem decet, et ne inter ſeria quidem riſu ſatis temperans.* Is it not ſtrange, that they have not at the ſame time paſſed any cenſure on the illiberal attack of the Aetolian praetor, nor on the Roman conſul's ſarcaſtical reproach. At the cloſe of the firſt day's conference, Philip requeſted that he might have a copy of the ſeveral demands produced againſt him, and be allowed time to deliberate concerning them: *for,* ſaid he, *I am here alone, I have no counſellor with me.—With good reaſon are you alone,* anſwered Flamininus; *you have deſtroyed every faithful counſellor you had.* He had put to death ſome of his ſubjects on various ſuſpicions. Philip replied only, with a ſmile of indignation, Μειδιάσας Σαρδόνιον. Mr. Hume (Eſſay 14) imputes this illiberality of language to the manners of the times. The reflections of Polybius and Livy ſeem to ſay otherwiſe. But why ſhould not their cenſure fall in part on the Roman and Aetolian? And why is it aimed wholly at the king of Macedon? Are we to ſuſpect, that *his being a king,* and the enemy of Rome, were the circumſtances that aggravated the charge againſt him?

In

Philip's anſwer not deemed ſatisfactory; desires time to ſend embaſſadors to Rome.

In theſe altercations two days had elapſed, and peace ſeemed to be as diſtant as ever; Philip's relinquiſhing all claim to every part of Greece, and engaging never to paſs beyond the boundaries of Macedon, being, excluſively of particular demands, a preliminary from which none of the allied ſtates would depart. Philip's only reſource now, was an application to the conſul, for permiſſion to ſend embaſſadors to lay his propoſals before the ſenate of Rome; which, if not deemed equitable and ſatisfactory, he proteſted that he would ſubmit implicitly to the conditions and award of the conſcript fathers. This requeſt, hardly indeed to be refuſed, was graciouſly complied with, and a two months truce accordingly granted; with this previous ſtipulation, that he ſhould immediately withdraw his garriſons from Locris and Phocis. Beſides gaining this important point, the conſul had other views in complying with what Philip requeſted. It was winter, and the army could not act; ſo that no military operation was ſuſpended by it. And the election of new conſuls was at hand, when he might poſſibly be ſuperſeded. His plan therefore was, to have the appearance of finiſhing the war by treaty, if he ſhould find he was to be recalled, or to have it in his power to purſue it, if continued in the command.

Flamininus grants it, and with what views.

Flamininus continued in the command.

The ſenate gratified Flamininus to the utmoſt of his wiſhes. They continued him in the command; with full powers either to proſecute or to end the war, as he ſhould judge expedient. What they really meant was eaſy for him to underſtand. The Macedonian embaſſadors, it is true, had been admitted to an audience; but not till the deputies

from

from Flamininus, with the ministers of the several Grecian states, had been examined, and the senate fully informed of the situation of Macedonian affairs, with whatever the interests of Rome required. When therefore the person, who was at the head of the embassy from Philip, began to enter upon his master's defence, the senate, instead of suffering him to proceed, stopped him with this short question, "Has your master authorised you to give up Demetrias in "Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth?" termed by the Macedonians, the *fetters of Greece.* The embassadors, in confusion, making answer, that they had not received any instructions in relation to these points, were ordered instantly to withdraw, and full powers sent to Flamininus; who thenceforth refused to receive any farther proposals from Philip, unless he previously renounced all claim to every part of Greece.

Philip's embassadors are treated with mockery at Rome.

That unfortunate monarch, now hopeless of any equitable conditions from Rome, and probably roused to a more spirited exertion by the mockery with which he saw he had been treated, employed his utmost vigour in providing for his defence. Argos was too distant to be of effectual service, and was not to be retained without a force he could ill spare; he therefore resolved to abandon it[25], and in a manner, as he imagined, more pregnant with mischief, than if it had still been held by a Macedonian garrison. Nabis was at this time the scourge of Peloponnesus; history records him for one of the most profligate tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; he maintained himself in the sovereignty of Sparta by means of an army of mercenaries, composed

Philip under the necessity of turning his thoughts to war;

gives up Argos to Nabis.

[25] Liv. L. xxxii. c. 38, 39.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

of the most cruel and flagitious of outcasts, whom he daily exercised in deeds of villainy, violence, and bloodshed. Against the Achaeans in particular, on whom Philip would gladly have been revenged, Nabis professed a deadly enmity. Philip offered to put him in possession of Argos, on condition of his restoring it when Macedon was again in tranquillity; and, the more strongly to cement the alliance, he proposed to give his daughters in marriage to the tyrant's sons. Whatever Philip asked, Nabis promised to perform; and, such is the fidelity of tyrants, no sooner was he master of Argos, than he offered his services to Flamininus; who, not very delicate in his choice of means, provided advantage could be derived from them, received him without hesitation among the allies of Rome, and accepted of his tendered succours.

The perfidiousness of Nabis;

Philip merited the deceit with which he was repaid. The case of the unhappy Argives was infinitely more to be lamented. Nabis immediately put in practice his usual subtilties, to discover the wealth of every man in Argos, and plundered them of all. And so low did his rapaciousness descend, as to employ his wife Apega to extort from the Argive ladies, by artifice or terror, whatever jewels or ornamental trinkets they possessed. It appears, that avarice was the ruling passion of this wretched miscreant. Polybius[26] makes mention of an extraordinary instrument of extortion, devised by him, which upon a less grave authority we should be apt to account fabulous. He had contrived a figure of iron, in form like Apega, to move with springs, whose

his character,

and cruelties.

[26] Exc. L. xiii. c. 5.

arms and breast were furnished with a number of spikes. This machine, dressed out as if it had really been the queen, was seated in his apartment; and when he found his solicitations for money ineffectual, "Apega," he would say, "will perhaps plead more forcibly;" and, raising up the figure, caused the arms to cling round and press the body of the unhappy delinquent, who generally expired under the torturing embrace.

The Romans and Macedonians take the field.

Soon as the season permitted, the two armies hastened to take the field, and began to move towards Thessaly. Previous to this measure, Flamininus had finished a transaction of considerable importance. Philip was known to have a powerful interest among the Boeotians; they had hitherto observed a kind of neutrality, but it was uncertain how long they might retain the same pacific appearances, and in the present situation of affairs the proconsul earnestly wished to engage them, if possible, to act decidedly for Rome. The difficulty was, how to effectuate this purpose. The arts of persuasion and intrigue had been so repeatedly employed throughout Greece, that their notoriety hindered their effect; and on the Boeotians, a rough people, they had already probably been tried in vain. So that Flamininus found it necessary to have recourse to a different and unhackneyed scheme; and, as the execution was of a delicate nature, to take the management upon himself. Attalus and the proconsul set out[27] attended by a small retinue, as on a friendly visit to Thebes, where the convention of the Boeotian states was usually held. The

Flamininus prevails on the Boeotians to enter into alliance with him,

by what artifice.

[27] Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 1, 2. Plut. in Flaminino.

slenderness

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

slenderness of the train raised no alarm, and the Thebans opened their gates with an unsuspicious cordiality; their chief magistrate himself, to do the greater honour to the Roman general, and perhaps in the secret, going forth to meet him. But scarcely was he within the walls, when a body of two thousand spearmen, whom the winding of the hills had hitherto concealed, appeared in sight, and, mixing with the proconsul's attendants, entered the city. Flamininus, nevertheless, still affected the language of peace; and, an assembly having been convened, made it his suit, with all the rhetoric of respectful entreaty, that the Boeotians would be pleased to admit him into their friendship and alliance; in support of which, Attalus, the faithful advocate of Rome, spoke with such vehemence, that in the midst of his harangue he fell down speechless; and, being immediately conveyed on board his fleet, which sailed for Asia, he soon after expired. But there was, indeed, little necessity for argument to convince the Boeotians of the propriety of a measure, which was supported by two thousand men in arms; they readily agreed to all the proconsul's requisitions. This kind of fraud [28], we learn from history, began

[28] There is, however, good reason to suspect, that Flamininus had soon recourse to other means, far worse than even deceit, to secure the influence he had thus acquired. Livy (L. xxxiii. c. 27, 28, 29) shall furnish the account. The Thebans, a great number of whom, notwithstanding the low state of Philip's fortunes, (it being soon after his defeat) were still attached strongly to him, had, in opposition to the Roman party, chosen for Boeotarch one Barcillas, in the Macedonian interest, and who had lately served in the armies of Macedon. By way of retaliation, proper instruments were employed, and Barcillas was assassinated. But the authors of this assassination having been traced out, it was found, that one of the chief leaders among the partizans of Rome was the principal person concerned; who, upon the discovery, immediately fled to Athens, then Flamininus's place

began now to be practiſed by the Romans. Time was, when they would have ſcorned the acquiſition of a victory gained at the price of treachery. But, having declined from their ancient ſimplicity, they had loſt much [29] of that blunt and inartificial courage for which they were remarkable in their earlier ages. Such, unhappily, has been the progreſs of manners among all nations, the advancement of refinement produces the decline of virtue.

Battle of Cynoſcephalae.

After ſome movements of little conſequence, the two armies advanced [30] from the ſouthern parts of Theſſaly to-

place of reſidence. The character and connexions of the man, the place he fled to, the protection he found, together with ſome other circumſtances, not mentioned by this hiſtorian, fixed the ſuſpicions of all Thebes on Flamininus. And ſo exaſperated on account of it, Livy himſelf (ibid. c. 29) confeſſes, was the whole Theban nation againſt all of Roman race, (efferavit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotoſque omnes ad execrabile odium Romanorum) that they murdered every Roman ſoldier they could find, and were not to be checked but by the march of a Roman army into Boeotia.—Polybius (Legat. viii. p. 1103) is yet more particular. The conſpirators, he expreſsly tells us, applied to Flamininus, and communicated their plan to him: he promiſed not to give any hindrance to it, though he was unwilling to appear himſelf in the buſineſs; but referred them to Alexamenes, a truſty Aetolian in the Roman intereſt, in concert with whom they carried the ſcheme into execution. Polybius calls the Boeotarch Brachyllas.

Flamininus afterwards made peace with the Boeotians, by the mediation of the Achaean ſtates. And, from a circumſtance mentioned by Livy (ibid. c. 29) we may collect, that there was ſomething exceedingly pitiable in the caſe of the Boeotians. The Achaeans reſolved, ſhould Flamininus not conſent to a peace, to march themſelves to the aſſiſtance of the Boeotians, and join them againſt Rome: (ni impetraſſent pacem Boeotis, bellum ſimul gerere decreverunt.) Nothing but the ſtrongeſt conviction of the juſtice of the Boeotian cauſe could have drawn ſuch a declaration from the Achaeans, at this time much fallen from their independence, and in ſtrict connexion with the Roman people.

[29] See the ſecond and third ſections of this book; and ſection the firſt of book the ſeventh.

[30] See Polyb. Excerpt. L. xvii. c. 14 & ſeq. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 3 & ſeq.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

wards Scotussa, a city near the Peneus; the Macedonians, in quest of forage; and the Romans, to deprive them of it, by laying waste the country. As they had taken different routes, they had encamped near to each other without knowing it, being separated only by a range of hills, called *Cynoscephalae*[31]. Philip, uncertain as to the position of the Roman army, had detached a party to the top of the hills, to reconnoitre, if possible, the situation of the enemy; who unexpectedly fell in with a detachment of Romans, that had marched with the like design to discover Philip. By reason of the haziness of the morning, the Macedonians did not discover the Romans till they were within reach of their weapons, when a skirmish immediately ensued; and each party, as they happened to be pressed, sending to their respective camps for reinforcements, in a short time a general engagement became almost unavoidable[32].

Philip averse to the engagement;

It appears that Philip, whether under the impression of some discouraging omen, as Plutarch[33] seems to think, or, according to Polybius, disliking the ground, which was ill-suited to the operations of his infantry, would have deferred the decision to some future day. But the advantage being at first on the side of the Macedonians, and his army, encouraged by the success of their fellow-soldiers, eagerly so-

[31] The *dogs-heads*, from the appearance which their summits exhibited.

[32] OLYMP. cxlv. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 193.

[33] Some days before, haranguing his men, he perceived that the place he was speaking from was burial-ground; which circumstance, having been noticed by the soldiers, cast a deep gloom over the whole army. As soon as Philip observed it, he withdrew. Omens of this kind were superstitiously attended to by the antients.

liciting,

liciting to be led againſt the enemy, he at length yielded to their ardour, and drew up his whole forces, conjuring them[34], as they paſſed, " to ſhew themſelves mindful of their anceſtors, and not to permit Macedon, illuſtrious by ſo many glorious atchievements, to bend to the yoke of Rome." Flamininus, having formed his troops, employed, with no leſs anxiety, every argument which he ſuppoſed likely to inſpire the moſt vigorous exertions. He reminded them, " of their recent conqueſts in Italy, in Sicily, in Spain, in Afric, over nations no way inferior to whatever Macedon had to boaſt, even in the days of her glory; that thoſe, with whom they were now to engage, were Macedonians only in name; not, as the Romans, great by their own exploits; but deriving whatever diſtinction they enjoyed from the remembrance of the atchievements of their forefathers, being themſelves a degenerate race, who with difficulty repelled even the predatory incurſions of a few neighbouring barbarians[35]."

he addreſſes his army.

Flamininus addreſſes his.

The right wing of the Macedonians had reached the heights before the enemy, and, having preſerved in their march all that compactneſs and depth, which conſtituted the ſtrength of the Macedonian phalanx, bore down with their whole weight upon the Romans, now aſcending the hill; who, unable to withſtand the ſhock, gave way on every ſide, and had been totally routed, but for the timely ſupport of the Aetolian horſe. On the left, the Macedonians fought not with the ſame advantage. They had formed later than the other wing; and a precipitate march, over

The victory doubtful, at length deciſive in favour of Rome.

[34] Juſt. L. xxx. c. 4. [35] Juſt. ibid.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

broken ground, had thrown the troops into disorder. Flamininus perceiving their situation, and directing his attack where their broken lines admitted of an impression, without much difficulty completed the confusion; their arms, which in a great measure derived their power of execution from being interwoven together, and wrought as it were into one mass, added to their embarrassment, becoming, in the hands of the single soldier, unwieldy and almost useless. Meanwhile, discomfiture began also to reach the right wing. A legionary tribune, observing that this was the only part of the Macedonian army which still maintained the dispute, wheeled round with a few chosen men, and made an attack on the rear of the phalanx. Here the Macedonians, from their order of battle, were incapable of resistance; for the phalanx could only advance, and the men were precluded from all power of facing about, by the closeness of their ranks, and the length of their interwoven spears[36]. The Romans having opened, therefore, to themselves a passage, slaughtered the Macedonians with impunity; who, finding they could make no resistance, threw down their arms, dispersed, and fled. Philip, who, according to Polybius, had performed the duties both of the general and the soldier, seeing the day irretrievably lost, retreated towards Tempe, on his way to Macedon, endeavouring, as he retired, to collect the scattered remains of his army, more than one half of which had either been made prisoners, or fallen in the field of battle; but he previously dispatched messengers to his head-quarters at Larissa, with directions

[36] See Polyb. L. xvii, c. 25, 26, 27, 28.

to have all his papers destroyed. Had they fallen into the hands of the Romans, the consequences might have been fatal to his friends, of whom he had still numbers in almost every Grecian state.

This victory, important as it was, became yet more considerable by the effect which it had on the councils of the Macedonian king, who immediately sent a deputation to Flamininus, desiring a truce for the burial of the dead, and begging that the proconsul would again admit him to a conference. Both these requests being complied with, the Roman general found little difficulty in adjusting the preliminaries of peace: Philip, now completely humbled, readily accepting even the most mortifying conditions; and the senate, approving of the plan laid down by Flamininus, he was impowered, jointly with ten commissioners sent from Rome, to grant a peace to Philip on the following terms [37].

Philip obtains a truce, admitted to a conference; submits to the conditions offered. Flamininus grants him a peace;

conditions.

"All the Greek cities, both in Asia and in Europe, to "be free, and restored to the enjoyment of their own "laws [38].

"Philip, before the next Isthmian games, to deliver up "to the Romans all the Greeks he had in any part of his "dominions, and to evacuate all the places he possessed, either in Greece or in Asia [39].

"To

[37] See Polyb. Legat. ix. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 30.

[38] This article deserves particular notice. From the use to which it was afterwards applied, we shall see with what an insidious policy it was thus worded.

[39] The cities in Asia were expresly mentioned, viz. Euromus, Pedasa, Bargylia, Jassus, Abydus, Thasus, Myrina, and Perinthus; all in Asia, or on the Asiatic coast.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

"To give up all prisoners and deserters.

"To surrender all his decked ships of every kind; five "small vessels, and his galley of sixteen banks of oars, ex- "cepted [40].

"To pay the Romans a thousand talents; one half down, "the rest at ten equal annual payments.

And, if we are to believe Livy, "not to exceed five hun- "dred men in his military establishment; not to have an "elephant; and not to make war beyond the confines of "Macedon, without permission from the Roman senate."— These three articles, however, Polybius does not mention.

And, as a security for the performance of these stipulations, to give hostages; his son Demetrius being one.

Aetolians oppose the peace; but are over-ruled.

The Aetolians, whose services in the late battle gave them, they imagined, a right to interfere, warmly opposed the peace. But Flamininus, already highly offended at their having appropriated to themselves too large a proportion of the spoils, magisterially over-ruled their objections. We shall see, of what mischiefs this dispute was afterwards productive.

coast. In relation to Cius, Flamininus was to inform the Bithynian king, what the pleasure of the senate was. See Polyb. Legat. ix.

[40] This last, by Livy's own confession, was merely a vessel of parade, and probably left with him on account of its unwieldy and useless bulk.—Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 30.

Philip's

Philip's conduct blamable.

Philip's conduct, on this occasion, does little honour either to his abilities or to his spirit. Had he, instead of exposing himself to a decisive action, at once abandoned Greece, which, in his present situation, he could not expect to preserve; had he retired to the strong-holds of Macedon, and harrassed the Romans by occasional excursions; had he, at the same time, sought new resources, either among the northern tribes (which he did at last, when it was too late) or in the friendship of Antiochus, who now began to perceive what *he* was to expect, when the fate of Macedon should be determined; he might easily have protracted the war beyond the term of Flamininus's command; and, if he had not tired out the Romans, might at least have made his advantage, as formerly, of the imbecillity or inexperience of the generals sent against him. Even after the fatal blow at Cynoscephalae, had not all judgment and resolution forsaken him, this line of conduct might, in some measure, have been pursued; but, having lost a battle, which he ought not to have fought, subdued by his terrors, he tamely accepted of a peace, which he ought rather to have perished than have submitted to.

The subtlety of the Roman councils in granting peace to Philip.

It was the policy of the Romans, on this occasion, artfully to disguise what farther views they had on Macedon; and, as if solely actuated by a generous concern for the liberties of Greece, to content themselves with having reduced the power of Philip, and obliged him to withdraw within the antient boundaries of his hereditary kingdom. Had they at once attempted to deprive him of his crown, despair might have rendered him formidable; the princes of Asia, from interest, if not from affection, might have joined him;

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

him; and even the Greeks themselves would probably have had suspicions of a design, which delivered them from one danger, only to expose them to a greater.

AT the same time, under the specious character of *avengers of oppressed nations*, the Romans had an opportunity of attacking every prince, whom an extent of dominion made considerable, until, none remaining to oppose them, they might without controul complete their plan of universal empire.

Flamininus proceeds to the settlement of Greece;

PEACE being thus concluded with Philip, Flamininus, with the commissioners, proceeded to arrange the affairs of Greece, and the settlement of those cities and countries which had been dismembered from Macedon.

proclaims freedom, and the enjoyment of their own laws, to all the states dismembered from Macedon,

THE Isthmian games were now begun, whither all Greece had repaired with anxious solicitude for their future destiny. When[41], at Flamininus's command, an herald with sound of trumpet stepped forth, and proclaimed, "The senate of Rome, "and the general Titus Quinctius, having vanquished king "Philip and the Macedonians, grant freedom, with immunity "from all garrisons and taxes, and the enjoyment of their own "laws, to the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, "Achaeans of Pthiotis, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhae-"bians." Many among this vast multitude had not heard the proclamation distinctly; and even those who did, could scarcely believe it, so much did it exceed their expectations; numbers,

[41] See Polyb. Legat. ix. p. 1108. et seq. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 32, 33. Plut. in Flaminino.

therefore,

numbers, therefore, from every fide calling on the herald to repeat what he had faid, the proclamation was made again; which was anfwered with the loudeft and moft joyful acclamations. The games were no longer attended to; and the whole affembly crouded around Flamininus, hailing him their protector and preferver; fome ftriving to embrace him, others heaping on him flowers and garlands; fo that, had he not retired within his pavilion, he had fallen a facrifice to this burft of joyous gratitude. At the celebration of the Nemaean games, which followed foon after, and at which Flamininus likewife prefided, the fame proclamation was made.

with various grants to the feveral ftates in confederacy with the Romans.

The ftates mentioned in this decree were thofe which had been in fubjection to Macedon. The other Grecian communities, however, had not been forgotten. Flamininus informed them, what had been refolved upon in favour of all the faithful allies of Rome. To fome an encreafe of territory was granted. Others were re-eftablifhed in thofe poffeffions, which had been wrefted from them in the courfe of the late wars. The Achaeans had Corinth, Heraea, and Triphylia, reftored to them. Even Pleuratus, an Illyrian prince, and Amynander king of the Athamanes, who had aided Flamininus, were rewarded with a portion of Illyricum, and certain caftles, which had lately belonged to Philip. And the Oreftae, though within the confines of Macedon, were declared free, as a recompence for their early revolt to the Romans.

To thefe gracious acts were added many others no lefs pleafing. All the Grecian prifoners of war, in every part

 of

Acts of favour to the Greeks in general.

of Philip's dominions, returned to their families. The exiles throughout moſt of the ſtates in confederacy with Rome, were recalled; Flamininus himſelf employing his good offices to ſuppreſs faction, and to heal the breaches occaſioned by the late civil diſtractions. Roman garriſons ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth; but even theſe he promiſed ſhould be withdrawn, as ſoon as it was known what Antiochus deſigned. Theſe conciliating meaſures, which had alſo an additional efficacy from Flamininus's affability and courteous deportment, united the greateſt part of Greece in the intereſts of the Romans; even the few individuals, who yet doubted the ſincerity of Rome, were cautious, amidſt this general exultation and confidence, of uttering their ſuſpicions. So that in their aſſemblies, and feſtive meetings, nothing almoſt was to be heard but effuſions of gratitude and praiſes of the Roman people: "Regardleſs either of expence or of toil (it was ſaid) "they had thus intereſted themſelves, merely to obtain "liberty to Greece: that, except the battles of Marathon, "of Salamis, of Plataeae, and Thermopylae, with what "Cimon had atchieved on the banks of the Eurymedon "and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other pur-"poſe but to bring the yoke upon herſelf, and to raiſe "monuments to her own diſhonour; but theſe ſtrangers, "of whoſe deſcent from Grecian anceſtors only a faint tra-"dition[42] remained, and from whom neither friendly in-

Exceſſive joy of Greece;

[42] It was an old tradition, of which Virgil has made great uſe, that the ſouth-eaſt parts of Italy had been peopled with colonies from Greece, long before the foundation of Rome. And no doubt the firſt inhabitants, if not the founders, of Rome (See Dion. Italian) were adventurers, and perhaps outcaſts from theſe early eſtabliſhments.

" terpoſition nor even compaſſionate regard were to have " been expected, had expoſed themſelves to the greateſt " dangers, to deliver her from oppreſſion."

this joy ill-founded.

In this kind of language, we learn from Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, did the Greeks of thoſe days ſpeak of this memorable tranſaction. And, which is more extraordinary, in the ſame ſtyle of panegyric it is mentioned by theſe hiſtorians themſelves. It is certainly a mortifying reflection, that theſe writers have not expreſſed themſelves in another manner; and that they, who lived after the final cloſe of this illuſive proſpect, and who therefore muſt have known, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, for what ends this ſpecious appearance of liberty had been granted[43], had not the ſpirit to tell poſterity, at the concluſion of this pompous recital, " Such was the fond dream, that credulous Greece " indulged! little did ſhe think, that all this ſhew of fa-" vour was only the prelude to her ruin! and that when " Rome appeared the kindeſt, it was only that ſhe might " ſtrike the more effectually!" — But, ſo juſtly to be dreaded is the fatal influence of deſpotiſm. It checks the pen even of reſpectable hiſtorians[44].

Ancient hiſtorians blameable for not ſpeaking of this ſpecious grant according to it's true value.

[43] Polybius eſpecially, perſonally experienced the treachery of Rome, and beheld the liberties of his country expire.

[44] Plutarch, however, has thrown in an obſervation, under which there ſeems to be couched ſomewhat more than he choſe to ſay. " Freedom," he tells us, " was twice proclaimed to Greece, by Flamininus, and afterwards by Nero; and " by both at Corinth, and at the celebration of the Iſthmian games: with this " difference, that Nero paid Greece the higher compliment; he himſelf announced " the DECREE OF LIBERTY; Flamininus employed an herald."—What account ought to be made of the freedom conferred by Nero is well known. Did the hiſtorian mean that we ſhould draw a parallel?

Policy of Rome in this grant of freedom to the Grecian tribes.

This transaction, however, shews in the strongest light the consummate artifice of Rome. She meditated the subjection of Greece. But, while Antiochus was warlike and enterprising; while Macedon was not yet enslaved; and humbled Carthage still existed; the attempt had been dangerous. Greece, besides, was weak only from disunion; and, if once united at home, an effect which such an attempt would probably have produced, they might have proved again formidable. As the Romans, therefore, had with so much success employed their policy in keeping Macedon disjoined from Hannibal, Antiochus from Philip, and Greece from Macedon; so was the same policy now to be employed in disuniting the several Grecian states, not only from the great powers of Asia and Europe, but likewise from each other. And in no way could this be done so effectually, as by the renovation of their antient laws and government. Each state having it's own laws, each it's peculiar form of government, each a distinct and independent sovereignty, they would all naturally be engaged in the same proud pretensions, the same jealousies and contests, which had animated them before; and, by affording to the Roman senate opportunities of interfering as arbiters in their differences, or as redressers of their wrongs, gradually and imperceptibly reduce Greece to that vassalage, which that artful people had in view. Besides, *liberty* was the darling object of the Grecian states; they had often been led away even by the name; and the restoration of their *liberties*, though but in appearance, gave the Romans a wonderful influence, especially over the multitude; who, provided they enjoyed their rights of suffrage, the debates of their orators, and the bustle of their public assemblies, imagined themselves blest with all that liberty has most valuable.

In

Book VI. Sect. I.

Murmurs of the Aetolians.

In this general transport of joy the Aetolians, however, took no share [45]. Discontented, that, in contempt of their representations, a peace should have been granted to Philip; and high in their resentment against Flamininus, who had not treated them, they conceived, as a free people, and a faithful and brave confederate deserved, they in revenge accused the Roman of having sold the peace to Macedon; they charged him with ingratitude to a people, to whose valour he owed the victory, and with assuming to himself a reputation he did not deserve. They accused him also with a want of personal courage; "Whilst I was engaged with the enemy," it was the common vaunt of every Aetolian, "Flamininus "was at his prayers [46];" they even charged the Romans with perfidious designs, and the Greeks with folly in believing their professions: "They boast of having bestowed "freedom on Greece, by setting at liberty some distant and "inconsiderable places, whilst your principal and most "important cities, Demetrias, Chalcis, Corinth, are garrisoned by their troops; they have unfettered the legs, "and fixed their yoke upon the neck." This last accusation, particularly, gave Flamininus much pain, because it was but too well founded. The commissioners had in fact proposed, that the Romans should retain these strong holds as pledges of the fidelity of Greece; and it was only in consequence of the apprehensions excited throughout the Grecian states, by the murmurings of the Aetolians, that the proconsul at last evacuated them. It certainly had been easy for Flamininus to have regained the affections of

[45] See Polyb. Legat. vi. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 31. Plutarch. in Flaminino.

[46] Plutarch. in parallel. Philop. et Flamin.

this

Book VI. Sect. I.

this brave people, whom on the contrary he endeavoured rather to exasperate, by studied slights, and rejecting claims to which they apparently had a just right. But the pride of the Roman would not bend to such conciliating measures. And perhaps it was more agreeable to the views of Rome, that some sparks of disaffection should remain, from which, at a convenient season, the flame of war might be re-kindled.

Flamininus proposes to make war on Nabis, in order to dispossess him of Argos.

The Aetolians had soon an opportunity of manifesting their discontent. Nabis[47] still kept possession of Argos; and, as sovereign of Sparta, was also master of a number of sea-ports, and particularly of Gythium, a place of great strength on the Cretan sea, and the most considerable harbour in the southern part of Peloponnesus. Flamininus thought it dangerous, that so considerable a share of power should remain in the hands of a tyrant, on whose faith he could place no dependence; and was besides willing to gratify the Achaeans, who had a natural jealousy of Sparta, by the recovery of Argos, formerly one of their social cities. Having accordingly assembled the confederate states at Corinth, he proposed to attack the tyrant, and dispossess him of Argos; observing, "that this was a matter which related immediately to themselves, and in which he had "no other concern, than as a friend to their liberties and "welfare; but that it became them to consider, whether "to have so ancient a city in slavery, in the heart of "Greece, was not of pernicious example, as well as reproachful to them all; and whether therefore they ought

[47] Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 22 & seq.

"not

" not to reſtore it to the enjoyment of rights, which other " Grecian ſtates enjoyed, rather than ſuffer it to remain " in bondage under a tyrant. He cloſed his ſpeech by " telling them, that whatever the majority ſhould decree, " he was ready to execute." The Aetolians with great eagerneſs laid hold of this occaſion to inveigh againſt the Romans, " who manifeſted," ſaid they, " the ſincerity of " their concern for the rights of Greece by the partial " and nominal liberty they had proclaimed: that it was " abſurd to talk of a new war, in order to obtain Argos " for the Achaeans, whilſt the Aetolians were deprived of " thoſe cities, which they were to have poſſeſſed by ex- " preſs ſtipulation, and which the Romans themſelves " with-held from them: that, what the Romans really had " in view, was to perpetuate war in Greece; Nabis was " now the pretence, another would ſoon ariſe, until that " ambitious people had ſo effectually eſtabliſhed themſelves, " that their diſpoſſeſſion would baffle the united powers " of Greece."

The Aetolians object to it, and charge Flamininus with inſidious views;

THESE repreſentations, however juſtly founded, were heard impatiently by all the other ſtates: the Aetolians were not beloved; and the attack upon the tyrant was popular. So that, the war being reſolved on by the unanimous ſuffrages of the whole aſſembly, the Aetolians excepted, the armies immediately took the field, and, after a fruitleſs attempt on Argos, advanced, by Flamininus's advice, towards Sparta, where Nabis kept his head-quarters, where his moſt valuable poſſeſſions lay, and where, of courſe, whatever impreſſion they made would have the greater effect.

the other Grecian ſtates approve of the attack upon Nabis, and join Flamininus.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

Nabis reproaches Flamininus with duplicity.

Nabis was astonished at seeing the Romans turn their arms against him. "You Romans," said he, in a conference with the proconsul, "received me into your alliance; "how have I deserved to forfeit it? You talk of Argos; "but Argos was already mine, by the voluntary cession "of the king of Macedon, when I entered into an alliance "with you; and my holding it at that time was not made "a ground of objection. Or is it because I am, as you "pretend, a tyrant, and guilty of lawless deeds? But was "I less a tyrant, or less criminal, at the very time this "alliance was made?"

In cases of this kind, the strongest are always the best reasoners. "The alledged treaty," the Roman unblushingly replied, "was altogether null from the beginning: he was "a tyrant, and with tyrants Rome could not constitutionally have connection[48]." Nabis, the most perfidious of men, well deserved this perfidious answer. He had even then, in providing means for his defence, been guilty of new cruelties[49]. He had arrested eighty of the principal citizens of Sparta, that they might not be exposed, he said, to suspicion, during the invasion; promising that, as soon as peace was restored, they should be released; but the ensuing night they were every one murdered. Their estates and wives he bestowed on some of the most favoured profligates, of which his army was composed. And, pretending that the Helotae[50] favoured the enemy, he put many thousands of them to the sword.

[48] Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 33. [49] Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 27.

[50] The slaves employed in tillage, who had their settlements throughout the country of Laconia.

Meanwhile

MEANWHILE, Flamininus and his confederates made the most vigorous exertion. The Roman fleet, together with the fleets of Pergamus and the Rhodians, had taken or blocked up all the sea-ports belonging to the tyrant; and even Gythium, though at first obstinately defended, at last surrendered. By land, the army, after reducing all the places around, had laid siege to Sparta. Philopoemen, who commanded the Achaeans, had, in the course of these operations, distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Besides the particular interest the Achaeans had in the success of this war, and his personal hatred of Nabis, he was actuated by another powerful consideration, "his desire of shewing the Romans, that the Greeks were not inferior to them in military prowess." It appears, that this brave man could not, without indignation, behold his country dependent on foreign councils; and, equally an enemy to every power that meant to inslave Greece, was, on all occasions, as earnest to vindicate her liberties against Rome, as he had been against Macedon.

The war against Nabis is carried on with vigour.

NABIS, who had been obliged to retire into Sparta, now offered not only to cede Argos, but also to make other large concessions; but the confederates declared against peace with him on any terms. They insisted on the deliverance of Sparta; and that he should be expelled from Peloponnesus, which could never otherwise hope for permanent tranquility. Flamininus, nevertheless, under various pretences, opposed the continuance of the war; and at last, when Sparta appeared on the point of being taken, and even Argos, by an insurrection of its citizens, had been forced out of the tyrant's

The tyrant, reduced to great straits, offers large concessions; the Greek confederates reject his advances.

Flamininus concludes a treaty with him:

tyrant's hands, concluded a treaty with the man to whom, when it ſerved his purpoſe, he had made this haughty reply; *Rome can form no treaty with a tyrant.*

the abſurdity and injuſtice of this meaſure;

What makes this ſtep appear the more extraordinary is, that Ageſipolis [51], confeſſedly lawful heir to the throne of Sparta, whom the tyrant Lycurgus had expelled, was at this very time in the Roman camp, together with a number of Spartan exiles; who, under the protection of Rome, now expected to be reſtored to their country; and whoſe intereſts were all ſacrificed on this occaſion. The treaty does not even make mention of them, one article excepted, which ſeems rather a cruel mockery, than a clauſe in favour of friends and allies. It was ſtipulated, that the wives of the Spartan exiles (the richeſt of whom, however, Nabis had already diſpoſed of among his mercenaries) ſhould have permiſſion to join their huſbands, if they choſe it. The chief of the other articles were, that the tyrant ſhould have no fortified places; that he ſhould ſurrender all his ſhips; and pay a certain ſum to the Romans.

the reaſons alledged by hiſtorians for Flamininus's conduct:

It appears, from the pains taken by antient hiſtorians to account for this tranſaction, that it expoſed Flamininus to much cenſure. "Nabis," they tell us, "could not have "been deſtroyed, without involving the Spartans in ſevere "calamities. To ſpare them, Flamininus was obliged to

[51] It appears from Polybius (Legat. xlix.) that this unhappy prince was afterwards ſent on an embaſſy to Rome from the Spartan exiles, and, having in his paſſage thither fallen in with pirates, was ſlain by them.

"ſpare

" spare the tyrant.—Lacedemon, besides, was in a condition[52] " to stand a long siege; and Antiochus was preparing to in- " vade Greece: the consequences might have been fatal, " had he found Nabis in arms, and effected a junction with " him.—Winter also was approaching, and the army had " not the necessary provisions for remaining in the field " during that inclement season[53]."

the artifice used to silence his Greek confederates;

These arguments Flamininus is said to have advanced in his justification. The last argument, especially, he employed with great art. The Greek confederates were earnest for continuing the war; "which it had been better," they said, "not to have commenced, if the tyrant is not to be " crushed."—"I am content[54]," replied the Roman; " let us then prosecute the war: but, we shall want a large " reinforcement of troops, and a number of expensive ma- " chines; sufficient stores must also be provided, and ample " provision made for the support and convenience of the " army, without which it will be impossible for them to " sustain the rigours of a winter siege. Write, therefore, " to your respective states, and know what proportion of " men, money, and provisions, they are willing to furnish " on this occasion."—He knew what their answer would be. Low in their finances at best, these republicans had also been exhausted by the repeated wars they had been engaged in.

[52] Lacedaemon, nevertheless, was walled only in part, and, just before the peace granted to Nabis, had been on the point of being taken by storm, the confederate troops having carried part of the town by assault; so that the besieged were under the necessity of setting fire to a quarter of the city, in order to dislodge them.

[53] Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 33. [54] Liv. ibid. c. 34.

Book VI. Sect. 1.

It was therefore left entirely to his determination, either to urge or put an end to the war.

his principal motives, probably, for adopting such a measure.

Besides the reasons here alledged, there were other motives, as we are informed, which he did not choose to mention: his fear of being supplanted by a successor; and, what Plutarch [55] thinks made the deepest impression on his mind, a jealousy of Philopoemen. It is certain, that this Grecian commander was generally looked upon as the hero of this war; he was placed on a footing of equality by the most zealous of Flamininus's friends; and it mortified the Roman exceedingly, that the exploits of an Arcadian, who had only commanded in some inconsiderable disputes on the confines of his own country, should, in the estimation of Greece, be raised to an equality with his own atchievements. Perhaps he considered also, that the Spartans, if now relieved from the tyrant's yoke, might not only become again formidable, but be apt to ascribe their deliverance to the Achaeans and their general; whilst Achaia, from such a revolution, might probably derive a larger share of power, than it was the interest or the intention of Rome she should possess. In continuing Nabis on the Spartan throne, Flamininus acted, therefore, according to the customary policy of Rome: he prevented Sparta's rising from her present debasement, while he left ample matter of anger and contest among the several Peloponnesian states; and thus prepared a plentiful harvest for Rome's ambitious arms.

Flamininus returns to Rome:

Flamininus returned soon after to Rome; and, to the great satisfaction of all Greece, withdrew, as he had promised,

[55] In Flaminino.

ed, all the Roman garrisons. From this, however, it may be suspected, that his fears of Antiochus, which he pleaded in excuse for the peace with Nabis, were not so strong as he had pretended: had he really thought that Antiochus was on the point of invading Greece, it can hardly be supposed, that he would have left the country ungarrisoned.

obtains the freedom of the Romans, slaves in Greece.

BEFORE his departure, he made it his request to the several Grecian states, as the most acceptable return he could receive from them, to grant him the freedom of all Roman slaves. These prisoners had been taken in the war with Hannibal, and sold by the Carthaginians: "It were a reproach to the Greeks," he added, "should any Roman want liberty in a country that owed its liberty to Rome[56]."—A request highly to his honour! and which was chearfully complied with; each state ransoming, at the public expence, whatever Romans were found in slavery within their territories. Among the Achaeans only, Livy informs us, twelve hundred were found, whose ransom, at five minae a man[57], amounted to one hundred talents[58].

How many of these wretched men must there have been in Greece, when in so small a part of it were found so great a number!

[56] Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 50. [57] £. 16. 2s. 11 d. [58] £. 19,375.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Antiochus king of Syria—his prosperity—the Romans, jealous of his power, seek to reduce it—which he resents—resolves to attack the Romans—enters into alliance with the Aetolians—invades Greece—meets the Romans in battle—is defeated at Thermopylae—and afterwards at Magnesia.—The Romans turn their arms against the Aetolians—compel them to submit to what conditions they are pleased to impose—Achaia and Macedon active in behalf of Rome.—The treacherous manner in which the Romans requite their services.—Rome endeavours to break the strength of the commonwealth of Achaia, by seducing it's confederate states—by the intrigues of Roman emissaries, a party of Messenians take up arms against the Achaeans—Philopoemen hastens to suppress the insurgents—falls into their hands—is put to death—Flamininus suspected of having encouraged this flagitious action—grounds for this suspicion.—Flamininus's conduct to Cato.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

Antiochus obnoxious to the Romans.

THE humiliation of Antiochus was the object Rome had next in view. The magnificence of his court; the intimate connection he had formed with Egypt, on whose young king he had just bestowed his daughter in marriage;

marriage; the reports disseminated of his immense treasures, numerous armies, and all the formidable apparatus of war; gave this prince a reputation for power far beyond what he really possessed. He was, besides, high in fame for political wisdom and martial abilities. By his vigorous conduct he had extinguished a dangerous rebellion, fomented by his own ministers, in the heart of his dominions; and he had restored peace to the eastern provinces of his empire, which, during the three last reigns, had been involved in a state of the utmost confusion. He had also at this period visited the coasts of the Hellespont, formerly subject to the kings of Syria; he had even passed over into Thrace, where he had likewise claims; and he was preparing to raise from it's ruins Lysimachia, antiently the royal city of Lysimachus, in order to make it again the seat of government in those countries.

His reputation.

These spirited exertions of a prince, who seemed well able to support his pretensions to countries which the Romans had already marked as their own, roused and stimulated their ambitious jealousy. As long, however, as the fate of Greece and Macedon was doubtful, they had concealed their views, and great care had been taken to keep up a friendly intercourse with Antiochus. Of this we have a remarkable instance from Livy[1]. At the beginning of the second Macedonian war, Attalus, then with the consul in Greece, complained to the Roman senate that Antiochus had attacked his frontiers; and applied for succours against the invader: it was answered, "that Antiochus, as well

Romans dissemble with him during the Macedonian war.

[1] L. xxxii. c. 8.

"as

Book VI. Sect. 2.

"as Attalus, was the ally of Rome; that the Romans "could not employ their arms in favour of one ally "against another; but that they would send embassadors "to Antiochus, to represent that Attalus was engaged in "their service, and would esteem it a kindness done to "them, if the Syrian monarch would withdraw from his "territories:" with which request Antiochus accordingly complied.

Different behaviour after Philip's defeat;

Now, however, they spoke in a very different tone. No sooner was peace concluded with Philip, than it was notified to the embassadors of Antiochus[2], who then attended Flamininus, "that, by the treaty with Macedon, the Gre-"cian cities, in Asia as well as Europe, had been declared "free[3]; that Rome expected their master would conform "to that declaration;" and farther, "that henceforth Asia "was to be the boundary of his dominions, and any at-"tempt to make a settlement in Europe would be con-"sidered by Rome as an act of hostility." The same notification was afterwards repeatedly made to him in person, by commissioners deputed for the purpose. In vain was it alledged by the king and his ministers[4], "that he had "nothing in common with Philip or his fortunes, and "was not therefore interested in the stipulations to which "he had agreed; that the possessions he held in Asia "and Europe he inherited from his ancestors; and, as it "did not concern him, in what manner the Romans "dealt with the cities of Italy, to the liberties of which, "though of Grecian origin, Rome paid little regard, his

his resentment.

[2] Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 34. [3] See Section the first of this book. [4] See Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 39, 40. et L. xxxv. c. 16.

"treatment

"treatment of the Asiatic cities did not appear to him at "all a Roman concern." The requisition nevertheless was peremptorily insisted upon. And though he sent embassadors to remonstrate with the senate, he found it impossible to obtain any mitigation of the imperious mandate.

The deep policy of the Roman councils.

WE have in this place a fresh opportunity of admiring the profound policy of the Roman councils. A method of injury, more effectual than the present, could not have been devised against Antiochus. The greater part of the cities of the lower Asia had in some shape or other availed themselves of the weak or turbulent reigns of the late Syrian kings: many of them had assumed an independent sovereignty; some had extended their territories at the expence of the provinces around them; new states had even sprung up amidst the confusion of the times, and risen to a considerable degree of strength and independence. All these states were with good reason apprehensive, that Antiochus would seize the first opportunity of recovering what had been lost by the fault or misfortune of his ancestors. But by the public declaration of the Romans in favour of the Grecian colonists (to which denomination the inhabitants of these cities had a claim) they were not only confirmed in their defection, but became fixed in the interests of Rome. In her cause, of consequence, the cause of all the Asiatic Greeks seemed necessarily to be involved: whilst Antiochus, in the midst of his own dominions, saw himself encompassed with jealous states or declared adversaries.

MUCH art had at the same time been employed to fill Italy with apprehensions of mighty danger from Antiochus;

Book VI. Sect. 2.

Alarming apprehensions of the designs of Antiochus propagated over Italy.

chus[5]; "his forces were already collected, and he was to "appear immediately on their coasts;" while the several commissioners, in their return from Asia, laboured to confirm this belief, by their pompous accounts of his alarming preparations, and by asserting that all was in readiness for the invasion of the Roman territories. This nevertheless was the tale of artifice, and the contrivance of the Roman chiefs, in order to deceive the Plebeians; who, tired of wars, (which, administring only to the ambition and insolence of the Patricians, afforded the people nothing but bloodshed and toil) had strenuously opposed the last expedition into Greece[6]; and it was expected would more strongly resist the launching into the vast and seemingly boundless tracts of Asia. It is, in fact, plain, from the unprovided condition in which the war found Antiochus, that, whatever hostile purposes he may be supposed to have meditated against Rome, they were not yet ripe for execution. He even seems, from the train of negociation he entered into, and the instructions to his embassadors at Rome, evidently[7] to have wished for peace, and, in order to obtain it, to have been inclined to make large concessions; could any thing less than the unjust humiliation of the crown of Syria have satisfied Roman ambition.

Hannibal and the Aetolians incite Antiochus to war;

He soon after, however, abandoned all thoughts of accommodation. Hannibal, the sworn enemy of Rome, upon the first tidings of his meditating a war against the Romans, made his escape from Carthage to the Syrian court, and urged him to arms. The Aetolians[8] also earnestly soli-

[5] See Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 44. et L. xxxv. c. 23. [6] See Liv. L. xxxi. c. 6.
[7] See Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 58, 59. [8] Liv. L. xxxv. c. 22.

cited

cited him to come and vindicate the cauſe of Greece, "enthralled," ſaid they, "more than ever, notwithſtanding "the ſpecious grant of liberty Rome had mocked her with." Hannibal[9] warmly recommended the invaſion of Italy, where alone, he affirmed, the Romans were vulnerable; and with a body of only eleven thouſand land-forces[10], and a ſuitable naval equipment, he offered to make a deſcent, and to carry the war into the heart of the country; provided Antiochus ſhould appear at the ſame time at the head of a powerful army on the weſtern coaſt of Greece, and make a ſhew of preparing for an invaſion from that quarter; that the Romans, perplexed by a variety of dangers, might find it the more difficult to obſtruct his operations.

their different plans.

Notwithstanding the plauſibility of this idea, a narrow jealouſy[11] prevented Antiochus from adopting a plan of operations, of which another was to have the direction; and, if ſucceſsful, would inherit the largeſt ſhare of the glory. He choſe rather to liſten to the Aetolians, who told him[12], if Greece was made the ſeat of war, a general inſurrection would immediately take place; that not only Theſſaly and Euboea, but Nabis, the Achaeans, and even Philip himſelf, waited impatiently for an opportunity of declaring againſt the Romans; and that, the inſtant he entered the Grecian frontiers, he ſhould have ample ſupplies of men and money pouring in from every quarter. To theſe aſſurances, Antiochus liſtened with a fond attention; and entertained them, in return, with exaggerated accounts

Antiochus adopts the plan of the Aetolians.

Promiſes of the Aetolians;

and of Antiochus:

[9] Liv. L. xxxiv. c. 60. [10] Ten thouſand, ſays Appian (de bello Syr.) p. 147.
[11] Liv. L. id. c. 42, 43. [12] Liv. L. xxxv. c. 12, 18.

of

Book VI. Sect. 2.

of the mighty armaments he had in readiness; his fleets were to cover the Hellespont, and numerous nations from every part of Asia were already on their march, before whom the Romans would not dare to appear.

ill-supported by them both:

THE amount of these mutual promises and boasted power was soon [13] discovered. When Antiochus entered Greece, the utmost force he could muster was ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; for the support also of which, he informed his confederates of Aetolia they were to provide. Of the Grecian states, the Aetolians had influence to bring over to their party none but the Spartan tyrant, the Acarnanians, with the city of Demetrias in Thessaly; of which they had even acquired possession by the treachery of one of it's citizens. The Achaeans, at the same time, were, from principle, particularly adverse to any cause espoused by Nabis and the Aetolians. And Philip, besides his dread of the Roman arms, and the consideration that his son Demetrius, with many of his nobles, were then hostages at Rome, had strong reasons to complain of the conduct of Antiochus. Indifferent to Philip's fate, that prince, during the late disastrous war, had not only left him unassisted, but, taking advantage of his situation, had afterwards attempted an establishment on the Thracian Chersonese, where Philip's pretensions were at least equally strong, and where he now saw with indignation, a rival kingdom rising on the confines of Macedon.

the Achaeans and Philip refuse to join them.

[13] Liv. L. xxxv. c. 43, 44.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

Revolution in Sparta;

A SUDDEN revolution had entirely changed the face of affairs in Sparta [14]. The Spartan tyrant, upon the prospect of being joined by the Aetolians and Antiochus, had taken up arms, and laid siege to Gythium, then held by an Achaean garrison for the Romans: and he had even defeated, in a naval combat, Philopoemen, then at the head of the commonwealth of Achaia; who, though highly jealous of the influence the Romans had obtained in Greece, gladly laid hold of an opportunity of making war on the infamous Nabis, and immediately hastened to the assistance of the Gythian garrison. Philopoemen was not expert in naval affairs, and, in his precipitate zeal, he had put to sea with such ships as were ready; most of them old and unfit for service. Nabis, sensible of the advantage, attacked him without delay, destroyed his fleet, he himself narrowly escaping; and, in consequence of this victory, Gythium soon surrendered to the Spartans. This discomfiture did not, however, disconcert Philopoemen. He was soon in a condition to prosecute the war by land; and having, by his judicious conduct, obtained two victories over the tyrant, obliged him to retire towards Sparta, and to provide for the defence of his capital. Nabis, held in detestation at home, could ill maintain himself against enemies abroad; and the Aetolians, beginning to fear that Sparta must, in the end, fall into the hands of the Achaeans, dispatched Alexamenus with a thousand men, under colour of succouring Nabis, but with secret instructions to destroy the tyrant, as soon as an opportunity offered, and to make himself master of Sparta. The

[14] See Liv. L. xxxv. c. 25, 30, 35, 36. & Plut. in Philopoem.

misconduct

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

misconduct of the Aetolian commander rendered the scheme abortive. Soon after his arrival, under the pretence of getting Nabis to review the auxiliary troops, he drew him aside from his guards, and put him to death; but, instead of proclaiming himself the vindicator of the Spartan people, and engaging their confidence, he employed himself and his Aetolians in plundering the city. The citizens, roused to indignation and resistance, attacked these treacherous invaders, and Alexamenus, with most of his men, fell in the tumultuary combat. During the confusion, Philopoemen appeared before their gates, and invited them to accede to the Achaean confederacy; they accepted his invitation, and were incorporated into the commonwealth of Achaia.

Nabis slain.

The Spartans accede to the Achaean league.

MEANWHILE, the Romans hastened to improve the favourable opportunity, which the unhappy policy of the Syrian king and his Grecian confederates presented to them. Their object was the subjection of Antiochus; and he was delivering himself into their hands. A firm union in Greece might have baffled the Roman designs; but the Aetolians were again distracting that country by their infatuated councils. To take advantage of this situation of affairs, the praetor Baebius was dispatched into Thessaly; two fleets were ordered to be fitted out, the one for Sicily, the other for Greece; and Quintius Flamininus, from whose influence among the Grecian states much was expected, had orders, together with three other commissioners, to visit the principal cities, and prevent their defection from the interests of Rome. It was in the course of this service, that he made the memorable reply to the embassadors of Antiochus,

Vigour of the Romans;

their fleets and armies dispatched to Greece.

Embassy of Flamininus;

Book VI. Sect. 2.

Antiochus, as recorded by historians of those times [u]. He met them in the Achaean diet, whither they had come to solicit an alliance with their master, " who," said they, " zealous for the liberties of Greece, waited not until his " forces were all assembled, but would be followed by nume- " rous armies from every province of his empire, the Dahae, " the Medes, the Caddusians, the Elymaeans, from the " stroke of whose weapons there was no escaping."— " This pompous detail," answered Flamininus, " reminds " me of an entertainment, to which I was once invited " by a certain Grecian host; though in summer, the table " was covered with wild fowl and venison of every spe- " cies, and all excellent in their kinds; amazed, I enquir- " ed how, at that season of the year, he could be supplied " with such a variety of delicacies. Be not surprized, " my friend," replied the honest Greek; " what you see " is all swine's flesh; the art of the cook has given it the " various forms and flavours you admire. In like manner " are you to judge of the various nations which have now " been mentioned. Whatever different appellations the " skill of the orator has bestowed on them, they are in " fact one people; all abject Syrians, strangers themselves " to liberty, and therefore little capable of vindicating the " liberties of others."

his answer to the embassadors of Antiochus.

The Romans, indeed, had little to fear from Antiochus. Unable, from the slender force he had brought into the field, to exert himself vigorously, and depending for the maintenance of his troops on the money

Imprudent conduct of Antiochus;

[u] Liv. L. xxxv. c. 48, 49.

and

Book VI. Sect. 2.

and provisions which the Aetolians could supply, his progress must have been inconsiderable, had he even found no enemy to oppose him. The acquisition of the principal cities of Euboea, and a few towns in Thessaly, and the gaining over of Amynander, the petty king of the Athamanes, to his interest, were all the exploits he had to boast of. But, besides the difficulties which arose from his situation, his own conduct was, in many respects, feeble and ill-judged. His wisest plan had been, a reconciliation with the king of Macedon; and Hannibal earnestly recommended this measure; but, on the contrary, he provoked Philip by new indignities. He set up against him a pretender to his crown[16], one of the same name, said to be descended from the antient kings of Macedon, whose sister was wife to the king of the Athamanes; and, that he might establish this adventurer in the affections of the Macedonian people, as well as to insult Philip, he sent him to Cynoscephalae, to inter the bones of those Macedonians[17] who had fallen in the battle; which pious act Philip, in the midst of his embarrassments and distress, had hitherto neglected to perform. But, what was most prejudicial to the affairs of Antiochus, was his dissipation at Chalcis. At his first arrival in Greece, he endeavoured to make himself master of that city, and failed; but, by means of an understanding between him and a party of the citizens, he had carried it upon a second attempt. Instead, however, of making a proper use of this important acquisition, he abandoned himself[18] to the pursuit of a silly amour. Though upwards of fifty, he married a

his dissipation at Chalcis;

[16] Liv. L. xxxv. c. 47. [17] Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 8. [18] Liv. ibid. c. 11.

maiden

maiden under twenty, the daughter of his host: and, in the festivities of this unseasonable and ill-suited match, he wasted that time which his public affairs demanded; his whole army following his example in unwarrantable and ill-timed indulgences.

the consul Acilius advances against him.

Upon the election of new consuls, the care of the war in Greece had been allotted to Manius Acilius Glabrio [19], one of the consuls elect; who, as soon as the necessary levies were completed, passed over from Brundusium, and advanced into Thessaly. Alarmed at the approach of the enemy, Antiochus was roused from his lethargy, and took the field; but the numerous forces, which he had boasted were to follow from Asia, had not yet arrived, and four thousand men was the total amount of the Aetolian succours. His only resource was to stop the progress of the Romans by possessing himself of the streights of Thermopylae, and securing the heights of mount Oeta, over which the Persians had made their way in the days of Leonidas. These precautions availed little. Cato [20], whose name was afterwards rendered illustrious by his spirited discharge of the Censorial office, having been sent over the mountains at the head of a considerable detachment, soon dislodged the Aetolians to whom the defence of that post had been committed; and, while his victorious troops were pouring down from above, the consul having forced the pass below, a general discomfiture involved the whole Syrian army: Antiochus, who was wounded in the mouth by a stone, escaping only with five hundred men into Chalcis; from whence he re-

Battle of Thermopylae.

Antiochus defeated.

[19] Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 14 & seq.

[20] Plut. in Catone.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

tired, with precipitation, to his Asiatic dominions [21].—What consequences his inconsiderate conduct produced afterwards to his affairs, and the ruin it entailed on his unhappy kingdom, are matters that belong not to the present history.

The Romans affect kindness to the Achaeans and to Philip.

Antiochus was defeated and had fled. He was now to be followed into Asia, where his great strength lay, and where, if joined by Greece, he might have proved more formidable than ever. But the first use which the Romans made of their victory was, to annihilate whatever influence the Syrian monarch was thought still to possess among the Grecian states, and to confirm those in the interests of Rome, who had declared against him. They accordingly were lavish of their favours to Philip and the Achaeans. The latter had, in the course of the war, extended their dominions over all Peloponnesus; and the Romans, without expressing the least jealousy of this increase of power, left them in the undisturbed possession of all they had acquired. Philip, in assisting the Romans, had recovered several towns on the side of Thessaly and Athamania which he had formerly held, and which he had been obliged to cede upon the conclusion of the late peace; he was suffered to retain whatever he had taken; his embassadors, who bore his congratulations to Rome, were treated with distinguished regard; his son Demetrius, and the rest of the Macedonian hostages, were set at liberty; and, soon after, that part of the tribute, which remained unpaid, was remitted. Rome shewed lenity even to those, whose fidelity had been most doubtful;

Lenity to those states whose friendship had been doubtful;

the people of Chalcis had their lives and estates secured to

[21] Olymp. cxlvii, 1, Before Christ 187.

them; and the Epirots and Boeotians, though ſtrongly ſuſpected of a connexion with Antiochus, and of having ſent him ſupplies, were pardoned upon their ſubmiſſion. The Aetolians [22] themſelves might have had favourable terms, the conſul offering them peace, provided they renounced all alliance with Syria, and delivered up their chief city, Heraclea, into his hands: but, whether apprehenſive that the Romans, when poſſeſſed of Heraclea, would impoſe harder conditions, or prevailed upon by the intrigues of Damocritus, one of their popular leaders, the avowed enemy of Rome, who encouraged them with hopes of immediate ſuccours from Antiochus, they rejected the offer. To the counſels, principally, of this demagogue, was owing their firſt treaty of alliance with the Syrian king. Damocritus was then chief magiſtrate of Aetolia; and ſo violent againſt the Romans [23], that when Flamininus, at that time embaſſador from Rome to the Aetolian ſtates, demanded of him a copy of the decree in favour of Antiochus, "I have "other matters," replied he, "to attend to at preſent; I "ſhall deliver it to you on the banks of the Tiber."

offer terms to the Aetolians,

who reject them.

More vigorous meaſures having thus become neceſſary, the conſul urged the ſiege of Heraclea [24]; which, notwithſtanding its ſtrength of ſituation, and the obſtinate defence of the Aetolians, did not long reſiſt the Roman arms; the garriſon, with Damocritus their turbulent commander, ſurrendering at diſcretion. Soon after the reduc-

The conſul urges the ſiege of Heraclea;

takes it;

[22] Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 22.

[23] Liv. L. xxxv. c. 33.

[24] A city at the foot of the mount Oeta, on the river Aſopus, defended by a caſtle, from its ſituation ſuppoſed to be of great ſtrength.

prepares to lay siege to Naupactus: the Aetolians make overtures, the consul refuses to treat with them; at last admits their deputies;

tion of Heraclea, Lamia, at a small distance, surrendered also to the Romans; who, following these successes, prepared to attack Naupactus, a sea-port on the Corinthian gulph, of the first consequence to the Aetolian nation. Alarmed at this rapid progress, and disappointed of the aids they expected from Asia, the Aetolians would now gladly have accepted of the peace which they had formerly spurned at; but the consul at first refused to treat with them; and with much difficulty was at length prevailed on to admit the Aetolian deputies into his presence. At the head of this deputation [25] was Phaeneas, of whom mention has been already made; he began his discourse, by bewailing the ill-advised conduct of the Aetolians, who now, repenting of their imprudence, had decreed *to submit themselves to the faith of the Roman people.* It would appear, that Phaeneas did not apprehend the full import of the expressions he had

takes advantage of their expressions;

employed; which, as the consul chose to understand them, implied a total surrender of all Aetolia to the Romans. Acilius laying hold on what he had said, "Is it then true, "that the Aetolians submit themselves to the faith of "Rome?" Phaeneas confirming it; "if it is so," resumed the consul, "let no Aetolian, from henceforth, on any "account, public or private, presume to pass over into "Asia; and let Dicaearchus [26], Menestratus the Epirot [27], "and Amynander, with all the Athamanes who have had "any share in his revolt, be delivered into my hands."—

[25] Polyb. Legat. xiii. Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 28, 29.

[26] One of the Aetolian leaders, who had been active in promoting the treaty with Syria.

[27] Who had entered Naupactus with a body of auxiliaries.

" The Aetolians," interrupted Phaeneas, " in ſubmitting " themſelves to the faith of the Romans, meant to rely " upon their generoſity, but not to yield themſelves up to " ſervitude. The requiſitions which you make, neither the " honour of Aetolia, nor the cuſtoms and laws of Greece, " will allow us to comply with."—" It is inſolent pre- " varication," anſwered the conſul, " to mention the ho- " nour of Aetolia! and the cuſtoms and laws of Greece! " It even deſerves that I ſhould command you to be put in " chains." He inſtantly ordered chains to be brought forward; but the repreſentations of his chief officers prevented him from violating the ſacred character of embaſſador; and a truce of ten days was granted, in order that the Aetolian deputies might lay the conſul's demands before the general aſſembly of their nation.

treats them contumeliouſly.

The Aetolians highly exaſperated;

The report made by the deputies, highly exaſperated the Aetolians, who ſeemed reſolved to ſubmit to every extremity rather than ſurrender their liberties to imperious Rome. What made them more determined, Polybius [28] informs us, was the favourable accounts brought by Nicander, one of their chiefs. He had been diſpatched to Antiochus, and returned in twelve days, with a conſiderable ſupply of money, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that early in the ſpring all the forces of Syria ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Aetolians. He added, that he had alſo had an interview with Philip, having, on his return, as he avoided the Roman camp, fallen in with a party of the Ma-

are encouraged in vigorous meaſures by expectations of ſuccours from Aſia,

and from Macedon:

[28] Ubi ſupra,

cedonian

Book VI. Sect. 2.

cedonian army. They carried him to their king; who not only set him at liberty, but employed him to inform the Aetolians of his friendly dispositions; that, although their imprudence in calling in foreign aid, first from Rome, and now from Asia, had occasioned the calamitous condition to which Greece was reduced, he nevertheless should forget the injuries he had sustained from them, and expected that they, in return, would bury in oblivion the enmity they bore to him.

are deceived.

THERE is reason to suspect the truth of this account of Philip. In his present situation, he had an opportunity of recovering much of what he had lost, and was apparently in high favour with the Romans; accordingly, he could hardly have entertained the thoughts here ascribed to him; or, if he had, would scarcely have disclosed them to a people with whom he had generally been on terms of hostility. Whatever may be in this, Nicander's purpose was answered. Ready to believe whatever flattered their hopes, the Aetolians determined to bid defiance to Rome, and drew all their forces to the city of Naupactus, which Acilius, with the whole consular army soon after invested.

Naupactus pressed by the Romans;

BUT, with whatever vigour the Aetolians exerted themselves, their bad fortune continued: the promised succours did not appear; and Naupactus, after a siege of two months, was reduced to the last extremity. Philip, meanwhile, was availing himself of the war, and, under pretence of fighting the battles of Rome, had possessed himself of Demetrias, and several considerable districts both in Epire and Thessaly.

Flamininus, who, ſince the flight of Antiochus, had taken up his reſidence at Chalcis, and was perfectly acquainted with the views of the ſenate in relation to Philip, ſaw with concern the re-eſtabliſhment of his power, and haſtened to the Roman camp [29], in order to induce the conſul to purſue different meaſures. "Do you know," ſaid he to Acilius, "how prejudicial to the intereſts of the republic your "conduct is? waſting your time in humbling the contemp-"tible Aetolians, whoſe ſubjection we can effect when we "pleaſe, you are ſuffering the Macedonian king, Rome's "moſt dangerous foe, to render himſelf more powerful "than ever." Acilius was ſoon convinced by the reaſoning of Flamininus; the only difficulty that remained, was to raiſe the ſiege without impeachment of the conſul's honour; and this difficulty Flamininus undertook to remove. The Aetolians had applied to him for his mediation; under colour of which, he adviſed them to ſue to the conſul for a truce, that they might ſend embaſſadors to Rome to implore the clemency of the ſenate. This requeſt he promiſed to ſupport; and, a ſuſpenſion of arms having accordingly taken place, Philip was obliged to diſcontinue his military operations.

Flamininus intercedes in its behalf;

his views;

prevails on the conſul to grant a truce.

THE ſequel of the fortunes of the Aetolians, till their final ſubjection to the Roman power, may, from it's connexion with the preceding narrative, not improperly be recorded here. At Rome their embaſſadors found little favour. The only conditions [30] they could obtain were, either to pay the republic a thouſand talents, a ſum which,

The Aetolians ſend embaſſadors to Rome;

treated with ſeverity;

[29] Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 34, 35.   [30] Polyb. Legat. xvi. Liv. L. xxxvii. c. 1.

they

they declared, far exceeded their abilities; and to have neither friend nor foe, but with the approbation of Rome; or, to submit to the pleasure of the senate. They desired to know, what they were to understand by "*submitting to the pleasure* "*of the senate*;" but a particular explanation was refused, and an implicit obedience to whatever orders the senate should be pleased to issue was peremptorily insisted upon. With this answer they returned home; and in this state of terror the Aetolians remained, uncertain of their future destiny, until the arrival of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the newly-elected consul, to whom the command in Greece and Asia had been assigned. To him they made their application [31], but without success, though the Athenians, and even Scipio Africanus, the consul's brother, interceded in their behalf. The severe terms, which the senate had decreed, he also pronounced; but, as a mighty favour, he granted a six months truce, that they might again prosecute their cause at Rome. In fact, this truce, whatever the Aetolians were made to believe, was not less agreeable to Scipio than to them. He was impatient to have the glory of passing into Asia, ground hitherto untrodden by any Roman general; and, if obstructed by an Aetolian war, he feared that he might lose, perhaps, the grand object of his pursuit.

return uncertain of their fate.

The Aetolian war renewed, upon various pretences.

THE day of Magnesia decided the fate of Antiochus; and the Romans were now at leisure to attend to the reduction of the Aetolians. These people had rendered themselves more obnoxious than ever. Whilst the Romans were employed in Asia, they had driven Philip not only out of some of

[31] Polyb. Legat. xvii.

their

their territories, in which he had established himself; but also from others, to which he had a good claim; and had besides recovered Athamania, and restored it to Amynander, to whom it legally belonged. The Romans, not ill-pleased that the power of Philip should be circumscribed, confirmed the kingdom of Athamania to Amynander; but at the same time declared their resentment at the Aetolians, whom they required to evacuate their conquests. What at the same time greatly hurt their cause, was the strange conduct of the embassadors they had sent to Rome [32]. They had circulated a report, that the Roman armies in Asia were defeated, and the two Scipios taken prisoners; and this piece of intelligence they urged as an argument to induce the Romans to grant the peace they applied for. The Roman indignation was provoked at this insult; the embassadors were ordered immediately to leave the city, with instructions to the Aetolians never to presume again to send plenipotentiaries to Rome, without the express permission of the Roman commander in Greece.

The consul Fulvius lays siege to Ambracia,

After the election of new consuls, the Aetolian war was allotted to Marcus Fulvius Nobilior [33]: who immediately prepared for the expedition; and began his operations with the siege of Ambracia [34]. Every thing that ingenuity could devise, or valour atchieve, was employed for the defence of this important place. But, deterred by no difficul-

[32] Liv. L. xxxvii. c. 48, 49. [33] Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 4 & seq.

[34] A strong city near the mouth of the Aracthus, on the borders of Epirus and Acarnania, formerly belonging to Epirus, but now held by the Aetolians, and the key to the Aetolian dominions.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

ties, the Romans persevered; when, far inferior to them, both in resources and numbers, the Ambraciots found themselves at last obliged to capitulate. The payment of five hundred Euboic talents was stipulated; two hundred down, the remaining three in six equal payments; and they were to deliver up to the consul, all the prisoners and deserters then in Ambracia [35]; on which terms the Aetolian garrison was permitted to march out unmolested. Amynander was of great service to the Romans on this occasion; he was again their faithful ally; and, to make amends for his late defection, had employed all his influence to bring about the capitulation.

which capitulates.

The Aetolians apply for mercy; and submit.

Alarmed at the progress of the Roman arms, the whole Aetolian nation [36] applied to the consul for mercy. The requisitions he made were nevertheless so humiliating, that the commissioners sent to treat with him, not thinking themselves authorized to agree to such hard conditions, returned for more full and explicit instructions. But a general despondency had now seized the Aetolians, and the

[35] It appears, nevertheless, (Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 43, 44) that Fulvius's proceedings against the Ambraciots, were afterwards disapproved of at Rome; whether upon a principle of justice, or, as Livy thinks, by the contrivance of the consul Aemilius and his party, to whom Fulvius was obnoxious, it is now difficult to determine. However, it was decreed by the senate, "that the Ambraciots should not "be considered as a conquered people—that they should have their laws and liberties restored to them, and enjoy again all tolls and customs formerly enjoyed "by them; the Romans only, with their Latin allies, not to be subject to the "payment of any such tolls, &c."—and "that as to the paintings and other "ornaments, of which their temples had been plundered, and which Fulvius had "sent away to Italy, it should be referred to the college of the priests to decide "about them."—What *their* decision was, may easily be conjectured.

[36] Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 8, 9.

commiſſioners were hurried back with orders to ſign whatever terms were dictated by the imperious conqueror. The moſt remarkable of theſe[37] were, " That *obſervance* ſhall be " paid to the *empire* and *majeſty* of the Roman people" (ſuch is the inſolence of victory) " throughout all Aetolia"— " that the friends and enemies of Rome ſhall be the friends " and enemies of Aetolia"—" that the Aetolians ſhall imme- " diately pay down to the conſul two hundred Euboic ta- " lents of ſilver, of the ſame fineneſs as the Attic ſtandard, with " permiſſion to pay the third part in gold, a minae of gold to " be accounted equal to ten minae of ſilver; to pay, beſides, a " tribute of fifty talents yearly for ſix years, which was to " be ſent to Rome at their own riſque and charges—that all " cities and countries, with their reſpective inhabitants, " which have formerly been ſubject to the Aetolians, and " have, ſince the time of Flamininus's conſulſhip, either " by conqueſt or voluntary ſurrender become ſubject to " Rome, ſhall from henceforth be deemed the property of " the Roman people; and the Aetolians ſhall relinquiſh all " claim to them" — " that they ſhall deliver into the " hands of the conſul, forty hoſtages, to be choſen by him, " none under twelve or above forty years of age; the chief " magiſtrate of Aetolia, the general of the horſe, and the " ſecretary of ſtate, to be excepted out of the number; and, " in caſe of the death of any hoſtage, another to be given " in his room."

The Roman ſenate, with difficulty, prevailed on to ratify the peace;

Even theſe conditions, when laid before them for approbation, the Roman ſenate refuſed at firſt to confirm; a ratifi-

[37] Polyb. Legat. xxviii. Liv. L. xxviii. c. 10, 11.

 cation

Book VI. Sect. 2.

cation being at length with difficulty obtained, by the intercession of several Roman patricians, and of the Rhodian and Athenian embassadors. Damis[38], the Athenian, more particularly distinguished himself on this occasion: "Whatever the Aetolians have been guilty of, is not," said he, "to be laid to the charge of the body of the Aetolian people. In all states, the multitude are like the sea: the sea, in its natural situation, is smooth and composed, and not dangerous to the navigator; but, when ruffled and agitated by storms, it becomes raging and tremendous. Thus the Aetolians, when left to themselves, were of all the Greeks the best affected to the interests of Rome, and ready to assist in all her enterprizes; but when a Thoas and a Dicaearchus from Asia, and a Menestas and a Damocritus from Europe, began to excite a ferment, and to throw the multitude into commotion, then boisterous councils and mad resolves naturally followed. Against the authors of these mischiefs pronounce, therefore, as you shall please, but let the multitude experience your clemency."

perform it at last, without any mitigation of terms.

Nevertheless, all the *clemency* obtained, was a confirmation of the consul's terms, without the least mitigation.

This treatment of a people who were the first that opened Greece to the Romans, harsh as it may appear, was exceedingly merciful when compared with what followed, when the final overthrow of the royal house of Macedon left

[38] Livy calls him Leon.

Rome

Rome at liberty to avow the genius of her empire. That transaction shall have its place hereafter.

The Romans jealous of Achaia and Macedon.

THE most important business the Romans had now in contemplation in Greece, was to reduce, within narrower limits, the power of the Macedonian king, and the republic of Achaia which had acquired a formidable encrease of territory during the late Syrian and Aetolian wars. The Achaeans, as we have already observed, were masters at present of all Peloponnesus; and Philip had not only recovered most of those provinces of which his wars with Rome had deprived him, but had also made other considerable acquisitions[39]. The designs upon these allies was a matter to be managed with the greatest delicacy. Both states had been firm in the interests of Rome, and several of the Roman commanders had spoken highly of the support they had received from them. To repay their services with distrust and acts of hostility, because they were no longer necessary, had been to avow the very purposes which Rome was industrious to conceal. The political form of government which prevailed throughout Greece, afforded to the Romans the wished-for opportunity. Though confederated with Achaia, the Peloponnesian cities retained each of them peculiar privileges, and a kind of independent sovereignty, which naturally gave rise to many jealousies and contests. In like manner, Philip had but a limited authority in most of the Grecian states over which he had established his dominion; his title to some of them was controverted, and much was to be done

[39] See Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 33, 34.

before

Book VI. Sect. 2.

before the rights of the numerous claimants could be adjusted. The Romans ſaw what advantages were to be derived from theſe particular circumſtances, and took their meaſures accordingly.

Artifice uſed in reducing the power of Achaia.

They began with Achaia. Fulvius, when peace was concluded with Aetolia, had adjudged the iſland Cephalenia to Rome, and fixed his reſidence there, to be at hand to decide whatever diſputes ſhould ariſe between the Grecian cities; that iſland being divided from the coaſt of Peloponneſus by an arm of the ſea only twenty-four miles over, from whence an eaſy paſſage lay open into that country. Upon the firſt diſpute, therefore, in Achaia, he paſſed over [40] into Peloponneſus. The general convention of the Achaean ſtates had, from antient time, been held at Aegium; but Philopoemen, now chief magiſtrate of Achaia, having thought fit to divide among all the cities of the Achaean league, the advanvantages which thoſe aſſemblies brought to the place where they were held, had named Argos for the next ſucceeding diet. This innovation the inhabitants of Aegium oppoſed, and applied to the Roman conſul for his determination. The conſul, it appears, behaved on this occaſion in the moſt cautious manner. He favoured, as Livy tells us, the cauſe of the Aegienſes: but finding a great majority to be againſt them, he concealed his private ſentiments, and made no oppoſition to the appointment of Philopoemen. He had gained, however, the main point he had in view; an appeal had been made to him, and the judicial authority of

[40] Liv. L. xxxviii. c. 30 & ſeq.

Rome

Rome over the Peloponnesian ſtates was thus virtually acknowledged. Book VI. Sect. 2.

A cause of much greater moment ſoon preſented itſelf. The Lacedemonian exiles, who had been expelled in the days of the tyrants, and who on account of the domeſtic feuds ſtill prevailing in Lacedemon, had never been reſtored, reſided in certain towns along the coaſt of Laconia, under the protection of Achaean garriſons. The inhabitants of Lacedemon, thus cut off from all intercourſe with the ſea-coaſt, bore the reſtraint impatiently; and to free themſelves from it, attacked, in the night-time, one of the maritime towns called Las, but were repulſed by the exiles with the aſſiſtance of the Achaean ſoldiery. Philopoemen, who was ſtill at the head of the Achaean commonwealth, having convened an aſſembly, repreſented this attempt upon Las as an inſult to the whole Achaean body, and obtained a decree, commanding the Lacedemonians to deliver up the authors of that outrage, on pain of being treated as enemies. Proper officers were ſent to Lacedemon, to notify the decree. But this ſtep ſerved only to exaſperate the Lacedemonians. They immediately put thirty citizens to death, who were known to be in the Achaean intereſt, diſſolved their alliance with Achaia, and ſent embaſſadors to Fulvius, entreating him to come and take poſſeſſion of their city. To revenge this inſult, Philopoemen declared war againſt Lacedemon, and though the ſeaſon was far advanced, entered the Lacedemonian territory, ſpreading devaſtation wherever he came.

Caſe of the Lacedemonian exiles; inſulted by the Lacedemonians. Philopoemen eſpouſes their cauſe, and obtains a decree in their favour. Lacedemonians refuſe to obey the decree; offer their city to the Romans. Philopoemen enters Laconia, and lays it waſte.

On

On the return of ſpring, both ſides ſtill remaining exceedingly exaſperated, Fulvius croſſed over into Peloponneſus, and demanded that an aſſembly ſhould be convened at Elis, in order to diſcuſs the pretenſions of Achaia over Lacedemon. After hearing both parties, unable, or perhaps unwilling, to bring the perplexed claims to a final deciſion, he adviſed them to ſend embaſſadors to Rome, and while the cauſe was depending, to ſuſpend hoſtilities.

Both parties ſend embaſſadors to Rome;

They complied; the Achaeans ſending as their deputies, Lycortas the father of Polybius, who, as a ſpirited aſſerter of the liberties of Achaia, was ſtrenuous in the ſupport of Philopoemen's meaſures, and Diophanes, a man in appearance of moderate counſels, but in fact devoted to the intereſts of Rome. Diophanes, accordingly, in his application to the ſenate, referred the deciſion of the cauſe wholly to their arbitration; whilſt Lycortas, on the contrary, maintained the decree of Philopoemen, which, he aſſerted, could not be reverſed without making void the regulations of Flamininus, who had committed to Achaia the protection of the ſea-coaſt.

the inſidious anſwer received.

The ſubtle Romans, however, ſecretly pleaſed to ſee the confederates of Achaia in arms againſt her, framed their anſwer in ſuch ambiguous terms as left the matter juſt as they found it; the Lacedemonians inſiſting, that the determination was in their favour; while the contrary was as ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by the Achaeans.

Philopoemen marches to Lacedemon;

The conſequence was, that Philopoemen, who had been re-elected chief magiſtrate, marched to Lacedemon, and demanded by name the authors of the attempt upon Las; promiſing at the ſame time that they ſhould not be condemned unheard. Truſting to this promiſe, theſe men ſet out

out for the Achaean camp, attended by the chief citizens of Lacedemon, who considered their cause as a national concern. But as they entered the camp, they were insulted with reproaches by the exiles, who having engaged the Achaean soldiers in their quarrel, suddenly attacked them with such fury, that seventeen were killed upon the spot: the remainder, sixty-three in number, were rescued with difficulty by Philopoemen, not in order to save them, but that it might not be said, they had been put to death without trial. Next morning being accordingly produced before the multitude, they were condemned, and executed, being hardly allowed the semblance of a defence. This severe proceeding struck the Lacedemonians with such a panic, that they surrendered at discretion; and Philopoemen, resolving to humble them effectually, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm. He commanded them, "to demolish their walls, to disband their mercenaries, to expel the slaves whom the tyrants had enfranchised, to restore the exiles, and to renounce the laws of Lycurgus; the laws of Achaia being to be considered from that time as the laws by which Lacedemon was to be governed[41]."

His cruel treatment of the Lacedemonians.

PHILOPOEMEN's conduct on this occasion (such are the fatal violences into which the spirit of dominion, success, and revenge, are apt to betray us!) was certainly cruel; and, in regard to those whom he had abandoned to the fury of the exiles, highly perfidious. The Romans, however, shewed nothing of that vigour in behalf of this oppressed people, which they had often displayed in more

The conduct of the Romans on this occasion;

[41] See Plut. in Philopoemen.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

trifling matters. Though a ſolemn appeal had been made by the Lacedemonians to Rome, the Roman conſul, Lepidus, contented himſelf with coolly informing the Achaeans, that the ſenate did not approve of theſe ſevere proceedings. And Nicodemus of Elis, having been deputed from the Achaean diet to juſtify what had been done, received for anſwer, "that Rome was not pleaſed with the "ſubverſion of the Spartan government, but did not an-"nul what the Achaeans had decreed [42]."

and why.

The infant ſtate of the Roman empire in Aſia, and the attention required in marking the deſigns and controlling the power of thoſe ſtates that bordered on the dominions lately belonging to Antiochus, produced this temporiſing policy. Macedon, beſides, was again growing formidable; and the Romans were cautious of provoking Achaia, who, had ſhe at this period boldly declared againſt Rome, had probably united in her cauſe not only the greater part of Greece, but many of the neighbouring potentates. Such, at this time was the reputation of the Achaean republic, that her friendſhip was courted [43] by the kings of Pergamus and Egypt. And ſoon after, Seleucus, having ſucceeded to the throne of Syria upon the death of his father Antiochus, ſent embaſſadors to the Achaean ſtates, to ſolicit their alliance. Eumenes even propoſed a ſubſidy of an hundred and twenty talents, towards the eſtabliſhment of a fund for the ſupport of the members of the general aſſembly. Ptolemy preſented them with ſix thouſand ſhields and two hundred talents; and Seleucus of-

The republic of Achaia high in reputation at this period; her friendſhip courted by the kings of Pergamus, Egypt, and Syria.

[42] Polyb. Legat. xxxvii. 41.

[43] Polyb. Legat. 41.

fered

fered them ten ſhips of war completely equipped. The preſent from Ptolemy was the only one accepted; to Eumenes particularly they returned an anſwer worthy of a free republic, "that they were rather to deem him "an enemy, ſince he ſought to corrupt the members of "that venerable aſſembly; which he would not have attempted, had he not entertained views unfriendly to the "liberties of Achaia."

The Romans deal craftily with the Achaeans.

Though Rome in the preſent ſituation of her affairs found it neceſſary to diſſemble, ſhe was not inattentive to the councils of a ſtate, whoſe riſing importance ſhe beheld with a jealous eye. Caecilius, who, with two other commiſſioners, had been ſent to viſit Macedon, had orders in his return to paſs through Achaia, and to employ himſelf in ſupporting the cauſe of Sparta, as the moſt effectual means of diminiſhing the conſequence of the Achaean confederacy. At the ſame time Rome had taken care to gain over a party among the Achaeans themſelves, to oppoſe Philopoemen, and ſupplant him if an opportunity offered. Among theſe was Diophanes already mentioned, and Ariſtaenus, now firſt magiſtrate of the Achaean ſtates, who diſplayed a ſtriking ſpecimen of his intriguing genius, in rendering abortive the purpoſed alliance with Ptolemy. We have an account of this tranſaction from Polybius[44]. It had been carried in the general aſſembly, "that the treaty "of alliance with the Egyptian king ſhould be renewed." To elude therefore the force of a reſolution which interfered with the purpoſes of Rome, Ariſtaenus produced a

[44] Ubi ſup.

 number

Book VI. Sect. 2.

number of treaties made at different periods between the Achaeans and Egypt, and desired to be informed to which of these the resolution referred; and thus, by perplexing the question, contrived that nothing should be done.

Caecilius pleads the cause of Lacedemon;

CAECILIUS shewed considerable ability in the execution of his commission. Having obtained an audience of the council, he complained of the treatment the Lacedemonians had received, but rather in the language of expostulation; tempering his censures with high encomiums on the wisdom of their government, and their zeal for the prosperity of their country. Aristaenus, general of the year, with whom probably the whole matter had been previously concerted, made no reply, as if he acknowledged by his silence, that the conduct of Achaia towards the Lacedemonians did not admit of a justification. Diophanes, however, went farther. He made a formal charge against Philopoemen; imputing to him not only the ruin of Lacedemon, but the violent measures also which Achaia had lately adopted, particularly the unjust and severe treatment of the Messenian exiles, who had not been restored, as Flamininus had ordained; and this oppression of the Messenians, he represented as the crime of Philopoemen alone.

is disappointed;

demands the national diet to be convened;

PHILOPOEMEN did not want spirit to defend himself; and he was so effectually supported by Lycortas and other Achaean chiefs, that notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman party, it was resolved, "that nothing should be "altered in the decrees, which the Achaean states had en-"acted;" and "that this answer should be given to Cae-"cilius." Highly exasperated, he then desired, that the national

national diet should be convened. But to this it was replied, that by the laws of Achaia he must produce a letter from the senate of Rome authorising his request: and as he had no such document, he was obliged to return home, with the mortification that always attends defeated projects; and with the additional regret of being baffled by men he held in contempt.

is refused.

The Achaeans nevertheless thought it necessary, that their embassadors[45] should immediately follow him to Rome, and lay before the senate, their reasons for not complying with his requisition. They had hardly arrived, when embassadors from Sparta also appeared. What was yet more surprising, the persons employed in this embassy were Areus and Alcibiades, two of those very exiles lately restored to their country by means of Philopoemen, an action now imputed to him as a crime. These ungrateful men, either to ingratiate themselves with their fellow-citizens, or stimulated by Rome, had undertaken to plead the cause of Sparta. They made accordingly a most affecting representation of the condition to which Lacedemon, once the pride of Greece, was now reduced; her walls laid in ruins, her citizens led into slavery, and the sacred laws of Lycurgus abolished; and concluded by praying the Romans to extend their protection to this afflicted people, and to relieve them from despotism and oppression.

Embassadors sent to Rome from Achaia and from Lacedemon.

A suit so congenial with the designs of Rome, easily found attention and favour. It was decreed, that three com-

Commissioners appointed by the Roman se-

[45] Polyb. Legat. xlii.

missioners

Book VI. Sect. 2.

nate, to decide between Achaia and Sparta.

missioners should be sent to the Achaean diet, in order to determine upon the spot, all matters in dispute between Achaia and the Spartans: and that the Achaeans should be required to convene their general assembly whenever the demand was made by a Roman embassador; as the senate, on their part, admitted the Achaeans to an audience as often as they desired it[46].

Indignation, and angry resolutions of the general assembly of Achaia.

When the Achaeans received an account of these proceedings, they could not suppress their indignation. The general assembly was instantly called together; in which it was resolved, "that the Spartans, by their appeal to Rome, had "departed from their plighted allegiance to the Achaean "states; that Areus and Alcibiades were therefore in rebellion against their rightful lords, and should be adjudged to death."

These resolutions, the passionate ebullitions of an impetuous multitude, were as vain as they were intemperate. Areus and Alcibiades, protected by Rome, were beyond their reach, bidding defiance to a power from which, in other circumstances, they had every thing to fear.

The commissioners arrive;

Scarcely was the decree enacted, when the Roman commissioners[47], at the head of whom was Appius Claudius, arrived at Cleitor in Arcadia, where the Achaean states had been convened; and, what was most mortifying to those people, Areus and Alcibiades accompanied them. The gloomy apprehensions to which this circumstance gave

[46] Polyb. Legat. xlii. [47] Polyb. Legat. xliii. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 35, 36, 37.

rise,

Book VI. Sect. 2.

riſe, were fully juſtified by the ſequel. The commiſſioners entered the diet, not as miniſters deputed to deliberate with a free ſtate, but rather as judges, inveſted with full authority to paſs ſentence, and to puniſh. "You have "incurred," ſaid Appius, "the diſpleaſure of the Roman "ſenate, by your meaſures: you have perfidiouſly murdered "thoſe Spartans who, on the faith of Philopoemen, had "delivered themſelves into your hands: and, as if this were "unimportant, you afterwards demoliſhed the walls of that "antient city Lacedemon; you deprived her of her laws, "and you deprived her of that diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, which for many ages had been her ſtrength and "her glory."

open their charge with great haughtineſs.

But neither the haughty port theſe Roman commiſſioners aſſumed, nor the imperious language which they held, could ſubdue the ſpirit of Lycortas. He was the friend of Philopoemen, coadjutor in all his councils, and at this time firſt magiſtrate of Achaia. From his reply, (which Livy[48], ſurely a competent witneſs, has preſerved to us) the pretenſions of Rome, as well as their foundation, may be eaſily perceived. "The ſupport which the Achaeans had afforded to the Spartan exiles," he told Appius, "was in conſequence of the alliance Achaia had entered into with Rome; Rome had conſigned them to her protection, and, the more effectually to protect them, the Achaeans had taken up arms againſt the inhabitants of Lacedemon: that, with regard to the ſlaughter of the Lacedemonians who had ſurrendered, the Achaeans were guiltleſs; it was the

Spirited anſwer of Lycortas.

[48] Ubi ſup.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

act of those very exiles, whose cause the Romans were now patronizing, Areus and Alcibiades being bound to answer for that violence, if such it was to be called. In regard to the demolition of the walls of Lacedemon, which the Achaeans acknowledged to be their act, the Spartans, far from complaining on that account, rather owed them thanks; those walls were indeed the disgrace of Sparta, monuments of her servitude, raised in express violation of the institutions of Lycurgus, by the tyrants who had ruled over her, and which that lawgiver, were he to revisit the earth, would rejoice to see in ruins. That the laws of Lycurgus, of which Achaia was said to have deprived her, had, by the management of those tyrants, long since ceased to exist in force, or even to be known in Sparta: the Achaeans finding therefore the bands of government dissolved, and her polity in ruin, had admitted her to a participation of the laws and privileges enjoyed by the whole Achaean body."—" It " is, however," continued he, " just matter of surprize to " the Achaeans, that they, a free and independent state, " and in alliance with Rome, should thus be called upon " to account for their actions, as if they were not the " confederates but the slaves of Rome. If the voice of " the herald that proclaimed liberty to Greece, meant " any thing; if the league that subsists between us, is " not an illusion; and if the rights of friendship and alli- " ance are to be held mutually sacred; why may not we as " well scrutinize your proceedings in Italy, as you decide " upon our transactions in Greece? Admit, then, that " we have sacrificed some Lacedemonians to our resentment, " has your treatment of Capua's senators been less severe? " or say, that we have levelled the walls of Lacedemon,

Book VI. Sect. 2.

" has not Capua not only beheld her walls in ruins, but her " territories, her ſole means of ſubſiſtence, ſwallowed up by " Roman rapacity? We ſhall, perhaps, be told, that what " freedom remains to us is only in name, and that, in rea- " lity, we are the ſlaves of Rome: I know it well, Appius; " and if I muſt ſuppreſs my indignation at the thought, I " will. Let me, nevertheleſs, conjure you, however great " the diſtance is between the Romans and the Achaeans, not " to ſhew a more jealous ſolicitude for the privileges of our " common enemies than for thoſe of your own allies. To " bring the Lacedemonians to a level with ourſelves, we " wiſhed them to be governed by the ſame laws: they " want more; though vanquiſhed, they refuſe to ſubmit " to regulations with which the victors themſelves are " ſatisfied; and they require us to infringe compacts, which " we have ſworn not to violate. No, Romans; we ho- " nour you, and, if you will ſo have it, we fear you; " but we honour more, we fear more, the immortal " Gods!"

Reply of the commiſſioner Appius.

Appius avoided entering into the diſcuſſion of arguments, which probably he could not anſwer; he contented himſelf with this haughty reply: " A voluntary compliance is " more eligible than that which is extorted by force." At theſe words, a deep groan, the voice of an injured and an oppreſſed people, was heard to iſſue from every part of the aſſembly. But they felt the inequality of the conteſt, and that all reſiſtance would be vain. The following humiliating requeſt to the commiſſioners was therefore the ſole reſult of their deliberations: " that the Romans themſelves would

The expedient which the Achaeans wiſely employed;

" reſcind

Book VI. Sect. 2.

"rescind whatever part of the decrees of the Achaean diet "they wished to have rescinded, and not require a free "people to annul what they had sworn to observe." This apparent submission seems to have softened Appius; he only reversed the decree pronounced against Areus and Alcibiades; and referred them, respecting all other matters, to the pleasure of the senate. It appears as if the senate themselves thought it dangerous, in the present situation of their affairs, to exasperate the Achaeans farther. They seem to have done little more than copy the decision of their commissioners, by decreeing, that those who had been condemned by the Achaeans should be restored, and all sentences repealed that had been pronounced in the assembly of Achaia, against Lacedemon. They only added, by way of softening these stern injunctions, "that for the future, the Lacedemonians should be deemed members of the Achaean league, and be subject to its regulations[49]."

its effect.

Some other device was now to be employed; of which Rome, however, might seem innocent, and which at the same time might still more effectually humble the importance of these high-spirited republicans. The Messenians formed a considerable part of the Achaean body: a plan was formed to detach them from the league; and the execution was committed to Dinocrates, a Messenian leader, bustling and bold, in the confidence of Flamininus, a foe of course to Philopoemen, and ready to engage in any hostile enterprize against the Achaean generals. Philopoemen[50],

The Messenians revolt:

[49] Liv. L. xxxix. c. 48.

[50] Ibid. c. 49, 50. Plutarch in Philopoem.

now

now for the eighth time chief magiſtrate of Achaia, no ſooner had advice of the movements of the Meſſenians, than, though ill of a fever, he mounted his horſe, and being joined by Lycortas, with ſome Megalopolitan cavalry, advanced to Carone, a fortreſs belonging to the Meſſenians; but finding the enemy already in poſſeſſion of it, he marched towards Meſſene, their capital, with the view of taking it by ſurpriſe. On his march he was met by Dinocrates, at the head of a ſmall detachment, whom he charged, and defeated; when, unexpectedly, a body of five hundred horſe came up to the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians, who attacking the Achaeans in their turn, forced them to give way. Philopoemen excelled in this branch of the military art; he commanded his men to retreat through defiles and hollow grounds, where the enemy muſt purſue with diſadvantage, he himſelf covering the rear, and repeatedly facing about to repel the attacks of the purſuers. At length his horſe, entangled in rocky ground, ſtumbled and fell; and the venerable Philopoemen, now in his ſeventieth year, weak, at the ſame time, from his late illneſs, and exhauſted by the fatigue of the day, unable by exertion to overcome the ſhock, remained ſtunned and ſenſeleſs on the ground. He was immediately ſurrounded by Dinocrates and his Meſſenians, who, proud of their captive, the champion of Achaia, entered the city in triumph. The ſight, nevertheleſs, excited the compaſſion of the multitude; they remembered Philopoemen's great exploits, and what Meſſenia in particular, when oppreſſed by the Spartan tyrant, owed to his gallantry. Thus, inſtead of an *enemy*, they beheld in him the *deliverer* of their country. Dinocrates and his faction, whoſe purpoſe it

Philopoemen marches againſt them;

falls into their hands.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

it was to break the ſtrength of the Achaeans by depriving them of their gallant general, beginning to dread the reſult of theſe workings of compaſſion, next morning commanded the executioner to deſcend into the ſubterraneous vault where Philopoemen was impriſoned, and put him to death.

His magnanimity,

When the brave Achaean ſaw him enter with the fatal bowl in his hand, raiſing himſelf up, though with difficulty, "Canſt thou," ſaid he, "inform me of the fate of Lycortas, "and the young men with him?" the executioner anſwering, they were ſafe; "then," replied Philopoemen, taking the bowl with a chearful countenance, "we are not altogether wretched;" and having drank the deadly draught, ſoon after expired.

and death.

The Achaeans complain to Rome,

When the Achaeans were informed of this baſe tranſaction, they were fired with indignation. Lycortas, now appointed chief magiſtrate in the place of Philopoemen, immediately ſent a formal complaint to Rome againſt the Meſſenians, and at the ſame time demanded that aſſiſtance which the Romans, by treaty, were bound to furniſh.

and are anſwered with perfidiouſneſs.

The anſwer was worthy of the policy of Rome. The Achaeans were told, "that ſhould even the Lacedemonians, or the Corinthians, or the Argives, ſeparate themſelves from the Achaean confederacy, the Achaeans were not to wonder if Rome looked upon it as a matter that noway concerned her." Had Rome expreſsly invited all Peloponneſus to diſclaim farther dependence on Achaia, ſhe could not have ſpoken plainer [51].

[51] See Polyb. Legat. li.

THE

THE Achaeans were ſtill more exaſperated by this perfidious declaration. They inſtantly flew to arms; and, led on by Lycortas, marched to Meſſene [52], threatening deſtruction to that city, unleſs all who had ſhared in the guilt of Philopoemen's murder were delivered into their hands. The Meſſenians, who in general highly diſapproved of Philopoemen's inhuman execution, gladly accepted of the conditions. Dinocrates, unable to ſupport the idea of falling into the power of this enraged people, laid violent hands on himſelf: ſeveral of his aſſociates followed his example; and the reſt being abandoned to the vengeance of the Achaeans, were ſtoned at the tomb of Philopoemen. The obſequies of their favourite general they celebrated with the greateſt ſplendour, and the moſt paſſionate lamentations; Polybius the hiſtorian, ſon to Lycortas, ſurrounded by the principal nobility of Achaia, bearing his urn; and not only the army, but the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns, attending the funeral proceſſion from Meſſene to his native city, Megalopolis, where his aſhes were depoſited. He was accounted by the Romans themſelves, according to Plutarch [53], the laſt of the Greeks. He certainly was the moſt able as well as the moſt zealous defender of Grecian liberties, from the time Rome began to extend her influence over this ill-fated people. It appears, that his countrymen carried even their veneration for his memory ſo far, as to pay him divine honours.

Reſentment of the Achaeans; they revenge Philopoemen's death.

WHEN the Romans found the bad ſucceſs which had attended the revolt of Meſſenia, they changed their tone;

Duplicity of the Romans.

[52] Polyb. Legat. lii. Plutarch in Philopoemen.

[53] In Arato.

applauding

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

applauding the Achaeans for having revenged the death of Philopoemen, and assuring their embassadors of the particular care the senate had taken, that neither arms nor provisions should be sent from Italy to their enemies [54]. But this applause and friendly professions the Achaeans estimated at their real value.

Flamininus suspected of having a share in the guilt of Philopoemen's murder;

WE have not sufficient authority from history to say how far Flamininus was concerned in this criminal transaction, in which he seems to have acted a part. Dinocrates was confessedly his creature; and in exciting [55] the Messenians to revolt, acted, it appears evidently, with his privity, if not by his instigation. Flamininus, besides, hated Philopoemen, both as a man whose unseasonable loyalty to his country obstructed the views of Rome, and as his rival in military glory. Whether his instructions to Dinocrates pointed to the execution of Philopoemen, is a circumstance impossible now to be determined; but had not the Messenian expected that Rome would not disavow the action, he probably had not embrued his hands in the blood of that great man. It is recorded by Polybius [56], that Flamininus had, before this period, in conjunction with Dinocrates, formed a plan to throw the Achaean councils into confusion, by supporting the Messenian interest in opposition to that of Achaia; and in order to try his influence among the Peloponnesian

[54] Polyb. Legat. li.

[55] It is remarkable, that Livy (L. xxxix. c. 48.) makes slight mention of this revolt; into the causes and progress of which, he says he will not inquire, as being a matter altogether foreign to his object, the history of the Roman people.

[56] See Polyb. Legat. xlvii. See also De vict. et vitiis, p. 1435.

ſtates, had required a general aſſembly to be convened. But Philopoemen, at that time chief magiſtrate, ſuſpecting ſome ſiniſter deſign, demanded that he ſhould firſt ſignify in writing, what was to be the buſineſs of this convention. As the Roman would not comply with this requiſition, Philopoemen refuſed his requeſt.

But the behaviour of Flamininus bears a more unfavourable aſpect, from the recollection that he himſelf had adjudged[57] Meſſenia to the Achaeans; and in conſequence of this deciſion, had afterwards prevailed on them to cede Zacynthus to the Romans[58]. The argument he employed on this occaſion, deſerves notice. "Achaia," ſaid he to them, "is a kind of tortoiſe, around which nature has placed "a ſhell by way of armour; and if it thruſts out its "head or feet beyond this armour, it is in danger of re- "ceiving injury. Your frontier cities, O Achaeans! are "your ſhell, your natural defence: but whatever acqui- "ſitions you make beyond the continent, thoſe are the "parts which lying without your ſhell, are expoſed to "inſult, and which are not to be ſecured without an ex- "pence far greater than their real worth." The ſhrewdneſs of the obſervation, aided by thoſe arts of intrigue in which he excelled, ſecured the wiſhed-for ſucceſs.

57 Liv. L. xxxvi. c. 31, 32.

58 An iſland lying between Sicily and Peloponneſus, which the Achaeans had lately purchaſed, and from its ſituation, of conſiderable importance to Rome.

But

Book VI. Sect. 2.

his base treatment of Hannibal.

But the part, which Flamininus acted in relation to Hannibal[59], who died the same year with Philopoemen, evinces, that this commander, the boasted favourite of Roman historians, possessed little of that noble generosity of spirit, by which the brave are generally distinguished. After the total overthrow of Antiochus, the Carthaginian, fearing he should be given up to his enemies, had retired to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia, who promised him protection. Flamininus being on an embassy to the Bithynian monarch, in order to negotiate a peace between him and the king of Pergamus, took this opportunity, either in consequence of secret instructions from the senate, or from a mean passion for fame, as Plutarch thinks, to demand, that Hannibal should be delivered into his hands. Prusias at first, according to the last-mentioned historian, earnestly pleaded the rights of hospitality and his plighted faith, of which so dishonourable an action would be an avowed violation. But the Roman, regardless of such considerations, persisted in his demand; and the dastardly Prusias at length agreed to comply. Hannibal, who had but slight dependence on the Bithynian's honour, and, from the time of Flamininus's arrival, suspected the object and result of his machinations, had contrived in the castle of Libyssa, where he resided, subterraneous passages, to favour his escape in case of danger; when having information that his castle was surrounded by soldiers, he had recourse to these secret outlets: but finding them all guarded, and no hope of escaping, he at once formed his

[59] Liv. L. xxxix. c. 51. Plut. in Flaminino.

Book VI. Sect. 2.

resolution. Taking then in his hand the cup which contained the ingredients, long before prepared for such an occasion, "Let us," said he, "deliver Rome from her "perpetual disquietude, since she thinks it tedious to wait "for the death of a poor yet dreaded old man. What a "change in Roman manners! their fathers warned Pyr-"rhus, even when in arms against them, of the poison "that was treacherously prepared for him; while their "degenerate sons are not ashamed of employing their em-"bassador, a man of consular dignity, to prevail on the "perfidious Prusias to give up a guest to whom he had "promised protection." Then invoking the gods to take vengeance on Prusias and his kingdom for his violation of hospitality, he swallowed the fatal draught, and expired. When an account of this transaction reached the senate, several members of that august body, Plutarch tells us, expressed the highest displeasure at a conduct which disgraced not only Flamininus but the Roman name.

After an instance so notorious, the decision is obvious with regard to the character of this conqueror of Greece.

His flagitious treatment of Cato.

His conduct to the virtuous Cato was not less dishonourably mean; and though foreign to the present history, it may, further to illustrate the character of this celebrated general, not improperly find a place here. Lucius, brother to Titus Quintius Flamininus, had been guilty of a crime of the blackest die [69]. A favourite boy whom he had carried with him into his province of Gaul, was reproaching him, in the hours of dalliance, for taking him from Rome

[69] Liv. L. xxxix. c. 42. Plut. in Flaminino.

P just

Book VI. Sect. 2.

just before a shew of gladiators was to have been exhibited, and thereby depriving him of the pleasure of seeing a man killed; a sight which he most ardently desired. At that instant the proconsul was informed, a Boian Gaul, a man of distinction in his own country, was come to take the oaths of allegiance to Rome, and with his wife and children waited without. He immediately ordered him to be admitted. And turning to his pathic, "to satisfy thy longing, wilt "thou then," said he, "that I shew thee this Gaul in "the agonies of death? so saying, with his own hands he stabbed the unsuspecting Boian. This flagitious action came to the knowledge of Cato, who, when censor, charged Lucius with it, and the fact being fully proved, degraded him from the senatorial dignity, notwithstanding the most earnest solicitations of his brother and his powerful relations. In revenge, Titus pursued Cato with unrelenting animosity. He leagued against him with his inveterate enemies. By means of a corrupt majority, which he had acquired in the senate, he annulled all contracts, leases, and bargains, which Cato had entered into relative to the public revenue; not on account of any defect, but merely because Cato had made them: and he took every opportunity, upon the slightest grounds, of harrassing him with frivolous and vexatious prosecutions.

Wretched Greece! what had she to expect from an administration directed by men of the character we have described! And yet of all the Romans to whom the care of Grecian affairs were committed, one of the most humane, says history[61], was Titus Quintius Flamininus!

[61] See Plutarch, Parallel. Philopoem. & Flaminin.

BOOK VI.

SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

Injurious conduct of the Romans to Philip of Macedon—he is required to evacuate Aenos and Maronea—his violent resentment—causes the Maronites to be maſſacred—is threatened by the Romans—ſends his ſon Demetrius to Rome—his ſucceſs.—Philip's ſuſpicions of the connections Demetrius had formed in Rome—encouraged in his ſuſpicions by Perſeus—is impoſed upon by a forgery—believes Demetrius guilty of deſigns againſt his crown and life—cauſes him to be put to death—diſcovers his innocence—dies of a broken heart.—His character.

WE are now to view the affairs of Macedon during the period of which we have been ſpeaking. Book VI. Sect. 3.

Rome jealous, as we have ſeen, of the encreaſe of dominion which Philip had acquired in the courſe of the late wars, ſeized every opportunity of confining him within narrower limits. Athamania had already been wreſted from The Romans jealous of Philip;

from him, a few inconſiderable fortreſſes excepted, under pretence of reſtoring it to its lawful prince. Thoſe cantons of Theſſaly, in which he had re-eſtabliſhed his authority, were now encouraged to aſſert their independence; and whatever violence, either here or in the countries adjacent, the Macedonian king had committed whilſt employing his arms on the ſide of Rome, though perhaps nothing more than the natural conſequences of war, were brought into account againſt him, as wanton outrages for which reparation was to be exacted. Even thoſe parts of Thrace which, chiefly through his means, had been recovered from Antiochus, and to which the Macedonian kings had antient pretenſions, were demanded by Eumenes of Pergamus. A large portion of it had been already decreed to Eumenes, by the ten commiſſioners employed after the battle of Magneſia, in the partition of the provinces of Antiochus in Europe and the Lower Aſia: but not content with this acquiſition he now demanded more.

appoint commiſſioners to ſettle differences.

To all claimants againſt the Macedonian monarch the Romans gave a favourable hearing. And, as if they had nothing more in view than to make an equitable ſettlement among all parties, they appointed[1] three commiſſioners, Quintus Caecilius, Marcus Baebius, and Tiberius Sempronius, to paſs into Greece, where they were to erect themſelves into a court of judicature, and to decide upon all differences between Macedon and her adverſaries. With this procedure, doubtleſs exceedingly humiliating to a prince not yet deprived of ſovereign power, and ſtill oſtenſibly numbered

[1] Polyb. Legat. xl. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 24 & ſeq.

bered among the faithful allies of Rome, Philip found it expedient to comply. He attended the commiſſioners in their progreſs through Theſſaly; and, however unable at times to ſuppreſs his indignation, diſdained not to put in anſwers to the various demands which intereſt or reſentment urged againſt him. "The Theſſalians, he ſtated, far from having any thing to lay juſtly to his charge, had been guilty of many acts of violence againſt Macedon; and, without the leaſt title, had deprived him of ſeveral cities, which he either poſſeſſed by inheritance; or, by expreſs ſtipulation with the Roman conſul, had won with his ſword, from the Aetolians and Athamanes then in arms againſt Rome."—"They complain," he continued, "that I "have diverted the courſe of commerce from Thebes of "Pthiotis, whilſt in my poſſeſſion, to Demetrias. But "when was it accounted criminal in a prince, to open a "new channel of trade? or to allow mariners the choice "of their port? They accuſe me of preparing an ambuſcade "for certain deputies ſent with their complaints to the "Roman commander. In conſequence of this pretended "ambuſcade, let me know what injury theſe deputies have "ſuſtained? In truth, the liberty you have beſtowed on "theſe Theſſalians has taught them inſolence: like ſlaves "newly manumitted, they pride themſelves in the exerciſe "of their petulance againſt thoſe who lately ruled over "them. *But*," added he, with an energy the reſult of various feelings, "*the ſun of all my days has not yet ſet.*"—Notwithſtanding, however, this ſpirited defence, the commiſſioners decreed, that the Macedonian garriſons ſhould immediately evacuate the ſeveral towns and caſtles in queſtion, and that

Philip's ſpirited defence;

diſregarded.

Book VI. Sect. 3.

that Philip ſhould withdraw northward within the ancient boundaries of Macedon.

From Theſſaly the Roman commiſſioners proceeded to Theſſalonica, to adjuſt the ſettlement of Thrace, where the more important object of contention lay.[1] Philip had extended himſelf on this ſide with great ſucceſs; and, beſides a large portion of territory, had got poſſeſſion of Aenos and Maronea, two cities on the Helleſpont, which from their maritime ſituation afforded their ſovereign many valuable advantages. In Maronea particularly, the moſt conſiderable of the two, he kept a ſtrong garriſon, and had ſo far eſtabliſhed himſelf, as to procure the baniſhment of a numerous body of the citizens, who ſtood in oppoſition to his intereſts. Theſe exiles were now loud againſt him; ſupported, privately by the Romans, and openly by Eumenes, who maintained that theſe cities were appendages of that part of Thrace already adjudged to him; and charged Philip with the moſt flagrant oppreſſions. It was eaſy to perceive from what had paſſed, the complexion of the commiſſioners; and Philip, judging it now in vain to keep meaſures with men determined at any rate to ſide with his adverſaries, no longer ſought to diſguiſe his ſentiments. "It is neither with the Maronites nor with Eumenes," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the commiſſioners, "that the conteſt now lies; but with you Romans, from whom I have "long obſerved, that I have no juſtice to expect. The "cities of Macedon, which revolted from me to you at "the very time a truce ſubſiſted between us, I claimed, "and met with a refuſal. Inſtead of matter of right, had

Aenos and Maronea claimed by Eumenes.

Philip expoſtulates

"I claimed

"I claimed them as matter of favour, the favour had "been small for you to grant, as these cities were to "you of little importance, and in the extreme borders "of my kingdom; but it was of moment to me to "have them restored, that their defection might not en- "courage others to imitate their treachery. During the "Aetolian war, by desire of the consul Manius Acilius, I "sat down before Lamia, and was on the point of taking "it, when the consul appeared, demanded it for himself, "and wrested the conquest out of my hands. To soften "the injury, I was permitted to turn my arms against "some towns, or rather castles, of Thessaly, Perrhaebia, "and Athamania; these you have *now* taken from me.— "Even the claims of Eumenes are thought preferable to "mine, by his share of the dominions which Antiochus "was possessed of; he, who fought under your banners, "not for your sakes, but for his own, against an enemy, "from whom he had every thing to fear, and who, if "not crushed, had been his destruction. Antiochus, on "the other hand, courted my friendship, and would have "purchased it at no less a price than the cession of all "Greece, a fleet of fifty decked ships, and three thousand "talents. Regardless of these splendid offers, I took the "field against him, even before your forces had passed "over from Italy; declining neither toil nor danger to "procure you victory. When Scipio was on his way to "Asia, I shewed myself equally zealous in your service; "I conducted him through Macedon and Thrace, and by "my presence prevented the opposition which otherwise "he had met with from the barbarous inhabitants. In "return for all this, I might reasonably have expected an

"encrease

"encreafe of dominion; on the contrary, I fee myfelf deprived not only of what your own grants have beftowed, "but alfo of my hereditary poffeffions. And as if I were "Antiochus, I am now to be plundered even by Eumenes; "who, not content with having Lyfimachia and the Cherfonefe affigned to him, pretends, that Aenos and Maronea are included; in exprefs contradiction to the very "decree on which he grounds his title. Determine "therefore; am I the foe, or am I ftill the ally of Rome? "If the former, proceed as you have begun, in perfecuting me; if the latter, abftain from injuring a man, who "furely has deferved a very oppofite treatment."

How liable foever Philip's private character might be to objections, or whatever were the confiderations that moved him to join the Romans, certainly their treatment of him was exceedingly perfidious. Livy, from whom we have taken his defence, tells us, that the commiffioners themfelves were affected: they were more probably embarraffed and afhamed. Unwilling to venture a definitive fentence, againft which fo much might be faid, they only pronounced, that, *if* thefe two cities had been adjudged to Eumenes by the former commiffioners, it was not in their power to reverfe the decree; if, on the other hand, it fhould appear, that Philip held them by right of conqueft, he ought to hold them ftill; if neither the one nor the other was the cafe, it muft be left to the fenate in what way they were to be difpofed of; meanwhile, the garrifons fhould be withdrawn [a]."

[a] See Liv. L. xxxix. c. 28.

THIS

Book VI. Sect. 3.

The ſenate decide againſt Philip;

THIS temporizing ſentence, however, did not long impoſe on Philip. His embaſſadors whom he had ſent to Rome, had orders from the ſenate to inform their maſter. that his garriſons muſt forthwith evacuate the conteſted cities. The Macedonian king was fired with rage. The ſcorn of Eumenes, the dupe of Rome, he eagerly wiſhed to have wreaked his vengeance on both; but his power agreed not with his inclination. In this ſituation he reſolved to diſcharge his fury at leaſt on the Maronites [3], whoſe ſolicitations, he ſuppoſed, had been employed againſt him. Onamaſtus was his lieutenant in Thrace. He intruſted him with orders to Caſſander, governor of Maronea, to introduce into the city, in the night before the Macedonian garriſon was to march out, a body of his fierceſt Thracian mercenaries, who, under pretence of a ſudden tumult, ſhould put to the ſword all the inhabitants ſuſpected of favouring the oppoſite intereſt, without diſtinction of condition, age, or ſex, and leave the place drenched in the blood of its citizens. Theſe cruel orders were but too faithfully executed.

he revenges himſelf on the Maronites:

UPON the firſt tidings of the maſſacre, the ſenate inſtructed Appius to make inquiry concerning it. Philip pretended ignorance: "He had heard of a popular inſurrection at "Maronea, occaſioned by certain petty conteſts between "the friends of Eumenes and thoſe of Macedon, in which "blood had been ſhed; but as to the aggravating circum- "ſtances which the Romans mentioned, he was altogether "a ſtranger to them." He was then required to deliver up Onomaſtus and Caſſander, that they might be ſent to Rome

the indignation of the Romans on this occaſion.

[3] Polyb. Legat. xliv. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 34 & ſeq.

Book VI. Sect. 3.

Philip's evasive and flagitious conduct.

Rome for examination. The proposal made him tremble. They knew too much, and might betray him. "Onomastus," he replied, "was a necessary person, and not to "be parted with; besides, having been at a considerable "distance from Maronea at the time of the insurrection, he "could not possibly have known any thing of it. But "Cassander, he promised, should be sent to Rome." Nothing, however, was farther from the intention of Philip than this compliance. It was attended both with indignity and danger. Accordingly, Cassander was taken off by poison, at Epire, in his way to the Roman capital.

He is alarmed;

The outcry against Philip became now more clamorous than ever. The different states around were roused, by these recent instances of violence, to a more lively remembrance of the wrongs they had already sustained, or the still more painful apprehensions of what they had yet to dread; whilst Rome, intent on reducing the power of Macedon, strengthened these impressions, by encouraging all to whom the Macedonian king was obnoxious, to bring forward their complaints, and to expect her protection. Philip saw the storm gathering, and likely to burst upon him unprepared.

sends his son Demetrius to Rome;

In this situation, he employed with the senate, the mediation of his son Demetrius*, who, from his gentle and conciliating deportment whilst an hostage, was thought to be high in favour at Rome. The senate received him with apparent cordiality; and having appointed a day of audience for the embassadors and deputies who attended with complaints against Philip, they permitted Demetrius to be pre-

* See Polyb. Legat. xliv. & xlvi. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 46, 47.

sent,

sent, and to speak in justification of his father's conduct; but, instead of availing himself of this permission, the young prince, naturally timid, and thrown into the utmost confusion by the heavy, the unexpected, and the numerous charges brought against his father, became incapable of attempting a reply. With seeming tenderness, the senate asked him, whether the king had not furnished him with some notes or secret instructions, from which he was to speak? Demetrius was weak enough to own he had, and to permit them to be read. Their views were, to discover by this confidential paper, Philip's opinion of Rome, and the secret purposes he had in contemplation. It fully answered the senate's expectations. Interspersed were observations on the iniquitous treatment he had met with—"This was unfair in Caecilius and his fellow-commissioners"—"I had not, surely, deserved this!"—"thus were my enemies encouraged to insult me."

the Romans deal artfully with him;

THE result was, the senate told Demetrius, that, on his account, whatever had been improper in his father's conduct, should be passed over; and that, from the confidence they had in him, they were well assured Philip would, for the future, perform every thing that justice required: that embassadors should be sent, to see all matters properly adjusted; and with special directions to inform the king, "that from the regard they bore to the son, they were willing to excuse the father."—To complete the whole, according to Polybius and Livy [5], they took care to inflame the mind of this vain and unexperienced prince with expectations of the throne

affect kindness towards him;

[5] See Polyb. Legat. xlvi. Liv. L. xxxix. c. 53.

Book VI. Sect. 3.

of Macedon; on which, though he had an elder brother, they gave him hopes he ſhould ſhortly be placed.

with what views.

The Roman annals ſcarcely afford a ſtronger inſtance of the duplicity of this rapacious people. To have deſpoiled at once Philip of his kingdom, immediately after ſo many important ſervices received from him, for no other oſtenſible reaſon, but becauſe he would not tamely reſign whatever they required, would have been a meaſure highly odious as well as dangerous, whilſt the ſpirit of Achaia was not altogether ſubdued, nor the extirpation of Carthage yet accompliſhed. A more ſecure method was adopted. They practiſed on the eaſy nature of this credulous and unſuſpecting youth; they debauched his affections; they gained him over to the intereſts of Rome; and had they ſucceeded in obtaining for him the crown, Macedon had probably, under this paſſive and Rome-devoted king, ſunk gradually, without even one ſtruggle, into the inſignificance of a Roman province. Whilſt by pointing out Demetrius to the Macedonians as their future ſovereign, the ſenate had another and an important object in view. They ſet up a formidable party againſt the reigning prince in the very heart of his dominions; which, beſides weakening the authority of Philip, tended to divide the royal family. Diſtracted thus by jealouſies and domeſtic feuds, the royal houſe of Macedon muſt have loſt much of its importance, and its ſtrength; and Philip have ended his reign, if he had even been ſuffered to end it by a natural death, heart-broken and deſerted.

Part of this ſcheme actually ſucceeded; and it was not owing to the Romans that the whole had not equal ſucceſs.

Characters of Perſeus and Demetrius:

Philip had only two ſons, Perſeus and Demetrius. Demetrius, a prince weak and vain, as we have already ſeen; but at the ſame time, open and undiſguiſed, adorned with all the faſhionable accompliſhments that could be acquired either in Greece or Rome, and of manners remarkably placid and engaging. Perſeus, on the contrary, of a buſtling and turbulent diſpoſition, was at the ſame time, if the Roman writers are to be credited, ungenerous, ſordid, dark, and ſubtle; under the faireſt ſemblance covering the moſt flagitious of views. Both princes were in the bloom of life; Perſeus, the eldeſt, was aged about thirty years when Demetrius returned from Rome; but born, if we are to believe Plutarch [a], of a mother of mean birth, a ſempſtreſs of Argos, and of ſo queſtionable a character, as to make it doubtful whether he were really Philip's ſon. Demetrius was five years younger, and the ſon of his queen, a lady of royal lineage. From the difference of their diſpoſitions, as well as from the diſproportion of their maternal origin, Perſeus had conceived an early jealouſy of his brother, whom he looked upon as his rival in a kingdom, to which priority of birth gave him, he conceived, a juſter title. The avowed preference ſhewn by the Romans to Demetrius, together with the vanity of this young prince, who was at no pains to diſguiſe his hopes, riveted the antipathy of Perſeus: and he took care to poiſon his father's mind with ſuſpicions

Perſeus jealous of Demetrius;

[a] In Paul. Aemil. & Arato.

of

Book VI. Sect. 3.

of the designs of this aspiring youth, the minion of Rome, and devoted to her interests.

Philip also is prepossessed against him,

PHILIP was but too well disposed to listen to these insinuations. From the return of Demetrius, a visible alteration had taken place in this unhappy king. Notwithstanding the various artifices he had hitherto employed in order to elude the senate's requisitions, he had at length been obliged, by the arrival of new commissioners, to submit to their imperious commands, and to evacuate all his maritime possessions in Thrace[7]. And the only fruit he derived from his son's intercession, was the humiliating reflection, that to him he owed his being left in possession of his mutilated kingdom. The imprudent conduct of Demetrius, added to the gloomy thoughts which haunted the unfortunate Philip. He was on all occasions the advocate of the Romans; the power of their arms, their probity, their unblemished faith, were his favourite topics; even their manners and their buildings, at that time confessedly inelegant and ill-contrived, he affected to speak of, as equal if not superior to whatever Macedon had to boast[8].

and confirmed in his hatred of the Romans:

meditates the renewing of war.

THUS agitated by doubts and resentment, Philip resolved to exert his utmost vigour for the recovery of his former independence; and the moment he was again in a condition for war, determined to bid defiance to the Romans. The fortifying of the cities that lay on the sea-coast, or adjacent to the great roads, might have given them umbrage: he

[7] Polyb. Legat. xlii. & xlviii.

[8] See Liv. L. xl. c. 5.

2 therefore

therefore began his operations in places more remote[9], where, being leſs expoſed to their obſervation, he found means to fill his inland towns and caſtles with ſoldiers, arms, and treaſure. At the ſame time, he tranſplanted[10] a large body of Barbarians from Thrace and the countries adjacent, into his maritime and ſouthern provinces, obliging thoſe Macedonians on whom he had leſs reliance, to remove northward, and give up their dwellings to thoſe fiercer tribes. So that, throughout Macedon, there was now exhibited a moſt affecting ſcene of wailing and deſolation; a number of innocent families torn from their native homes, the poſſeſſions of their forefathers, and dragged away to diſtant and inhoſpitable wilds.

YET this was mercy, in compariſon of what followed.

PHILIP had, in the courſe of his reign, ſacrificed a number of his ſubjects, of the nobleſt blood of Macedon, to his gloomy ſuſpicions; and in his preſent ſituation dreaded the vengeance of their children. To relieve the apprehenſions of his guilty mind, he ordered that ſearch ſhould be made for the deſcendants of all thoſe whom he had deſtroyed, and that they alſo ſhould be put to death. The moſt dreadful inſtances of what the ſpirit of deſpotiſm can perpetrate, followed theſe inhuman orders: but the melancholy cataſtrophe of the family of[11] Herodicus, a man of high conſideration in Theſſaly, as it excited univerſal compaſſion, merits a more particular detail. He had fallen by the ſword

Diſaſtrous fate of the family of Herodicus

[9] Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio. [10] Liv. L. xl. c. 3. [11] Livy ibid. c. 4.

of

Book VI. Sect. 3.

of regal violence; and not ſatisfied with this, the jealous tyrant had alſo murdered the huſbands of his two daughters, Archo and Theoxena, by whom they left each of them an infant ſon. Theoxena, though tempted with many rich offers, remained a widow. Archo married Poris, a perſon of the firſt diſtinction among the Aeneatae, a people inhabiting that part of Macedon which lies on the gulph of Theſſalonica, antiently known by the name of Thermae. Archo dying a few years after, and leaving a numerous iſſue, Theoxena, from the tender affection ſhe bore to the dear pledges of her departed ſiſter, conſented to become the wife of Poris. Being informed of the tyrant's orders, they were ſtruck with the moſt alarming fears; and Theoxena, abandoning herſelf to deſpair, would have plunged the poniard herſelf into the boſom both of her own ſon and of every one of Archo's children, rather than ſuffer them to fall into the power of the brutal Philip. Poris ſtrove to allay her fears, by promiſing, that it ſhould be his care to have them conveyed to Athens; and ſhortly after, ſet out with his whole family from Theſſalonica, his uſual reſidence, in order to attend a ſolemn ſacrifice at Aenea, the chief town of the Aeneatae, in honour of Aeneas their ſuppoſed founder; propoſing from thence to eſcape to ſome of the Euboean ports. Accordingly, the ſacrifice ended, they embarked during the night, as if on their return to Theſſalonica; but changing their courſe, ſtood for Euboea, and would probably have made it, had not the wind proved contrary. At dawn, the king's officers, who had charge to watch the coaſt, deſcried their manœuvre, and having manned one of the royal pinnaces, immediately gave chace. Theoxena too evidently ſaw her danger; the veſſel was gaining on them,

and a few minutes more had delivered them into the hands of their enemies. Firm in her purpose, she put a dagger into the hand of each of the elder children, charging them to provide instantly for their own safety; to the younger she administered a draught of strong poison; and having, as they expired, committed their bodies to the ocean, Poris and herself, last of all, entwined in mutual embraces, sought a refuge from intolerable tyranny in the bosom of the deep. The vessel was all that remained to Philip's ministers of death.

An administration blackened by such enormous crimes, Livy justly observes, called for some signal vengeance from heaven: and the day of vengeance and retribution was fast approaching.

New dissensions in the royal family of Macedon.

That spirit of dissension, which, for a time, had been the reproach of the royal family of Macedon, had apparently subsided. Demetrius had learned caution, and avoided mentioning the Romans; and Perseus, to whom his brother's gentleness scarcely left a pretence for altercation, was less intemperate in his complaints. But though not at open variance, all fraternal cordiality was at an end: Demetrius dreaded Perseus; and Perseus had still a deep jealousy of Demetrius. Things were in this situation when, through the artful management of Perseus, an incident, in itself of little moment, gave vent to the smothered flame, which blazed instantly with a redoubled fierceness.

Martial exercises were, at this time, the principal occupation of the Macedonian court. After a general re-

Book VI. Sect. 3.

review of the army [12], the troops had, according to custom, divided into two bodies, each headed by one of the king's sons, and had engaged in a mock-combat. On this occasion, the division of which Demetrius was the leader, in their eagerness for victory, had charged the other party with rather too much impetuosity, and driven them off their ground; at which Perseus expressed some resentment. The solemnity was followed by entertainments, which the princes gave to their companions and friends.

Perseus acts insidiously.

Perseus retained in his service a number of spies, whom he chiefly employed in watching his brother; one of these had contrived to get admittance into the banqueting-room of Demetrius; and being discovered by some of the guests, he was roughly treated, and expelled. Ignorant of this circumstance, Demetrius, towards the conclusion of the banquet, when elevated with mirth and wine, proposed, that they should visit his brother, and form one convivial society; "and if," said he, "any lurking resentment remains for what has happened "to-day, it will be dissipated by our jollity and good-hu- "mour." Those who had treated the spy belonging to Perseus in so rough a manner, fearful of the event, privately provided themselves with arms, in case of an insult. Perseus, who had his creatures abroad, had immediate notice of all; and when Demetrius and his companions arrived, ordered the doors to be shut against them, and spoke from a window, charging them with having come with criminal intentions; and next morning he accused Demetrius to the king, of an attempt to assassinate him.

[12] See Liv. L. xl. c. 6 & seq.

Philip's anxiety:

Philip, familiar as he was with deeds of blood, was ſtruck with horror at the relation of Perſeus — his two ſons, the laſt hopes of his houſe, in arms againſt each other! Whatever might be the iſſue of the accuſation, to him the conſequence muſt be miſery; he felt himſelf the moſt wretched of fathers: if the accuſation was true, Demetrius deſerved to die; if not truth, Perſeus ought not to live.

He ſits in judgment on his ſons:

After ſome days of anxious ſolicitude and agitation, he reſolved to inveſtigate the horrid truth. Retiring therefore into the inner apartment of his palace with two of his nobles, of whoſe judgment and unbiaſſed probity he had the higheſt opinion, he commanded both his ſons to appear before him. At ſight of them he broke out into paſſionate lamentations: "Here," ſaid he, "I ſit this day "in judgment on my own ſons, of all parents the moſt "miſerable; certain, whether the charge is proved or diſ- "proved, of finding a criminal in one of you. Your diſ- "ſenſions I have long obſerved, I have long bewailed; "but I had hopes, that as your reaſon advanced to ma- "turity, a ſenſe of what you owe to your country, of what "you owe to yourſelves, and to me, would have inſpired "you with better thoughts. Often have I endeavoured "to inſtruct you by the examples of other nations and "other times. I have told you how many royal houſes "and flouriſhing empires domeſtic diſcord has overthrown; "and how, on the contrary, a firm union at home had, "from the moſt inconſiderable beginnings, raiſed others "to the heighth of proſperity and power. Remember the "fate of Sparta; whilſt its two kings acted in concert, "it flouriſhed; but, blaſted by their diſcord, it withered

his ſpeech.

"and decayed. View even the Pergamenian kings, that new "race, whofe regal title is an infult to other kings; by "what means have they rifen to the large fhare of do-"minion they are now poffeffed of? By unanimity and "ftrict concord, the diftinctive characteriftics of that family. "Among the Romans, in like manner, think what luftre "their greateft men have derived from the cultivation of "this brotherly union—with what glory the two elder "Scipios, in the war in Spain, fought and fell by each "other's fide—and how again the two fons of one of thofe "Scipios, one the conqueror of Hannibal, the other of "Antiochus, laboured to adorn the brows of each other "with the wreaths of victory. But, I know it well, my "throne is your object: if I yet live, it is only becaufe "each of you fees a dreaded rival in his brother; that rival "removed, I too fhall fall.—Proceed therefore; fince the "ears of a father muft be polluted with the narrative of "his fons crimes; proceed; employ every argument that "truth or artifice can furnifh; to-day I fhall liften to all, "determined from henceforth never to fuffer accufations "of this kind either in public or private to approach "me."

Such is the fubftance of what the Roman hiftorian has put in the mouth of Philip on this occafion; certainly, not what he did fay, but what he might naturally have faid, and from which a tolerable judgment may be formed of the character and fituation of this unhappy prince.

Perfeus produces his charge.

The charge brought by Perfeus was deftitute of proof; the want of this, however, he fupplied by peremptory

afféverations,

ſſeverations, inſiſting on the moſt minute circumſtances that had occurred either in the courſe of the late ſolemnity, or during the ſucceeding night, and giving the moſt malignant interpretation to the whole; adding, what he knew would have the greateſt weight with Philip, that Demetrius was, beyond a doubt, acting by the inſtigation of the Romans, and in full aſſurance of their ſupport.

Demetrius juſtifies himſelf.

THE deep atrocity of the crimes of which Demetrius heard himſelf accuſed, ſo foreign to his gentle nature; the boldneſs with which Perſeus had maintained the charge; and the fell rancour diſcernible through every part of it, overpowered the feeble ſpirits of the young prince; he melted into tears; and with difficulty was at length encouraged to attempt, in tremulous and faultering accents, his own juſtification. His defence, though void of art, and delivered under great perturbation of mind, was nevertheleſs a full refutation of his brother's charge. And whether it was malice or error on the ſide of Perſeus, it was plain, that guilt was not to be imputed to Demetrius.

ALL determination on the preſent caſe was precluded by paternal tenderneſs. Philip therefore declined pronouncing ſentence; and only ſaid, that their future conduct ſhould be the criterion by which he ſhould judge of the truth or the falſhood of the allegations which had been produced before him.

Philip ſuſpects Demetrius of carrying on

DEMETRIUS probably ſtood acquitted by his father, of any attempt on his brother's life; but what Perſeus had thrown out, of his connection with Rome, and of the conſequent

Book VI. Sect. 3.

ſequent dangers to be apprehended, made the deepeſt impreſſion on his gloomy mind. He held the Romans in deteſtation, and looked for every kind of inſidious treatment and perfidy from that quarter: and though Demetrius was hitherto innocent, yet, open to their inſinuations, and allured by the temptation of a crown, he might ſoon be guilty. Diſtracted by his doubts, Philip reſolved to be ſatisfied; and fixed upon two noblemen, Philocles and Apelles [13], who, as he thought, had no kind of attachment to either of his ſons, to proceed as his embaſſadors to Rome; with inſtructions to find out, if poſſible, with what perſons Demetrius correſponded, and what were his deſigns.

a private correſpondence with the Romans;

ſends embaſſadors to Rome, to make diſcoveries;

Philip could not have made a worſe choice. Perſeus, deep in contrivance, indefatigable in the purſuit of his object, and, from his being the eldeſt born, as well as confeſſedly the firſt in his father's favour, conſidered by the kingdom in general as the preſumptive heir, had privately gained over moſt of the chief men of Macedon. Of all his creatures, none were more devoted to him, than theſe two truſty counſellors of Philip. Having therefore previouſly concerted matters with Perſeus, they returned to the king with an account that Demetrius was held in the higheſt eſteem at Rome, and that he certainly appeared to have entertained moſt unjuſtifiable views; delivering to him at the ſame time a letter, which they pretended to have received from Quintius Flamininus. The handwriting of the Roman, and the impreſſion of his ſignet, the

they impoſe on Philip.

[13] Liv. L. xl. c. 20, 23, 24.

king

king was well acquainted with, and from the exactneſs of the imitation, was induced to give entire credit to the contents, more eſpecially as Flamininus had formerly written in commendation of Demetrius, when he laſt returned from Rome, adviſing Philip to ſend him back ſoon with a more honourable retinue, as nothing could be more agreeable to the ſenate, or more for the intereſts of Macedon. The preſent letter was of a different tenor. The writer owned Demetrius to be blame-worthy, and deprecated the king's anger in his behalf, entreating him "to believe, "that, whatever unwarrantable enterpriſes the young prince, "through ambition of a throne, might have deſigned, yet "certainly he had projected nothing againſt the life of any "of his own blood;" adding, "that as to himſelf, he was "not a man that could be thought the adviſer of an unjuſt "action."

Philip convinced that Demetrius is guilty.

The ſuſpicions of Philip now gave place to the moſt dreadful certainty. Demetrius appeared to him evidently guilty of the moſt atrocious deſigns; he ſaw him not only deſirous of aſcending the throne by ſupplanting his brother, but ſcrupling not to wreſt the ſceptre from the hands even of a father!

Demetrius forms the plan of eſcaping to Rome;

The ſituation of Demetrius had for ſome time been exceedingly deplorable. Without any ſhare in his father's affection; the object of his brother's hatred; ſhunned by the tribe of courtiers, who, as uſual, paid their homage where the royal favour was beſtowed; and beſet with ſpies, by whom he found himſelf obſerved on all occaſions, Macedon appeared to him a priſon where every thing was diſguſting

and

Book VI. Sect. 3.

and dreadful. No wonder, therefore, that he wished to provide for his comfort and safety, by escaping to Rome. He communicated his design to Didas, governor of Paeonia, who with much art had insinuated himself into his confidence, and who immediately betrayed him to Perseus, and through Perseus to the king. The discovery set Philip on meditating some violent stroke; and Flamininus's letter confirmed him in his purpose. A dread of the Romans made it inexpedient to proceed against Demetrius by public prosecution for punishment; Philip had recourse therefore to Didas, whom the unsuspecting Demetrius still continued to make the chosen partner of his convivial hours. This villain proved himself the worthy instrument of an inhuman tyrant, and soon seized an opportunity, at a banquet, after a solemn sacrifice, of conveying poison into the cup of the unhappy prince. This did not operate, however, in the speedy and silent manner he had expected, but caused such excruciating torture, as made the villainy conspicuous, and drew from Demetrius agonizing complaints against the unnatural authors and vile perpetrators of the deed: till, tired with the slow operation of the baneful potion, Didas compleated his enormity by sending two ruffians into his chamber, who, smothering this unfortunate prince, put an end to his life.

is betrayed by Didas,

and treacherously put to death.

Philip did not long continue ignorant of the extent of his guilt, and of his misfortune[14]. The conduct of Perseus himself, first awakened his suspicions. Having now no rival in his future prospects, instead of that pliant and

Insolence of Perseus after the death of Demetrius.

[14] See Liv. L. xl. c. 54 & seq.

obſequious conduct, which, whilſt Demetrius lived, he had obſerved towards his father, he now treated him with the moſt inſolent neglect, affecting, on all occaſions, the haughty port of independence, and looking towards the throne with an undiſſembled impatience. A change ſo viſible and ſo ſurpriſing, made Philip call to mind the various circumſtances of the late melancholy tranſaction, to which, in the ſtorm of paſſion, he had but ſlightly attended. Suſpicions naturally aroſe, that Demetrius had fallen a ſacrifice to treachery. Among all his courtiers, ſuch is often the fate of kings, he had but one friend, Antigonus, his uncle's ſon; Antigonus had alſo been the friend of Demetrius, and, from a conviction of his innocence, ſincerely lamented his fate. To him the king often made paſſionate mention of that unhappy prince; bewailing, that his condemnation had been ſo precipitate, and wiſhing to be aſſured whether he had not fallen a victim to villainy and artifice.

Philip ſuſpects that Demetrius was innocent; is confirmed in this by Antigonus;

Philocles and Apelles, in their late embaſſy to Rome, had employed one Xychus as their ſecretary. This man Antigonus contrived to have ſecured, and brought before the king. At firſt he heſitated; but, at ſight of the rack, confeſſed every thing: "That the embaſſadors had acted, throughout the whole affair, in conſequence of inſtructions they had received from Perſeus;" "that the charge againſt Demetrius was altogether void of foundation;" and "that Xychus himſelf, by order of his employers, had been the forger of the letter from Flamininus."

diſcovers the whole truth:

All, that fierce reſentment, the tranſports of grief, the anguiſh of remorſe, can impreſs on the human mind, was

his rage and remorſe.

Book VI. Sect. 3.

He executes vengeance on one of the embassadors; the other escapes;

now felt by the unfortunate Philip. Incensed to madness, he ordered the two embassadors to be instantly seized. Apelles had, upon the first intimation of his danger, fled to Italy[15]; the other, Philocles, after having been confronted with Xychus, was put to death. Some historians say, that he confirmed what Xychus had deposed; others, that he persisted to the last in an obstinate denial[16].

[15] Upon the authority of this circumstance, of "Apelles making his escape to Italy," where, had he been guilty of the death of Demetrius, he could not have expected to find protection, joined with some other circumstances of this remarkable story; such as Philocles's persisting, according to some historians, though confronted with Xychus and in the agonies of the rack, in the denial of all; and the Romans refusing, when required by Philip (see Liv. L. xlii. c. 5.) to deliver Apelles into his hands; to which we may add Perseus's treatment of this very Apelles, whom, when he came to the throne, instead of rewarding, he found means to get into his power and put to death; (see Liv. ibid.) Mr. Hooke in his Roman History (see B. v. c. 14.) grounds a conjecture, that this *charge of forgery* against Perseus and the Macedonian embassadors, was the contrivance of Antigonus, who hoped, by means of it, to get the kingdom; and that Flamininus really wrote the letter ascribed to him. And he supposes that, sensible of Demetrius's vanity and imprudence, and of the many just causes of complaint he had given the king, the Roman wrote it out of kindness to the young prince, and in the view of deprecating his father's anger. How far this conjecture deserves to be admitted, the reader may judge. Livy is clear that the letter was a forgery, and Perseus the contriver of it. But it must also be owned, that even Livy's testimony, in cases of this kind, when guilt is to be thrown off Rome upon her enemies, is sometimes questionable. However, allowing the letter to have been really written by Flamininus, it certainly does not follow, that the intention of it was as friendly as Mr. Hooke supposes. In fact, what could have been the design of such a letter, but to excite new terrors in the mind of the unhappy Philip, already a prey to gloomy suspicions? Indeed, this *weapon of destruction* did more than he meant it should. It was also fatal to Demetrius. But at the same time it accomplished the main purpose for which it had been sent; it brought Philip to his grave, and added to the distraction, the weakness, and the reproach of Macedon's royal house.

[16] See Liv. L. xl. c. 55.

Perseus neverthelefs was evidently the moft guilty. But he had little to fear. He kept out of his father's reach; and had Philip attempted to feize him, he might eafily, with the formidable party he had at his devotion, have fet the feeble and almoft deferted monarch at defiance. The king did what he could. He never afterwards fuffered him to come into his prefence; and declared it to be his determined refolution, that he never fhould afcend a throne, to which he had attempted to wade through a brother's blood. He likewife talked of fettling the crown on Antigonus; a fcheme dictated by the momentary impulfe of paffion, and which, in the utmoft plenitude of his power, and with a much larger portion of life before him, he had probably found it difficult to effect.

he finds it impoffible to feize Perfeus,

but refolves to leave the throne to Antigonus;

But Philip had only a few days longer to live. The detection of Perfeus's guilt had been to him the ftroke of death; for from that moment he dragged out a life of melancholy and languor. Though in this declining ftate, he ftill, however, pleafed himfelf with the thought of taking vengeance on the Romans, to whofe perfidious councils he chiefly afcribed the ruin that had fallen on his houfe. Befides the mighty preparations for war, which he had made at home, he had taken into his fervice the whole tribe of the Baftarnae[17], a fierce and hardy nation from the other fide of the Danube, whom he meant to introduce into Dardania, with the view of exterminating the people of that country, who had fold themfelves to Rome, and of pouring afterwards thefe barbarians through Illyricum into Italy.

languifhes,

[17] Liv. L. xl. c. 57.

Italy. Antigonus was dispatched to hasten their march. Whilst he was absent on this errand, the king breathed his last at Amphipolis, whither he had removed, in order to welcome his new allies, and see them conducted to their place of destination. Perseus, who was in expectation of his father's death, and had immediate information of it, ascended the throne without opposition.

and dies.

Perseus ascends the throne,

As to Antigonus, the favourable intentions which the king had expressed towards him, only served to make him more particularly the object of Perseus's resentment. It was one of the first acts of his reign, to order him to execution.

and puts Antigonus to death.

Philip reigned forty-two years, from the third year of the 139th Olympiad to the first year of the 150th[18]; a period of time as busy and eventful as any in the Grecian annals.

It was undoubtedly a misfortune to the Grecian people, that such a prince was on the throne of Macedon when the Romans first invaded them. Under any Macedonian king it had been difficult to have united into one compact body these several states, independent, and therefore naturally jealous, of each other, and from whose jarring interests, contests were perpetually arising; but under a prince like Philip, whose ambitious attempts and repeated treacheries provoked every suspicion, it was impossible. The Romans saw this, and with their usual policy turned

Character of Philip:

[18] From about the 218th to the 175th year before Christ.

it

it to their own advantage. Philip had besides, if Polybius and Livy may be credited, most of those private vices which mark the tyrant; he was intemperate, libidinous, vindictive, cruel; as a king, unworthy of trust; as a man, an object of detestation.

Yet amidst these deep shades with which we find his character darkened, he appears to have had qualities of a very different cast. His generous and noble acts, as we have already seen, had so endeared him to many of the Achaean confederates, that when the question was put, whether Achaia should have alliance with Rome or Macedon, the deputies of several of the Achaean cities pleaded his cause with uncommon warmth, in opposition to the ruling party supported by the Roman power; and at last, when their opposition could not avail, left the diet rather than seem, by their presence, to give sanction to a measure injurious to the Macedonian king. The estimation in which he was held by many others of the Grecian states, is not less to his honour. He was also possessed of many amiable accomplishments; and such were the elegance of his court, and the ease and dignity of his manners, that Scipio Africanus himself, who spent some days with Philip in his way to Asia, spoke of him with esteem and high commendation [19].—Was he so able a dissembler?—Or shall we rather say, that, had the accounts of other writers, less under the influence of Rome, reached us, his faults had not been handed down to us with so many heavy aggravations?

[19] See Liv. L. xxxvii. c. 7.

As

As to thoſe exceſſes of violence and bloodſhed which, the caſe of Aratus excepted, are more particularly the reproach of his later years, even Polybius [20] acknowledges, that after the overthrow of Antiochus, when he found his numerous and ſignal ſervices to Rome repaid with perfidiouſneſs and hoſtility, a total change in his diſpoſition became conſpicuous. The mortification of ſeeing himſelf fallen from the dignity of a ſovereign prince, into a ſtate of humiliating dependence on a haughty, powerful, and enterpriſing republic; and of finding all his ſecret enemies called forth againſt him, from every quarter of Greece, by the open encouragement or inſidious arts of Rome; were circumſtances ſufficiently painful; which, added to the diſtractions of his own family, might, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, have ſoured his mind, and rendered his temper, as age advanced, more gloomy and ſuſpicious.

As a king, he had unqueſtionably great abilities. In war, he often gave proofs both of his courage and his conduct. The marine of Macedon was altogether of his formation; before his time, it had ſcarcely an exiſtence; under him, it ſoon became conſiderable; and by the commercial connexions and ſettlements which he made in different parts, he ſo ſucceſsfully extended the Macedonian trade, as to excite the jealouſy of the greateſt commercial ſtates of Aſia. His conduct in regard to Syria, it muſt be confeſſed, was impolitic to a high degree. The ruin of Antiochus, it was obvious, muſt pave the way to his own. Sound policy pointed out, therefore, an alliance with that prince, and with

[20] De virt. et vitiis, p. 1436.

other powers of Europe and Asia. But in those days [21], the balance of power was a matter little understood. And from the narrow and confined views which each state had of its own interests; from the want of proper intelligence of the transactions and probable designs of other kingdoms; and from the jealousies which Rome industriously kept alive between nation and nation; every potentate, if not immediately attacked, looked on with unconcern whilst his neighbour was destroyed; not considering, that the fate of one necessarily involved in it the fate of all.

Book VI. Sect. 3.

ardent to the last in his enmity to Rome:

The latter part of his reign shews, that he had a proper sense of his treatment from Rome, and, had he not been broken by the misfortunes of his own house, it is probable she had still found him a vigorous and formidable adversary. So ardent was he to the last, in the pursuit of his favourite scheme of attacking the Romans, that about a year before his death, he ascended to the top of mount Haemus [22], an attempt of immense labour, and exceedingly perilous, merely because he had been told, that from the summit of this mountain might be seen the Adriatic sea and the whole country of Italy to the Alps, the destined scene of his future operations. The measure he adopted, of in-

[21] "Le monde de ce tems là," says an ingenious modern, "n'étoit pas comme "nôtre monde d'aujourd'hui : les voyages, les conquetes, le commerce, l'etablissement des grandes états, les inventions des postes, de la boussole, et de l'imprimerie, une certaine police generale, ont facilité les communications, et établi "parmi nous un art, qu'on appelle la politique : chacun voit d'un coup d'oëil "tout ce qui se remue dans l'Univers."

Grand. et Decad. des Rom. c. 1.

[22] Liv. L. xl. c. 21.

troducing

Book VI. Sect. 3.

troducing the Baſtarnae, was certainly a deep ſtroke in politics; and, had he lived to have brought his plan to maturity, or had, his ſucceſſor had the abilities to make a right uſe of this new connexion, it had probably laid Italy open to ſuch inroads, as would have left her little leiſure for the invaſion of other kingdoms [23].

his preparations for war.

Philip, beſides, without making any ſhew of war, or giving the Romans the leaſt ſuſpicion of his operations, had collected at home an army more numerous and better diſciplined than any he had ever brought into the field. He had laid up, Plutarch [24] tells us, in his arſenals, arms for thirty thouſand men; in his garriſons eight millions of meaſures of wheat; with money in his treaſury to defray the charge of maintaining ten thouſand mercenaries for ten years. And all this was executed, after he had been reduced and plundered by

[23] It appears, that the Romans were ſoon ſenſible of their danger, had Philip's plan been carried into execution. We are informed by Livy (L. xliv. c. 1.) that, about eight years after this period, the conſul Caſſius would have attempted to penetrate from the Lower Gaul through Illyricum into Greece, in order to join the other conſul; but that the ſenate, upon the firſt intimation of his project, ſent him peremptory orders not to proceed, "leſt he ſhould ſhew the neighbouring barbarians the "way by which they might enter Italy." Mithridates, we read, ſome time before his death, had adopted Philip's plan, and, had not his ſon's revolt baffled his ſchemes, would probably have executed it. Upon the ſame principle, Auguſtus, who, from the fate of Lollius and Quintilius Varus, had found what formidable foes theſe fierce tribes were, and how vain it was to attempt the wilds and deep foreſts they inhabited, appointed the Danube for the boundary of the Roman empire on that ſide, having ſecured the hither banks of it by a ſtrong line of forts and military ſtations; and even left an expreſs injunction to his ſucceſſors, not to paſs beyond it (Diocaſſius) as if foreſeeing, that from this quarter were to iſſue forth thoſe nations who, during a length of ages, were to be the terror and the ſcourge of Rome.

[24] In Paul. Aemilio.

the Romans, cut off from the benefits of commerce, and obliged to retire within the antient boundaries of Macedon. A ſtriking proof of his abilities, and of the reſources of that kingdom under an able and active prince. Book VI. Sect. 3.

But all the deſigns of Philip were defeated by the machinations of treacherous policy: the flame of jealouſy and diviſion was kindled in his family, to which the unhappy Demetrius fell a victim, and by which the aged monarch himſelf was ſent broken-hearted to the grave. Rome exulted in her ſucceſs, beheld with joy all his bold and well-concerted projects at an end; and, in the future vaſſalage of Macedon, contemplated one more proſtrate kingdom groaning under Roman domination.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK VII.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Perseus ascends the throne of Macedon—begins his reign with some appearance of vigour—courts the affections of the Macedonian people, and the friendship of the neighbouring states.—The Romans jealous—prefer sundry complaints against him, and invade Greece.—Perseus, with advantages in his favour, loses the benefit of them by his avarice and pusillanimity.—Suffers himself to be over-reached by the Romans—neglects to improve the repeated opportunities, which, during the space of three years, the incapacity or the corruption of the Roman commanders presented to him.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

Perseus begins his reign

THE first years of the reign of Perseus exhibit scenes which by no means justified that contempt in which the Romans appear to have held Macedon at the time of his accession [1], or the opinion which historians tell us had

[1] OLYMP. CLI. BEFORE CHRIST 175.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS...

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

with an appearance of ability; his conduct at home,

had been generally entertained of Perseus himself. His chief object was, to establish himself in the affections of the Macedonian people; and, as if the late sanguinary measures had been altogether his father's crimes, he immediately assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. Antigonus, his rival in the kingdom, had suffered the fate which usually attends the unsuccessful rivals of kings [2]; but Perseus prevented the apprehensions of farther severities, by publishing a general pardon to offenders of every description. He not only recalled all those whom fear or judicial condemnation had, in the course of the late reign, driven from their country; but he ordered even the income of their fortunes, during their exile, to be reimbursed [3]. To the rest of his subjects, his whole deportment, in like manner, exhibited princely dignity and parental tenderness. Whatever debts were due to the crown of Macedon at the period of his father's death, he remitted. Skilful in the art of war, which he had studied under his father, he made the discipline of his troops, and the improvement and strength of his kingdom, his principal occupation; and he carefully avoided those illiberal excesses which disgraced a great part of Philip's reign.

and abroad,

His conduct to foreign states was equally conciliating. Embassadors were sent to the Roman senate, to notify his accession to the throne, and to request a confirmation of the treaties subsisting between Rome and Macedon. Rome answered with the same dissimulation with which he had pro-

[2] See Liv. L. xlii. c. 5. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio. [3] Polyb. de virtut. et vitiis, p. 1440.

bably

bably addressed her; acknowledged his title, and pronounced him the friend and ally of the Roman people [4]. To the several states of Greece and Asia he made his application with more sincerity. Sensible of what importance it was to strengthen himself by alliances with the powers around him, he studied to remove those jealousies, to which his father's ambitious projects had given birth. With the Rhodians [5] he found little difficulty. Relieved from the uneasy suspicions which Philip's naval improvements had occasioned, they saw the mistake they had been guilty of, in assisting the Romans to overthrow the power of Macedon; and espoused with cordiality the interests of Perseus. Prusias [6] of Bithynia was prevailed on with the same ease; and, to render the connexion betwixt this prince and himself more binding, Perseus gave him his sister in marriage. The Syrian court was not less favourably disposed. Antiochus was dead, and his son Seleucus on the throne; who, irritated by his father's sufferings and his own, willingly gave ear to every thing Perseus had to urge against the Romans [7]. He found, therefore, no difficulty in convincing Seleucus, that these republicans were, from principle, the enemies of kings; and that whatever portion of empire they had left him, would be violently wrested from his house on the first favourable occasion. But the weak and impoverished state of Syria

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

4 Liv. L. xl. c. 58. 5 Polyb. Legat. lxv. & lxvii. 6 Liv. L. xlii. c. 12.

7 This was, according to Livy (L. xliv. c. 24.) the purport of the embassy sent afterwards by Perseus to Antiochus; but it is evident he had before applied to Seleucus; and as his views in both embassies were the same, so, very probably, in both were the same arguments employed.

permitted

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

permitted not his following the dictates of his heart. All he could do was, to wish Perseus success; and, as a pledge of his regard, to give him his daughter Laodice in marriage. The Rhodians [8] distinguished themselves on this occasion; as if to make amends for having employed their arms against Macedon, they equipped a most superb fleet, and desired to have the honour of convoying the princess to her royal husband. The same disposition prevailed throughout the greater part of the Lower Asia. Perseus looked even as far as Carthage for confederates, and dispatched embassadors accordingly. The opportunity favoured his views; exasperated by the encroachments of Masinissa, and the duplicity of Rome, the Carthaginians were ripe for violent councils; they gave audience to the embassadors by night, in the temple of Aesculapius [9], in order to conceal the transaction from the Romans; and immediately dispatched some of their chief men, to concert measures with the Macedonian king.

He courts the states of Greece.

MEANWHILE, the emissaries of Perseus had been employed in every quarter of Greece; and in support of their negotiations, he made a progress to Delphi [10]. Religion was his pretence; but his real objects were a display of his power, a shew of moderation, and an appearance of a regard for the liberties of Greece. Attended by a formidable escort, the flower of the Macedonian army, he passed through Greece without hostility or depredation; and, having performed his devotions, returned in the same pacific manner to his own kingdom.

[8] Polyb. Legat. lx. [9] Liv. L. xli. c. 22. [10] Liv. ibid.

WHAT

Book VII. Sect. I.

The general temper, at this period, of most of the Grecian states.

What rendered these intrigues the more effectual, was the general temper of the Greeks themselves [11]. Most of them began to have prophetic fears of what they had to expect, should the Roman dominion be once fully established in Greece, and looked on Macedon as the last bulwark of their liberties. Accordingly, a revolution of interests took place almost every where. The people of Epire favoured Perseus. Several of the Thessalian tribes inclined to the same side. The Boeotians declared themselves avowedly; and, having put to death the most strenuous of the Roman partizans, entered into an alliance with Macedon; and, to give the stronger sanction to the treaty, caused it to be engraven on tables of brass, and set up in the temples of Delphi, Delos, and Thebes. The Aetolians, though divided into two factions, animated by all that virulence which civil discords produce, agreed in one point, that Perseus should be the arbiter of their differences. Athens and Achaia alone stood firm to the Roman cause; though even Achaia was nearly lost to Rome. The Achaean states, in the days of Philip, had prohibited by law all communication with Macedon; many of the Achaean slaves availing themselves of this interdiction, had fled from their masters, and taken refuge in the Macedonian territories. Perseus, to ingratiate himself with the Achaean people [12], caused as many of these slaves as could be found to be sent back; accompanying the present with a letter, in which he requested the rescinding of this unsocial edict; and that a friendly intercourse should again be opened between the two nations. The request was plausible,

[11] See Liv. L. xlii. c. 12 & seq. [12] Liv. L. xli. c. 23.

and

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

and met with powerful advocates in its favour among the Achaeans. But upon a representation by the friends of Rome, that it was beneath the dignity of the Achaean states to take public notice of a letter, sent by a private messenger, conveying a requisition, which should have been made in form by embassadors, in order to be laid before the next general diet, the farther consideration of the matter was postponed; and afterwards, when the national convention was held, they had influence sufficient to defeat the proposition.

The domestic advantages possessed by Perseus.

EXCLUSIVE of the advantages Perseus might derive from the well-grounded jealousy of Roman ambition, which was entertained by most of the Grecian states, he succeeded to all those mighty preparations which his father had made during the latter years of his life. He had a rich treasury; an army, numerous, well disciplined, and well appointed; and, both in Thrace and Illyricum, a number of petty princes, connected with his crown, were ready to march at his command. The vigour of his operations appeared at the same time not unworthy of his power. The Dolopians [13] had contested some of his claims, and had made their appeal to Rome; but, regardless of this appeal, he entered their country, and reduced them to subjection. The people of Byzantium, pressed by Eumenes, had applied to him for aid; when he immediately sent forces to their assistance, and obliged the king of Pergamus to retire. Abrypolis, who reigned over a district of Illyricum,

[13] Liv. L. xli. c. 22. L. xlii. c. 12.

and was one of the allies of Rome, having made an inroad into Macedon, Perſeus marched immediately againſt him, put him to flight, and purſued him into his own dominions, of which he took poſſeſſion. And even afterwards, when attacked by the Romans themſelves, he maintained war againſt them for three years, with conſiderable ſucceſs.

In what manner all this ſeeming ſtrength came to be annihilated, and ſo many advantages to terminate in diſcomfiture, and the utter extirpation of him and the houſe of Macedon, is a fit ſubject for hiſtorical inquiry.

His error in relation to the Baſtarnae.

Perseus, at the very commencement of his reign, was guilty of a capital error. The Baſtarnae, of whom mention has been made, were on their march through Thrace when his father died. Philip had ſtipulated the ſubſidy they were to receive, and the different ſums to be paid to the chiefs of the Thracian tribes for granting them a free paſſage through their territories. Perſeus, who, although poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures, was under the dominion of the moſt ſordid avarice, would not abide by theſe ſtipulations; in conſequence of which, the Baſtarnae refuſed to advance, thirty thouſand men excepted, who having already entered the Macedonian frontiers, purſued their route to Dardania. The reſt halted in Thrace; where, provoked by the treatment they had met with, they fell on the people of the country, and, as if to indemnify themſelves, plundered wherever they came: ſo that Perſeus loſt an ally, who had probably rendered Macedon, at leaſt for the preſent, exceedingly formidable; whilſt he at the ſame time forfeited the confidence of his Thracian neighbours, who were not only defrauded of the

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

the promised subsidy, but compelled, through his perfidiousness, to take up arms in their own defence.

FROM the importance of the services performed by the thirty thousand Bastarnae who entered Dardania [14], the consequences are obvious had the whole force of those emigrants, said to amount to upwards of an hundred thousand men, been poured into this country. The Dardanians, heretofore the most active enemies of Macedon on that side, now finding more than sufficient employment at home, were forced to retreat to their strong-holds, where, with difficulty, they maintained themselves against those bold invaders. The Bastarnae found powerful auxiliaries in the Scordisci [15], a fierce nation to the north-west of Dardania, whose settlements extended to the confines of Italy; and who, originally from the same neighbourhood, and similar in language and in manners, rejoiced in the opportunity of joining their kindred tribes. At length, however, neglected by Macedon, and hopeless of supplies from their own country, the Bastarnae were under the necessity of retiring homewards; but even then, not dispirited by their situation, they made good their retreat, and without any material loss regained the banks of the Danube. The sequel of their adventures [16] seems,

[14] See Liv. L. xli. c. 19. & Polyb. Legat. lxii.

[15] Justin, or rather Trogus, (L. xxxii. c. 3.) is of opinion, that they were a part of those known by the name of Gauls, who had emigrated under Brennus and his fellow-leaders, and who had settled in this country after their unsuccessful attempt on Delphi. According to this historian, they had their head-settlement near the confluence of the Save and the Danube, in that part of Hungary where Belgrade now stands.

[16] See Liv. L. xli. Supplem. Frensh.

by

by the Roman historians, to be heightened by the marvellous. We are informed, that the Danube being frozen over, as they approached their own confines, they attempted to pass over on the ice, which breaking under them, they all perished. The like fate, Livy [17] tells us, involved their countrymen who had halted in Thrace; most of them, according to him, being miraculously destroyed by a violent tempest of thunder and lightning. The truth of both these accounts is much to be questioned: they probably took their rise from some vague reports, at first readily believed, and afterwards industriously propagated, by a people whose vanity it was to imagine, "that, to have marched forth in support of the enemies of Rome, was an impiety which it concerned Heaven to punish." And it even appears from Strabo [18], who is silent as to these tales of wonder, that the Romans of those days, far from having a knowledge of the history of the different tribes of this part of Germany, scarcely were instructed even in their names.

The Romans, jealous of Perseus,

THE Romans soon discovered, or at least suspected, the designs of Perseus. The invasion of Dardania by the Bastarnae; his reducing the Dolopes; the relief he had sent to the Bysantines; and his progress to Delphi; had raised an alarm at Rome. Commissioners had repeatedly been dispatched to demand the reason of these hostilities, and, above all, to inspect narrowly into the situation of affairs in Macedon. During the first years of his reign, Perseus had submitted to the pleasure of the senate, and had given the different commissioners an honourable reception. But

send commissioners into Macedon;

[17] L. xl. c. 58.

[18] See L. vii. p. 203, 204. Casaubon.

Perseus treats them with contempt.

provoked at length, that messengers from Rome should still continue to infest his court, renewing inquiries, of which he plainly saw the design, he began to shew his resentment at the indignity; and Caius Valerius Laevinus, with some other Roman patricians, having, in the seventh year of his reign, come to Macedon on the usual errand, he put them off from day to day, under various pretences, until at last they were obliged to leave Macedon without an audience [19].

The machinations of Eumenes:

The report of the contempt with which their commissioners had been treated, had already reached the senate, when Eumenes of Pergamus afforded new matter to strengthen their suspicions [20]. Mortified at the encrease of power which he saw Macedon was acquiring, and apprehensive of the consequences to himself, should that kingdom be restored to its antient splendor, he hastened to Rome; and having obtained a private audience of the senate, laid before them a full account of the formidable appearance of the Macedonians, and of the enterprising spirit of their king; of the treasures he possessed; the mighty armaments he had in readiness; and the alliances he had formed with most of the Greek and Asiatic states, who, from a settled jealousy of Rome, were prepared upon the first opportunity to unite against her as a common foe.

is received favourably at Rome.

The senate acknowledged the zeal which Eumenes manifested on this occasion, by bestowing on him extraordinary honours; he was presented not only with magnificent gifts,

[19] See Liv. L. xli. c. 25. et L. xlii. c. 2.

[20] Liv. L. xlii. c. 11. & seq.

but

but alſo with the higheſt enſigns of Roman magiſtracy, the curule[22] chair and the ivory wand. The utmoſt precaution was at the ſame time taken, that no part of his information ſhould tranſpire. It only was whiſpered in Rome, that Eumenes had attended the ſenate with very intereſting intelligence; and it was not till after the overthrow of Perſeus, that the particulars were made public[21]. This affectation of ſecrecy, together with their effuſions of gratitude to the Pergamenian king, were evidently deſigned to impreſs the Roman people with apprehenſions of mighty dangers from Macedon, and of the abſolute neceſſity of a war; the moſt urgent motives to which, were however the ambition and avarice of the ſenators themſelves.

Perſeus ſends embaſſadors to counteract Eumenes;

Perseus, who had notice that Eumenes had ſet out for Rome, cauſed embaſſadors to follow him; where for ſeveral days they attended in vain, ſoliciting an audience; which having at length obtained, they were treated with ſuch marks of ſlight and diſreſpect, that Harpalus, at the head of the deputation, could not ſuppreſs his indignation: "The king," ſaid he to the ſenate, "wiſhes to be believed, "when he declares, that neither by words nor by actions has "he given the Roman people cauſe to think him an enemy; "but if he finds that you are ſeeking a pretence againſt "him, he wants not courage to defend himſelf. The "chance of war is alike to both; the iſſue uncertain."

their remonſtrance to the Roman ſenate.

The Macedonian king had no poſitive information of the buſineſs of Eumenes at Rome; but, from the character of

[21] See Liv. L. xlii. c. 14. [22] Liv. L. xlii. c. 14.

that

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

Perseus seeks to revenge himself on Eumenes.

that prince, and the hostile purposes the Romans seemed now to avow, he suspected it, and meditated vengeance. In his service was Evander of Crete, a captain of auxiliaries: this officer, with three Macedonians accustomed to the perpetration of such crimes, he employed to assassinate Eumenes, who had declared his intention of taking the route of Delphi, in his return homeward, in order to sacrifice to the Delphic god. The situation of Delphi, on the declivity of a mountain, rendered the road to it for the most part steep and difficult; and the path leading to the temple, winded through a valley so narrow, that only one person could pass at a time. Here the assassins took their stand, concealed by a wall that hung over this hollow way, and waited the approach of the king[23]. His retinue had moved forward, and last of all came Eumenes himself, preceded by Pantaleon an Aetolian chief; when the wretches, just as the king came under the wall, tumbled down upon him two huge stones, one of which falling on his head, and the other on his shoulders, struck him to the ground, and a shower of small stones succeeding, seemed to have overwhelmed the unfortunate monarch; when the assassins, thinking they had effectuated their purpose, made their escape up the mountain, after having killed one of their accomplices, whose slowness of pace exposed them to a discovery.

Eumenes escapes with life.

EUMENES, however, was not dead. His attendants, Pantaleon excepted, had all fled upon seeing their master fall; but now gathering round, they found him, though

[23] See Liv. L. xlii. c. 15 & seq.

senseless,

fenfelefs, ftill warm and breathing. They immediately conveyed him to a place of fafety in the neighbourhood, and foon after to Aegina, where he lay concealed till he was in a condition to be removed to Afia. For fome time a report of his death prevailed, and fo confidently was it believed, that his brother purpofed to take poffeffion of the kingdom, and to marry the wife of Eumenes. Already had he been *talking*, as Livy terms it, *with* the queen, and the commander of the citadel of Pergamus, when tidings arrived, that his brother was returning. From another brother, and a prince, this precipitancy might have provoked the fharpeft reprehenfion. Eumenes, however, contented himfelf with telling Attalus in a whifper, "not to think "for the future of marrying his brother's wife, until he "was certain that her hufband was dead."

Perfeus is charged with the affaffination.

All the friends of Eumenes confidered Perfeus as the author of the affaffination, although no direct proof could be brought againft him. The Romans undertook the tracing of this dark affair. A woman of fome diftinction, named Praxo, who lived at Delphi, was known to have connections with the Macedonian king, and at her houfe the affaffins were faid to have lodged. Valerius, lately one of the commiffioners at the court of Macedon, who was now at Chalcis, contrived to carry off this woman to Rome; where Rammius of Brundufium, who had informed Valerius that he had important difcoveries to make, alfo attended him. From the teftimony of thefe two perfons, according to the Roman writers, the cleareft evidence appeared of Perfeus's guilt. Praxo confeffed fhe knew the affaffins,

aſſaſſins, and that they were employed by Perſeus, having received them into her houſe in conſequence of his directions. And Rammius, who generally entertained at Brunduſium every eminent perſon, Greek or Roman, in their paſſage to and from Greece, depoſed, that Perſeus had practiſed with him to poiſon not only Eumenes, but other perſons whom he was to have named; that, apprehenſive for his own life, Rammius had promiſed compliance; and that a poiſon of the moſt ſubtle kind had been delivered to him, for the propoſed purpoſe, by Perſeus himſelf.

Commiſſioners ſent to Perſeus to demand reparation:

WITH a prince of ſuch a character (for at Rome theſe ſeveral charges were conſidered as undoubted facts) the ſenate held it a reproach to be on terms of amity; commiſſioners[24] were therefore immediately diſpatched, requiring him to deſiſt from all further acts of violence, and to make ample reparation for what he had already been guilty of; and, ſhould he refuſe to comply, to renounce, in the name of the Roman people, all friendſhip and alliance with him. Perſeus, probably appriſed of the purpoſe of the embaſſy, after making the deputies wait ſeveral days for an audience, condeſcended at laſt to admit them, when they were on the point of returning to Rome unheard. The freedom of their remonſtrances added to the indignation which already ſwelled within him, and he retorted on them the keeneſt recriminations; exclaimed againſt the haughtineſs of the Romans; their inſolence to kings; their inſatiable luſt of empire; and their infeſting his court with their daily embaſſadors, who joined the mean artifices of ſpies to the imperiouſneſs of deſpots, to whoſe

he treats them with inſult.

[24] Liv. L. xlii. c. 25.

control

control they expected he should subject all his actions. Unmoved by this intemperate language, they calmly demanded an answer to the requisitions they had made. "To-morrow," said he, "you shall have it under my "hand." Accordingly, next day he delivered them a writing, in which he declared, "That as to the treaty of alliance said to subsist between Macedon and Rome, he held himself no way bound by it; that it was a contract entered into by his father, and binding on him only; that at his accession, when not yet firmly seated on his throne, he had submitted to it from policy;—yet he was still ready to conclude a treaty of alliance with Rome on equitable conditions, and if they had such to offer, he would take it into consideration." The reply of the Roman deputies was short. They pronounced Perseus to be no longer the ally of Rome. And Perseus, in the voice of defiance, commanded them, within three days to quit Macedon.

A Roman army passes into Greece:

THIS apparent vigour was but poorly supported on the part of Perseus. The senate, upon the report of their embassadors, had ordered a body of eight thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the command of the praetor Cn. Sicinius, to march into Epire[35]. The instant Perseus heard of this, he seems to have shrunk with dismay from the approaching contest; for he sent embassadors to Rome, to solicit terms of peace. They were received as he might have expected: they had audience, not in the senate, but without the city, in the temple of Bellona[36], as coming

Perseus sends embassadors to solicit peace.

[35] OLYMP. cli. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 202.

[36] Liv. L. xli. c. 46.

from a prince the declared enemy of Rome; and after some questions, relative to certain hostile attempts lately committed by the king of Macedon in Perrhaebia and Thessaly, concerning which, the embassadors said they had no instructions, they were ordered to leave Italy within eleven days, and to tell their master, never more to presume to send embassies to Rome, but to make his future application to the commanders of the Roman armies in Greece.

who are ordered to leave Italy.

Roman commissioners sent into Greece.

SICINIUS was soon after followed by five commissioners, appointed by the senate to visit the Grecian states, and to confirm them in the interests of Rome; of whom Aulus Hostilius and Quintus Marcius Philippus had Epire, Aetolia, and Thessaly, assigned to them for their department. The father of Marcius had been the guest and friend of the late king of Macedon. The mean-spirited Perseus laid hold of this circumstance; and though he had already applied by letter to the five commissioners upon their arrival on the coast of Greece, desiring to be informed why he was threatened with hostilities, and had been answered with manifest contempt; he nevertheless renewed his application to Marcius at Larissa, reminded him of the mutual hospitality by which their families were united; and requested, that he might be admitted to a conference[27].

Perseus applies to Marcius;

the policy of Marcius;

MARCIUS received the application in the most gracious manner. "He had often," he said, "heard his father mention his connections with the Macedonian king; and it was "chiefly in the view of doing Perseus service, that he had

[27] Liv. xlii. c. 38. & seq.

"accepted of his present commission; he therefore chearfully granted him the conference which he desired." Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Macedonian king and the two Roman commissioners arrived on the opposite banks of the Peneus. The Romans were accompanied by deputies from most of the Grecian states, who, either anxious for their own fate, or as a mark of respect to Rome, had come to witness the important issue; and Perseus was attended by his guards, with a number of Macedonian lords and Thracian chiefs. The adjusting of the ceremonial was the first point in question, whether the king should pass the river to the Romans, or the Romans to the king. The compliment seemed to be due to regal dignity: but it was the policy of Rome to manifest a contempt of royalty; and, as the king had requested the conference, the Romans alledged, that he should yield the point of precedency. At length, by an insipid kind of jest, Marcius put an end to the contest; "let the younger," said he, "pass to the elder, the son to the father," alluding to his own name, Philip. The next point was, whether the king should pass over with only a few of his guards, or with all his retinue. The latter Perseus insisted on, as most honourable: but in that case Marcius required hostages, that no act of hostility should be committed. To this humiliation also the Macedonian king was obliged to submit.

Marcius opened the conference with many professions of his personal regard for Perseus, at the same time acquitting the Romans of having provoked the impending war, of which he asserted the king alone was guilty, whose repeated acts of violence had made it necessary for Rome to send an army

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

his artful charge against Perseus.

army into Greece. In one point only, he told Perseus, the senate thought he had acted wisely, in sending his embassadors to renew the treaty of alliance with the Roman people; and yet, how much better had it been never to have renewed the treaty, than to have broken it as soon as renewed. Abrupolis, the friend of Rome, he had driven from his kingdom. Artetarus, the most faithful confederate that the Romans had among all the Illyrian princes, had fallen by domestic treachery, and to his murderers he had given an asylum in his dominions; evidently shewing, to speak in the mildest terms, how much he rejoiced in their treason. In direct contravention of the late stipulations, he had marched an army through the midst of Greece to Delphi; he had sent succours to the Byzantines; he had entered into a league with the Boeotians; he had made war on the Dolopes. Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban embassadors, perished as they were returning from Rome; "I would rather ask," continued Marcius, "whose crime this was, than fix it on any individual. Violent commotions have arisen in Aetolia, in which some of the principal men have lost their lives; by what party but the Macedonian were those commotions excited? Eumenes had nearly fallen a sacrifice to treachery before the altars at Delphi; I am unwilling to name the person he accuses. As to Rammius, what discoveries he has made, your own embassadors, no doubt, have already informed you. The hearing of these things is irksome to you. You brought it on yourself, by inquiring, in the letter which you addressed to us, why the Romans send an army into Macedon, or garrison the cities of their allies. You have now heard their reasons. And, harsh as you may think the answer, you would probably have thought

"yourself

" yourſelf more ſeverely treated had your enquiry been left " altogether unanſwered. Mindful of the friendſhip that " ſubſiſted between our fathers, I ſhall lend a favourable ear " to whatever you can offer in your juſtification; and I wiſh " you may furniſh me with arguments to plead your cauſe in " the ſenate."

The king's anſwer.

So ſevere a charge, delivered in this manner, not only before a number of his own ſubjects, but alſo in the preſence of the deputies of the Grecian ſtates, ſhews little of that tender concern for Perſeus, by which the Roman pretended to be actuated. And, what renders this conduct more worthy of notice, it appears from the defence which Livy has put in the mouth of the Macedonian king, that of theſe accuſations, ſome were evidently ill-grounded, and many heightened with much unfair aggravation. Rammius, Perſeus declared, had never been at the court of Macedon but once, nor was he ever expected there again: how improbable therefore was it, that he ſhould intruſt a perſon, in whoſe fidelity he could not repoſe confidence, with a commiſſion of ſo delicate and hazardous a nature? The Theban embaſſadors, it was well known, had periſhed by ſhipwreck. The murderers of Artetarus he had ordered to be expelled from his dominions the inſtant he heard that they had taken refuge there. With relation to Eumenes, he was ſenſible he had been pointed at as the author of his aſſaſſination; but upon what kind of evidence! had that prince, whoſe oppreſſions had made him odious throughout Greece and Aſia, no enemies to fear but from Macedon?—This was his reply to thoſe articles, that concerned him as an individual; as a king, his anſwer was yet ſtronger. Abrupolis, unprovoked, had

had made an inroad into Macedon, and had ſpread his depredations as far as Amphipolis, before Perſeus took up arms againſt him; on whom lay the blame, if the iſſue of the war proved fatal to this lawleſs invader? The province of Dolopia had been aſſigned to the Macedonian king by the Romans themſelves; the Dolopians nevertheleſs had riſen againſt Euphranor, the Macedonian governor, and had put him to death, with circumſtances of the moſt barbarous cruelty; when did it become criminal in a prince, to reduce rebellious ſubjects to obedience? He had marched through a part of Greece to Delphi, in diſcharge of his vows; but if any of the ſtates that lay on his way, could make it appear, that the ſmalleſt outrage had been offered to them, or if, under the diſguiſe of religion he had been found to conceal any ambitious deſign, he was willing to ſubmit to condemnation. Reſpecting his aſſiſting the Byzantines, and his league with the Boeotians, his embaſſadors had already explained thoſe matters to the ſenate, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of a few, had accepted of his apology. "This defence of mine," he added, "will be
"received by thoſe who hear me, according to their paſ-
"ſions and affections; nor is it of ſo much importance,
"what my conduct or my views have been, as in what
"light you mean to ſee my actions. My conſcience bears
"me witneſs, that I have not offended knowingly; and
"if through ignorance I have tranſgreſſed, inſtructed
"by your reproof, I ſhall endeavour to correct whatever
"is amiſs. I have certainly done nothing wrong, which I
"may not remedy, nor for which you can think I merit
"all the horrors of an impending war. With little rea-
"ſon therefore are you renowned for moderation and diſ-
"paſſionate

"passionate councils, if, for causes that scarcely deserve expostulation, you take up arms against princes who are your friends and allies."

Book VII. Sect. I.

An insidious truce proposed by Marcius;

Marcius seemed much moved, and wished the king again to send embassadors to Rome, with conciliating proposals. The difficulty was, how, in the mean while, to suspend hostilities. After many laboured objections from the Romans, Marcius, "who could not," he said, "but reverence the sacred ties of hospitality, which subsisted between Perseus and him," appeared to yield at last to the solicitations of the king, and granted him a truce, until his embassadors should have time to return.

All this specious shew of friendship to the Macedonian king, was no more than a feint [29], which Marcius employed, in order to betray him into this very truce, the most ruinous measure that the unhappy prince could possibly have adopted. It will be proper to enter into an explanation of this matter.

the ruinous consequence of it to Perseus.

When Sicinius and the Roman commissioners arrived in Greece, they found the situation of things very different from what they had expected. Perseus was at the head of an army the best appointed and most numerous that Macedon had seen since the days of the great Alexander; his exchequer rich, and his magazines of war completely supplied; whilst his subjects appeared united and hearty in his service. Besides the interest he was at the same time said to

[29] Liv. L. xlii. c. 43.

have

have with the Asiatics, as well as with his Illyrian and Thracian neighbours, there was, throughout all the states of Greece, a general disposition in his favour. The people were every where for Macedon; and though several of their leaders were, from a principle of venality or ambition, attached to Rome, yet even among the chief men, Perseus had many personal friends; and, in general, the wisest and the best men in every city, apprehensive of what must be the fate of Greece should the Roman power remain without control, wished success to Perseus. As Licinius, the new consul, at the same time, had not yet made the necessary levies, and the force of the Romans in Greece was but inconsiderable, had Perseus, instead of sending his dastardly deputations to the Roman commissioners, to inquire what brought them into Greece, taken advantage of this fortunate assemblage of circumstances, and attacked his enemies the instant they landed, he could hardly have failed of victory; when, encouraged by such an act of vigour, the greater part of Greece had probably declared in his favour. But the timidity and irresolution of this devoted prince relieved the Romans from their embarrassment; and they improved the opportunity. Their troops they cantoned in the strong holds of Epire, so as to form a line along the western frontier of Macedon, whilst the five commissioners, taking their progress through the different states of Greece, most of them seeing the hopes they had placed in Perseus disappointed by his spiritless conduct, readily promised whatever was asked. The truce completed what the Romans had in view. It gave them time to provide more effectually for the war; and it shewed to all the confederates of Macedon, how little dependence

pendence there could be on a king, who, after all his boastings, and with the numerous advantages he possessed, was abject enough to become an humble suppliant for peace.

The art employed by Marcius to dissolve the Boeotian confederacy.

The Boeotians first experienced the consequences of this fatal measure [30]. They had, as we have seen, entered into a league of alliance with Perseus. And several of their cities, when charged with this fact by the Roman commissioners, had alleged, that it was the act not of any particular city, but of the whole Boeotian body; in which, however, some of the cities had not concurred. This apology furnished Marcius with a hint, which rendered the league abortive, and at the same time destroyed the Boeotian power for ever. He offered to consider every city as a separate and independent state, and as such, to conclude with it an alliance. The pride of independence, or perhaps the dread of Rome, induced most of them to accept of the offer. Thus was the Boeotian confederacy, which derived its whole strength from its union, crumbled into separate and inconsiderable states; and never afterwards recovered its antient importance. Two Boeotian cities only, Corona and Haliartus, refused to depart from their alliance with Macedon; and being threatened on this account by the Thebans, now in the Roman interest, applied to Perseus for protection. His answer was worthy of his character. "The truce had tied up his hands, and "they must provide for their safety as they could [31]."

[30] Polyb. Legat. lxiii. Liv. L. lxii. c. 38, 43. Liv. L. xlii. c. 46.

[31] See Polyb. Legat. lxvi.

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

Spirited loyalty of the Macedonian people.

THE ſpirited loyalty of the Macedonians on this occaſion [34], ſhews, that whatever were the vices of the man, Perſeus was not wanting in thoſe qualities which uſually endear kings to their people. As ſoon as it was known that war was reſolved upon, from every part of Macedon he had offers of large ſubſidies, and ample ſupplies of all things neceſſary for the maintenance of an army. His conduct did him no leſs honour. He thanked his ſubjects for their honeſt zeal; but told them, that his own treaſures were ſufficient to anſwer all his demands; and that the only ſervice with which he ſhould burden them, was the furniſhing of carriages for tranſporting his machines and implements of war.

Perſeus takes the field;

has an opportunity of beginning the war to advantage;

loſes it:

PERSEUS was early in the field [35]; and having made himſelf maſter of the ſtreights which open from the Macedonian frontier into the vale of Tempe, had advanced, before the Romans appeared, as far as Sycurium, a city ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of mount Oſſa. He had now a favourable opportunity of opening the campaign with advantage. The conſul, on his march through Athamania to Theſſaly, was at this very time intangled in the defiles and intricate paſſes which interſect this mountainous part of Greece. Had Perſeus attacked him here, the Romans themſelves confeſſed, that a total defeat was almoſt unavoidable: but fearful of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, ſay the Roman writers, or more probably, not having proper intelligence of the enemy's motions and ſituations, which in thoſe days was often difficult to be obtained, the Ma-

[34] Liv. L. xlii. c. 53.

[35] Ibid. c. 54, 55.

cedonian

cedonian king contented himſelf with the opportunity which his poſition afforded him, of covering Macedon and the northern Theſſaly.

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

the Romans advance againſt him.

AT length Licinius reached Lariſſa; and, having been joined by a thouſand auxiliaries from the Achaean ſtates, a reinforcement of five thouſand men under Eumenes from Aſia, and a body of Theſſalian horſe, he encamped on the north-ſide of the Peneus. The two armies were now within a few miles of each other [36]; but though the foraging parties from the Macedonian army overſpread the country, and had extended their ravages into Pheraea [37], and though Perſeus had for ſeveral days appeared every morning in order of battle, and even inſulted the Roman camp, in the hopes of bringing on an engagement; the conſul, nevertheleſs, ſeemed induſtriouſly to avoid it. Emboldened by this, Perſeus moved his camp ſeven miles nearer; and the enſuing morning, by the firſt dawn of day, having formed his whole army, advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed infantry to the verge of the Roman entrenchments. The ſudden appearance of the enemy at an hour much earlier than uſual, and their reſolute and firm appearance, threw the Roman camp into confuſion; the tumultuous hurry of the ſoldiery making the danger from without appear greater than it was. The conſul, in this critical ſituation, commanded all his cavalry, with the light-armed and auxiliary troops, to ſally forth and repulſe the enemy, he himſelf remaining

Battle of the Peneus;

36 Liv. L. xlii. c. 57 & ſeq.

37 One of the faireſt provinces of Theſſaly, and under the immediate protection of the Romans.

within

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

the Macedonians victorious:

within the trenches with his legionaries, ready to answer any exigency. The Roman detachment found the task assigned to them, much more difficult than they expected. Unable to stand the furious charge of the Thracian horsemen, who, to use the expression of the Roman historian, "rushed forward with a ferocity like that of wild beasts springing on their prey," they gave way on every side, after having sustained considerable loss; and had been all cut to pieces, if the Thessalian cavalry, who covered the left wing, and had hitherto stood their ground, had not received them within their ranks, and sheltered them from the pursuers.

Perseus wants spirit to improve his victory;

THE instant it was known that the advantage was on the side of Macedon, Hippias and Leonnatus, who commanded the phalanx, advanced to the field of battle, in hopes of crowning the glory of the day by storming the Roman camp. And had the king yielded to their martial ardour, there had been little doubt of success: but so daring an exploit was more than Perseus durst aspire to. His natural pusillanimity returned; and Evander, who was no stranger to his master's weakness, and probably discovered his wishes in his looks, at sight of the phalanx advised him, "not to tempt fortune any further for the present, but rather be satisfied with the success he had already obtained, which would certainly facilitate a peace, if peace was his object, or, if he chose to continue the war, would induce numbers to join him." Perseus, with much commendation of Evander's prudence, ordered the phalanx to halt, and a retreat to be sounded [38]. In this action, there fell of the Roman

[38] Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

infantry two thousand, with two hundred of their cavalry; two hundred more of their horsemen being made prisoners. Forty foot and twenty horse were all the Macedonians lost.

sees his mistake:

NEXT morning discovered to Perseus his fatal error [39]. Dreading the very enterprize which the Macedonian durst not attempt, Eumenes had advised the consul to decamp by night, and retreat to the other side of the Peneus, where he might remain in safety; and Licinius, notwithstanding the humiliating confession which such a step implied, found it expedient to follow the advice. Perseus now saw, what might have been done had he followed his victory, or even been attentive to the enemy's motions during the night, and attacked them in their retreat over the river.

his victory occasions general exultations throughout Greece.

FROM the temper of mind with which the news of this success, imperfect as it was, were received throughout Greece, we may judge what the real dispositions of the people were, and how difficult the Romans would have found this war, had a prince of abilities, and worthy of public confidence, been then seated on the throne of Macedon. The different states had before shewn their disaffection to the cause of Rome, in the scanty succours they sent to the consul; which, in general, says Livy [40], were so inconsiderable as not to be worth recording, whilst they apologized under various pretences, and still professed an ardent zeal for her ser-

[39] Liv. L. xlii. c. 60.

[40] Quorum pleraque (adeo parva erant) in oblivionem adducta. Liv. L. xlii. c. 55.

vice.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

vice. That disguise which the dread of Roman power had obliged them to assume, was now thrown off[41]; and not only the friends of the royal house of Macedon, but even the men who were supposed to have been warm in the interests of Rome, joined in the general joy. The Romans, it appears from the confession of their own writers, had already made Greece feel their insolence and oppression; and many of their most zealous partizans began to entertain the most melancholy apprehensions of impending servitude.

Perseus meanly sues for peace;

PERSEUS, by his own conduct, soon weakened the impressions which, properly cultivated, might have been highly advantageous. As if former experience had not taught him that a vigorous prosecution of the war was his only resource, he renewed his solicitations for peace with all the abjectness of a vanquished enemy[42]; offering to cede to the Romans, all the cities and provinces which had been ceded by his father Philip, and to pay the same tribute he had agreed to pay. But the Romans, whose maxim it was, "never, in whatever fortune, to make peace with a victorious enemy," rejected his offer with scorn, imperiously requiring Perseus "to surrender himself and his kingdom "to the Romans at discretion," as the only way by which peace was to be obtained. Incensed at this haughty answer, the king's counsellors advised him to abandon all thoughts of accommodation; but the very haughtiness of the answer terrified his spirit, and became a new argument

is refused:

[41] "Fama pugnae," says Livy, speaking of this battle, "nudavit voluntates "hominum." L. xlii. c. 63.

[42] Polyb. Legat. lxix. Liv. L. xlii. c. 62.

with

with Perseus for renewing his application. He thought it impossible that the consul should manifest such firmness, without an assurance of success; and sent a second deputation with an offer of a much larger tribute; to which the Romans returned the same answer.

Bad conduct of the Roman commanders.

The manner in which the consul prosecuted the war during the remainder of his year, shewed but little of that firmness or assurance of victory, which these spirited answers seemed to imply [43]. In Thessaly, the two armies were employed in attacking or defending, with various success, places of little importance, except merely on account of their situation; or in occasional skirmishes, mostly between the foraging parties, which, though sometimes bloody and attended with loss to the Macedonians, made no material alteration in the state of affairs. Perseus, in defiance of all the Roman efforts, still kept possession of the passes and strong holds that commanded the Macedonian frontier. In Illyricum [44], one of the consul's lieutenants had made himself master of two opulent towns, and had granted the inhabitants their effects, in the view of alluring to submission, by this apparent clemency, another strong town in the neighbourhood: but finding his expectations disappointed, and that neither his subtlety of contrivance nor force of arms could give him possession, he returned and pillaged both the places which he had formerly spared. In Boeotia [45], the praetor Lucretius laid siege to Haliartus, and having taken it after an obstinate and vigorous defence, plundered it of

43 See Liv. L. xlii. c. 64 & seq. 44 Liv. L. xliii. c. 1. 45 Liv. L. xlii. c. 63.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

every thing valuable, appropriating most of the spoils to his own use, and then razing it to the ground. From thence he proceeded to Thebes, which, though she opened her gates, he nevertheless treated with all the severity of an exasperated enemy; not content with restoring the citizens that had been banished for their attachment to the Roman interest, but also selling, with their families, as slaves, all who were suspected of favouring the cause of Macedon.

Perseus acts with vigour and success.

PERSEUS having, in the mean time, surprised a part of the Roman fleet[45] which lay at Oreum in Euboea, had taken twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest, laden with wheat, and made himself master of four gallies, of five benches of oars. Intelligence having been received, that some of the Thracian tribes, instigated and assisted by Eumenes of Pergamus, had broken into the dominions of Cotys, a king of Thrace in alliance with Perseus, and an auxiliary in the Macedonian camp, he immediately dismissed the Thracian king with large presents, and a considerable sum of money, to the defence of his own territories; and so little now were his apprehensions of danger from the Romans, that he himself marched soon after to the aid of Cotys, and obtained for him a complete victory over the invaders.

The consul Hostilius succeeds to the command;

LICINIUS was succeeded in the command by the consul Hostilius, who was more unsuccessful than his predecessor. Upon his very entrance into Epire, of whose defection there was not, as yet, any suspicion, he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade of Epirots, who had lain in wait for him,

[45] Plutarch. in Paul. Aemilio. Liv. L. xliii. c. 2.

5 in

in order to deliver him up to Perſeus. He afterwards endeavoured to penetrate into Macedonia by the province of Elymaea; and was defeated. He attempted a paſſage by the Cambunian mountains; and found it impracticable. He detached his lieutenant Appius Claudius, to infeſt the Macedonian frontier from the ſide of Illyricum; who having formed the deſign of plundering Uſcana [47], a city on the confines of Macedon, ſuffered himſelf to be caught in a ſnare by a ſtratagem of the Cretan garriſon: they had promiſed to betray the place to him; but upon his approaching the walls with a careleſs ſecurity, they ſallied out with the inhabitants, and attacked him ſo vigorouſly, that ſcarcely a fourth part of his army eſcaped.

fails in every attempt.

Cauſes of theſe miſcarriages.

This train of bad ſucceſs became the more reproachful from the cauſe to which it ſeemed juſtly to be aſcribed, "the rapacity and inſolence of oppreſſion," with which moſt of the Roman commanders of the preſent year, as well as the preceding, ſtood charged. Decimius [48], who at the beginning of the war had been ſent on an embaſſy to Gentius of Illyricum, was, with good reaſon, ſuſpected of having ſold himſelf to the Illyrian king. Complaints, ſupported by the ſtrongeſt proofs, had been laid before the ſenate, againſt Lucretius [49], one of the praetors of the laſt year, who, after enriching himſelf with the pillage of the enemies of Rome, had not even ſpared her friends; deſpoiling the very temples of Chalcis, then confederate with the Romans, of their moſt precious ornaments, in order to add to the magnificence of his

[47] Liv. L. xliii. c. 10.

[48] Liv. L. xlii. c. 45.

[49] Liv. L. xliii. c. 4.

 villa

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

villa in the neighbourhood of Antium. There was also reason to suspect, that Licinius himself had not been guiltless. The like complaints were now brought against the consul Hostilius, and the officers under his command. Cassius, one of his praetors, was infamous for his depredations. His admiral, Hortensius [50], had put to death the chief men of Abdera, on the Thracian coast, and sold for slaves the rest of the citizens because they had refused to comply with his merciless exactions, and had dared to appeal to the consul for relief; so that the neighbouring cities, alarmed by these enormities, and dreading similar acts of violence, had shut their gates against him. On his return to Chalcis, the unhappy Chalcidians again experienced all the cruelty and rapine of Lucretius. Even the army under the immediate command of Hostilius [51], had been rendered unfit for service, either by the facility or avarice of the consul and his principal officers; numbers of the soldiers having, for money, or through favour, obtained leave of absence, and returned to Italy.

The Macedonian affairs in a prosperous situation;

THE Macedonian affairs, on the contrary, wore a prosperous appearance [52]. Perseus had defeated every attempt against Macedon during the summer; and as soon as winter had set in, and the snows had rendered the mountains and glens around him impassable to the Romans, he attacked and defeated the Dardanians, who, probably upon the retreat of the Bastarnae, began again to be troublesome, leaving ten thousand of them dead on the field. From thence he had

[50] Liv. L. xliii. c. 7. [51] Liv. ibid. c. 11. [52] See Liv. L. xliii. c. 18, 19, 20.

advanced

advanced into Illyricum, with the view of recovering ſome places of ſtrength, formerly taken by the Romans, which were of conſequence to the ſecurity of the Macedonian frontier; and, at the ſame time, of entering into alliance with Gentius, the moſt powerful of the Illyrian princes. He found little difficulty in the accompliſhment of the former, and might as eaſily have effected the latter, had not his own avarice[53] been the only obſtacle. Gentius wanted money; and Perſeus could not think of ſupplying him; ſo that, after a repeated interchange of meſſages, the negotiation ended without effect. He had not yet entered Illyricum, when he received the pleaſing intelligence, that the Epirots, at the inſtigation of Cephalus, one of their chieftains, had renounced the friendſhip of Rome, and declared in his favour. The Aetolians too ſolicited his preſence, offering to put Stratus into his hands, a conſiderable city of Acarnania on the Achelous, which at this time was in their poſſeſſion. The invitation was eagerly accepted, and Perſeus was inſtantly in motion. But the ſeverity of the ſeaſon and the difficulty of the roads rendering his march exceedingly tedious, a Roman commander, who was ſtationed in the country, conceiving ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign, had entered the city with a ſtrong body of troops the evening before Perſeus reached it. He made himſelf, however, ſome amends, by getting poſſeſſion of Aperantia, a neighbouring diſtrict of Aetolia; and this ſucceſs was ſoon followed by advice, that Clevas, one of his generals, had defeated the Romans on the borders of Epire, in two ſucceſſive engagements, in which,

[53] See Polyb. Legat. lxxvi. lxxvii.

[54] Liv. L. xliii. c. 23.

two

Book VII. Sect. 1.

two thouſand of the enemy had fallen, and three hundred been made priſoners.

but injured by the ſordid avarice of Perſeus.

Nothing, indeed, ſeems now to have been wanting to Perſeus, but to have known how to employ properly, the treaſures of which he was maſter. The corruption and inſolence of the Roman commanders, had made them generally odious. Polybius himſelf acknowledges, that, had the Macedonian king (whoſe avarice, to ſuch a wonderful exceſs of ſordidneſs and folly, muſt, ſays he, have been a judgment on him from the gods [55]) improved the preſent opportunity, by giving moderate ſubſidies to the kings and ſtates of Aſia and Greece, gratifying at the ſame time with preſents the principal men in the different cities, he had effectually ruined the Roman intereſt with moſt of the Greek and Aſiatic nations.

Conſternation and proſecutions at Rome.

When tidings of theſe matters were received in Rome, they occaſioned the deepeſt conſternation. Upon the firſt complaints, commiſſioners had been immediately ſent into Greece [56]; and their report exceeded even the voice of fame. Embaſſadors alſo had now arrived from thoſe ſtates which had ſuffered moſt from the oppreſſions and rapacity of the Roman commanders, to implore juſtice from the ſenate and Roman people. To the Romans the criſis was alarming: they were in danger of loſing Greece, if not Aſia: and ſome of the firſt nobility were among the accuſed cri-

[55] Δαιμοναβλάβεια is the expreſſive name that Polybius gives to the amazing avarice of this wretched prince. See Legat. lxxvii.

[56] Liv. L. xliii. c. 8, 11, 17.

minals.

minals. Orders were immediately iſſued, requiring all the ſenators throughout Italy, unleſs employed on public ſervice, to repair immediately to Rome, and forbidding any ſenator to go farther than one mile from the city. Lucretius[57], the late praetor, had already been ſummoned to appear. The nobles would gladly have ſaved him, but they found it impoſſible. Two tribunes of the people, M. Juventius Thalna and Cn. Aufidius, were active in the proſecution; and his trial being brought on, the thirty-five tribes, with one voice, pronounced him guilty. Several others, not leſs criminal, had probably ſhared the ſame fate, had not their trials been put off, under pretence, that they were neceſſary perſons in the army abroad, and could not therefore appear in their own defence.

Edict to check the abuſes committed by the Roman commanders:

THE next buſineſs was, to guard againſt the conſequences to be dreaded from the reſentment of an injured people. An edict was accordingly paſſed[58], which enacted, "That "henceforth the allies of Rome ſhould not pay obedience to "any requiſitions made by any magiſtrate whatſoever, unleſs "it appeared, that theſe requiſitions had proceeded from the "ſenate themſelves." Orders were likewiſe tranſmitted to Hoſtilius[59] and the other commanders in Greece, to conduct themſelves for the future with greater caution; and wherever

57 When the charge againſt him was firſt laid before the ſenate, it was pretended, that he was abroad with the army; and that therefore it was neceſſary to poſtpone the inquiry. It afterwards appeared, that at this very time he was at his villa, employing in expenſive works, the vaſt ſums which he had brought home from the pillage of Haliatus, and the plunder of the Chalcidians. See Liv. L. xliii. c. 4.

58 Liv. L. xliii. c. 17.

59 Ibid. c. 8.

reparation

embaſſadors ſent to the Grecian ſtates to notify the edict:

reparation could be made, to make it as ſpeedily as poſſible. To the ſeveral ſtates alſo embaſſadors were deputed, to aſſure them of the affectionate regard paid to their intereſts, and to notify the new edict, which the ſenate, *ever attentive to the* LIBERTIES *of* GREECE, had been graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue.

inſidious inſtructions given to thoſe embaſſadors:

THIS, however, as appears from Polybius [60], was only the *oſtenſible* part of their commiſſion. Beneath all this ſemblance of affection, lurked the moſt treacherous deſigns. The embaſſadors had ſecret inſtructions to ſeize the opportunity, when theſe gracious aſſurances ſhould have lulled every ſuſpicion, to deſtroy all thoſe, whom eminent abilities and zeal for the liberties of their country had rendered obnoxious to Rome. In thoſe ſtates, where their opponents were too many to be thus diſpatched, they were to endeavour at leaſt, to get into their hands a number of the moſt conſiderable perſons, by way of hoſtages; or to obtain permiſſion to introduce Roman garriſons into their cities, in order to lay thoſe ſtates under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to whatever terms Rome might thereafter think fit to preſcribe.

the reception they met with from the Achaeans;

THE embaſſadors were to have entered on the execution of this part of their inſtructions in Achaia: and three Achaeans of the higheſt diſtinction, Lycortas, Polybius, and Archon, whoſe virtue had withſtood every temptation, were the firſt victims marked for deſtruction. But upon the opening of the Achaean diet, it was found, that matters were not yet ripe for their purpoſe. Even the queſtion, "whether Achaia

[60] Legat. lxxiv. lxxv.

ſhould take part with Rome againſt Macedon ?" was likely to produce great heats. And the embaſſadors began to fear, that, ſhould they venture on the attempt they had in view, it would only ſerve to diſcloſe what it was their intereſt to conceal, and perhaps involve their whole party in ruin. BOOK VII. Sect. I.

WITH the Aetolians, from whom they were to have exacted hoſtages, they had no better ſucceſs. The diet was a ſcene of tumult and confuſion; and to ſuch an exceſs of mutual violence did the Macedonian and Roman parties proceed, that thoſe in oppoſition to Rome, ſtoned, in the very diet, and in the preſence of the embaſſadors, one of the contrary faction. From ſuch an aſſembly it had been to little purpoſe to have demanded hoſtages; and the embaſſadors took care to withdraw without mentioning them. the Aetolians;

FROM thence they proceeded to Acarnania, too inconſiderable a ſtate in appearance to be capable of much firmneſs. And here, beſides, Rome was ſuppoſed to have a ſtrong party; yet, the inſtant it was propoſed that they ſhould receive Roman garriſons into their cities, the greater part of the aſſembly expreſſed the higheſt indignation[61]; and the embaſſadors, who ſaw it would be in vain to contend againſt ſo general an oppoſition, had the prudence to deſiſt. the Acarnanians;

[61] Livy (L. xliii. c. 17.) has given ſome account of this tranſaction, but in a very ſlight and curſory manner. However, what he mentions of the oppoſition made to the article of *garriſons* in the Acarnanian convention, is remarkable. "Pars," his words are, "recuſare, *ne quod bello captis et hoſtibus mos eſſet, id pacatae* "*et ſociae civitates ignominiae acciperent.*"

These proceedings need no comment. They clearly develope the Roman character at this period. And shew what powerful aids Macedon might still have drawn from Greece, had not Perseus been wanting to himself and to his cause.

Quintus Marcius Philippus elected consul, and appointed to conduct the Macedonian war.

The conduct of the war now devolved on Quintus Marcius Philippus, the *trusty friend* by whom Perseus had been circumvented; who, with Q. Servilius Caepio, had been elected to the consulship. His setting out had an appearance of vigour that promised great things; his necessary levies were completed with unusual expedition; and by the first opening of the spring he had already joined the army in Thessaly. The commencement of his operations was equally spirited. Ambitious of succeeding where the preceding commanders had failed, and sensible, that the artifice which he had practised before, could not avail him again, he staked all his hopes on boldness and enterprise; declaring himself resolved to force his way[62] through some of those formidable barriers which had hitherto defied the Roman arms. Upon enquiry, he was told there were three passes where he might possibly succeed; one by the way of Pythium, another by the Cambunian mountains, where Hostilius had failed, and a third by the lake Ascuris. For some part of the way, one common road led to all, which afterwards branched into three, each leading to one of the above mentioned passes. Undetermined which to choose, he nevertheless began his march, purposing to form his plan according to the discoveries he should make as he advanced. Being arrived at the place where the road di-

[62] See Liv. . xliv. c. 2. & seq.

vided,

vided, he detached, for what reaſons we are not told, a body of four thouſand men under two commanders, one of them his ſon, to attempt the paſs by the lake Aſcuris; halting with the reſt of the army, until he had intelligence of the event.

He attempts the Macedonian frontier;

The road through which this detachment had to march, was rugged, ſteep, and worn into channels by the mountain-floods; ſo that after two days inceſſant labour, they had ſcarcely proceeded fifteen miles. At length, on the evening of the ſecond day they gained the top of a hill, where they ventured to encamp; and the enſuing morning, having moved on about ſeven miles farther, they reached the ſummit of another mountain, from whence they could deſcry one of the enemy's ſtations about a mile from them, and at a farther diſtance, Dium, the camp of Perſeus, with all that part of the Macedonian coaſt that is waſhed by the gulph of Theſſalonica. Advice was immediately diſpatched to the conſul, who, fortunately for them, was already on his march; anxious to know the fate of his men, whom, inconſiderately enough, he had ventured into the midſt of the enemy's poſts, defiles, and hollows, to which they were ſtrangers. No ſooner were the army ſomewhat recovered from their fatiguing march, than Marcius prepared to drive the Macedonian party from the poſt, without which it was impoſſible for him to advance. The Macedonians were not leſs ready to receive them. The party which Hippias commanded was twelve thouſand ſtrong; and having only a mountain's ſummit to defend, where he knew every advantage of ground, and where only a few combatants could engage, he was more than a match for the Romans; who were repulſed. On the ſecond day they renewed

attacks a Macedonian poſt without ſucceſs.

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

newed the attack; and in like manner on the third; but ſtill without ſucceſs.

Perilous ſituation of the Roman army;

THE conſul ſaw his critical ſituation. It was impoſſible for his army to ſubſiſt on the ſharp ridge of a barren mountain. He could not advance: and to retreat was highly dangerous, from the nature of the road, through which he muſt paſs, and from the enemy's commanding the mountain-heights, from whence they might pour down deſtruction on him and his army. It is ſcarcely conceivable, that at this critical conjuncture, Perſeus ſhould have ſhewn that imbecillity of conduct, of which he appears to have been guilty. Had he done what was in his power, had he ſupported Hippias, or endeavoured to cut off Marcius's retreat, the Romans themſelves confeſſed their ruin had been inevitable. Inſtead of this, though during the three days that the engagement laſted, he was ſo near the ſcene of action as probably to hear the ſhouts of the combatants, he employed himſelf in parading along the ſhore at the head of his cavalry, without ſending the ſmalleſt reinforcement up the mountain.

folly of Perſeus in not advancing againſt them.

Marcius ventures down from the mountain;

MARCIUS, however, reſolved not to return back, but at all hazards to deſcend the mountain, and endeavour to penetrate into Macedon through the glen below, leaving Popilius with a party of the army on the ſummit to cover his rear. This was an enterprize of infinite toil. The mountain was in many places exceedingly ſteep, and even where it ſeemed to be leſs abrupt, there was no ſure footing to be found in thoſe untrodden paths; ſo that the troops, rather than truſt to their feet, for the moſt part

rolled

rolled themſelves down. To add to the difficulty, the elephants refuſed the precipices, and became outrageous, throwing their riders, and ſcaring the horſes with their hideous cries. During the general confuſion which this occaſioned, had only a ſmall part of the enemy appeared, the conſul himſelf acknowledged afterwards, there had been an end of the Roman army. After trying ſeveral expedients, it was contrived to let down theſe unwieldy animals by wooden platforms, one end of which was joined to the cliff, and the other end ſupported by poſts faſtened in the ſlope beneath; over the floor of the platform was ſpread a covering of earth, that the elephant might not be ſhy of venturing on it. As ſoon as he had gotten on the platform, the poſts that upheld it being cut, he was made to ſlide off to a ſecond, which began where the firſt ended; in like manner to a third; and ſo onward to the bottom. In this tedious and laborious employment was the whole day conſumed. Towards night they reached a level ſpot, which, though they were ignorant where they were, or with what dangers they were ſtill encompaſſed, was a circumſtance which greatly relieved them, as they could now ſtand on firm ground. The morning light afforded them no better information. They found themſelves in the hollow of a gloomy foreſt, through which it was impoſſible to deſcry what lay beyond. Here, however, they remained all that day, in order that Popilius, who had received directions to follow as ſoon as he ſafely could, might have time to join them. The two ſucceeding days they moved forward without meeting any obſtruction, excepting what aroſe from the deep and wood-entangled glens through which they had to march; when at length their proſpect opened into the champaign

with great riſque makes his way to the neighbourhood of the Macedonian camp.

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

paign country between Heracleum and Libethrum, a considerable way above the entrance into the ſtreights of Tempe, and a few miles from Dium, where Perſeus had his head-quarters.

Terror of Perſeus.

PERSEUS was bathing, when tidings were brought him that the Romans had paſſed the defiles, and were advancing. Every part of his conduct now betrayed his abject character. In an agony of fear he flung out of the bath, exclaiming he was vanquiſhed without fighting; and, as if he gave up all for loſt, inſtantly ſent off orders to burn his naval ſtores at Theſſalonica, and to throw his treaſures at Pella into the ſea; recalled Hippias from his poſt at the Aſcuris, and in like manner all the other commanders from the ſeveral paſſes where they were ſtationed; and, having removed on board his fleet the ſtatues of Alexander's ſoldiers that were at Dium, abandoned that city to the enemy, and fled to Pydna. Even now, had there been the ſmalleſt firmneſs on his ſide, Marcius had paid the full price of his temerity. He had got beyond the paſs of Aſcuris, and the ſtreights of Tempe; but what did this avail him? Unable to advance, without a poſſibility of retreat; having no means of ſubſiſtence from the country in which he was, and cut off from all foreign ſupplies; he muſt, had Perſeus continued only to guard the ſeveral paſſes, have inevitably periſhed. He could not have retreated by the way he had come; as the Macedonians were maſters of that road, and with eaſe could have deſtroyed him from the heights, of which they were in poſſeſſion. And, ſhould he have attempted to penetrate farther into Macedon, the only

The dangers to which the Romans were expoſed, had Perſeus ſhewn firmneſs.

opening into it from that quarter was by Dium, and that flanked on the one ſide by Mount Olympus, and on the other, partly by a dangerous moraſs, and partly by the ſuburbs of the city, ſo that only a narrow ſtrait remained, where a ſmall force was ſufficient to diſpute the paſſage againſt the moſt formidable army. The ſole reſource, therefore, that he had left, was, to have returned into Theſſaly through the vale of Tempe. But that was hardly to be effected. For the length of five miles the road through this vale was ſo exceedingly narrow, that it was not poſſible for two beaſts of burden to paſs abreaſt; and on each ſide ſo frightful was the precipice, that the traveller with averted eye ſhrunk from the tremendous proſpect; below alſo rolled the Peneus, the ſtunning noiſe of whoſe waters, tumbling over the rocky bottom, and broken into frequent falls, deepened wonderfully the horror of the ſcene. In addition to all this, the Macedonians had forts and entrenchments ſtrongly garriſoned at all the important poſts along the valley. So that had not Perſeus weakly given up every advantage which he poſſeſſed, he had now the enemy at his mercy. But the unthinking temerity of the conſul, ſay the Roman writers, found its apology in the *puſillanimity* of the king[63]. Whatever Marcius's folly was, luckily for him, it was conſpicuouſly outdone by the king's ſuperior imbecillity.

The Roman conſul enters Dium:

The conſul, in amazement that the Macedonians had evacuated Dium, entered the city with great caution, apprehenſive, that under ſo ſtrange an appearance of timidity,

63 " Quae temeritas conſulis videri potuiſſet, quod eo proceſſiſſet, unde invito " hoſte regredi nequiret, eam non inconſultam audaciam (rex) fecit."——Liv. L. xliv. c. 6.

ſome

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

some hostile ambuscade must be concealed. His wonder increased when he saw the strength of the place, and what a stand might have been made there, had it been properly defended. From Dium he pushed on northward with the same success; the Macedonians every where submitting as he approached. But though he had no enemy to oppose him, he soon found, that he had advanced farther than prudence could justify. The country was poor; and as he proceeded farther north, it became every day more difficult to procure provisions. His fleet also, which he had ordered to follow, and on which he depended for the support of his army, disappointed his expectations; it had arrived off the coast, but the store-ships, by some mistake, had remained at Magnesia. At last, when at the heighth of distress, he received advice from Lucretius, that the Macedonians had abandoned all their posts in the streights of Tempe, and had left plenty of provisions behind them; and that sufficient supplies should, with all possible expedition, be hastened forward to his relief. But whether Marcius began to fear, that the necessities of his army might provoke them to mutiny; or that the Macedonians, recovering from their panic and dejection, might intercept the supplies, and perhaps cut off his retreat; he immediately marched to Phila, near the entrance of the vale, where he had reason to suppose the provisions were by this time arrived; thus abandoning all his conquests with the same rapidity with which he had acquired them. Whatever induced this extraordinary step, it fixed a considerable blemish on his military character [64].

pushes on northward:

finds himself in distress:

abandons all his conquests.

[64] Liv. L. xliv. c. 8.

PERSEUS

Perseus stung with shame at his own misconduct;

PERSEUS now saw, with shame and regret, what his terror had not permitted him to see before, "that to his own spiritless conduct the Romans owed their preservation;" and having returned to Dium, and repaired what the Romans had dismantled, he encamped on the Enipeus, five miles to the south of that city, with a design to cover this part of Macedon from farther insult. What mortified him most, were the orders he had given concerning his treasures at Pella, and his naval stores at Thessalonica; they were a confession of fears, which at present he was unwilling to avow, and he resolved, at any rate, to wipe off the reproach.

the cruel manner in which he seeks to wipe off the reproach.

THE persons he had employed in this service, were Andronicus and Nicias; the one had been sent to Pella, the other to Thessalonica. Nicias, punctual to the directions which he received, had caused the treasures to be sunk in the sea. Andronicus, suspecting that his master would soon repent, had delayed the destruction of the stores until farther orders. To have, or not to have obeyed, Perseus considered as equally criminal, and put both his agents to death. To recover the treasure, he procured divers, who brought up the greater part of it. They met with the reward of Nicias and Andronicus; the tyrant vainly imagining, that all remembrance of his pusillanimous conduct would be obliterated, by destroying those who had it more immediately in their power to discover it[65].

The consul does nothing else considerable:

THE remainder of the operations of the year did little towards restoring honour to the Roman arms. The only

65 Liv. L. xliv. c. 10.

BOOK VII. Sect. I.

only town the consul was able to take, was Heracleum, a place of no great consequence, and which the Macedonians, though their camp on the Enipeus was within sight of it, made no motion to relieve. He next attempted certain cities on the Thermaic gulph, Thessalonica, Torone, Cassandrea, with Meliboea and Demetrius on the confines of Thessaly; but all without effect; the whole of his atchievements, amounting to some tumultuary depredations, in one of which he was even repulsed with considerable loss.

meanly prevents succours being sent to Appius.

His conduct in relation to Appius Cento the praetor, was not less disreputable. Appius commanded in Illyricum, and, finding the superiority of the enemy, had applied to the Achaeans for succours. The Achaeans had before sent Polybius to the consul, with an offer of marching a body of troops to his aid [66], which, probably despairing of making any impression on the Macedonian frontier, he had refused; and such was his illiberal spirit, he would not permit Appius to be reinforced from that quarter, notwithstanding his application and present necessity, that he might not be in a better condition than himself. The case was delicate. It was of importance to the Achaeans, to be considered as the faithful allies of the Romans. And the situation of the Roman commander required instant relief. Polybius, artfully enough, contrived to elude the praetor's application, and withal to affect the highest respect for Rome. He represented to the Achaean states, that by the senate's late edict, they were not to pay regard to any requisition made by a Roman commander, unless that requisition appeared to have

[66] See Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

the

the ſanction of the ſenate. Appius had no ſuch ſanction to produce; and therefore his demand could not be complied with.

The conſequences of the conſul's mean jealouſy, proved nearly fatal to Appius; for hiſtory [67] informs us, that with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped being cut off by the enemy.

[67] Liv. L. xliv. c. 20.

BOOK VII.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus elected consul, and appointed to conduct the Macedonian war—restores and improves the discipline of the Roman army, which had suffered from the mismanagement of the preceding commanders—advances against Perseus—forces him from his entrenchments on the Peneus—engages, and defeats him at Pydna.—Perseus flies to Pella—to Amphipolis—to Samothrace—surrenders himself to the Roman admiral—is brought to Rome—produced before the triumphal car of the victorious Roman, and dies in wretchedness.—Humiliation of Macedon under the Romans—their inhuman treatment of the people of Epire—the people of Aetolia—and most of the other Grecian states.—Cruel designs entertained by them against Achaia, not carried into execution—for what reasons.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

THREE years and upwards had the Roman arms been employed against Macedon, to little advantage. At Rome, the fault of this dilatory and unsuccessful war was altogether imputed to the incapacity or the corruption of the

the feveral commanders, to whom the conduct of it had hitherto been intrufted; and it was now the general voice of the people, that, regardlefs of the intrigues of ambition, fome perfon fhould be called forth to this fervice, whofe known abilities and integrity merited the public confidence [1]. In Lucius Aemilius Paulus they feemed to have found the man whom they were feeking; fon to the conful Aemilius Paulus, who had refufed to furvive the carnage of his countrymen on the fatal day of Cannae: He had been conful fifteen years before, and in the difcharge of that office, as well as the other offices through which he had paffed, was confpicuous both for military fkill and unblemifhed honour. But having ftood a fecond time for the conful-fhip without fuccefs, he had retired from public life, untainted by the contagion of diffipated manners, which began to be the difgrace of the Roman nobility. His only reproach was, that he had divorced his wife Papiria, a lady unexceptionable in her conduct, and defcended from one of the nobleft families in Rome. She had lived with him many years in wedlock, and had brought him feveral children, two of them fons, who promifed to be the ornaments of their illuftrious houfe. At the fame time it muft be confeffed, that this was not fo much the reproach of Aemilius as of the times; the Roman law and manners, by the free permiffion of divorces, having now entirely levelled that important fence of domeftic happinefs and national virtue, reverence for the marriage bond [2]. He made,

Lucius Aemilius Paulus;

his character:

[1] Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

[2] How lightly the Romans accounted the marriage-compact, we may judge from an anecdote mentioned by Plutarch (in Paul. Aemilio). A certain Roman had

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

made, however, ſome amends to his young family, for the loſs which they ſuſtained in being deprived of their mother, by the extraordinary care he beſtowed on their education. Removed from the buſtle of the world, he gave up his whole attention to the cultivation of their minds, ſuperintending their ſtudies and exerciſes with the moſt watchful tenderneſs and attention. At this period Aemilius was in his ſixtieth year, but ſtill in the full vigour of body and mind; and from his natural firmneſs and ſeverity of manners, was well qualified to correct that licentiouſneſs of the Roman ſoldiery, to which the late relaxation of diſcipline had afforded much encouragement.

is appointed to the conſulſhip, and the conducting of the Macedonian war;

AEMILIUS having been prevailed on to appear among the candidates, was elected conſul by the unanimous ſuffrages of all the tribes; and, if we are to believe Plutarch, immediately upon his election was appointed to the command in Macedon, without ſuffering the lots to be caſt[3], as generally was the cuſtom in the diſpoſal of provinces.

his judicious precautions.

THE ſpirited and judicious manner in which he entered on the department aſſigned to him, ſhewed, that their choice had not been miſplaced. Report had made very unfavourable repreſentations of the ſituation of the Roman affairs in Greece. But report was not to be truſted. He therefore

had divorced his wife, and being preſſed by the expoſtulations of his friends, who aſked, *was ſhe not fair? was ſhe not chaſte? was ſhe not fruitful?* holding up his ſhoe to them, replied, *is it not handſome? is it not new? yet none knows where it pinches but he that wears it.*

[3] Livy (L. xliv. c. 17.) ſays otherwiſe.

obtained of the senate, that commissioners[4] should be sent thither, with orders to enquire minutely into the state both of the fleets and armies on service in the Macedonian war; what progress the land-forces had made; what magazines they had established, and how they were supplied; what posts and places of strength they were masters of; how near they were to the enemy; what allies the Romans had, and how far these allies were to be depended on.

The distressful state of the Roman affairs in Greece;

The report of the commissioners fully explained why so little had been done[5]. The late consul Marcius, they said, had, with the utmost risque, passed certain defiles, which he might as well not have passed. The Romans, it is true, were in sight of the Macedonian camp; but besides that the Macedonians had the command of all the country, Perseus, who was posted on the Enipeus, seemed unwilling to hazard an engagement, and to force him to it was not in the power of his enemies: thus were the Romans hemmed in on all sides, without a possibility of attempting any thing, and with provisions for only six days. The condition of the Roman fleet was equally bad; disease had carried off a great number of the seamen; most of those who had survived, had deserted; and the few that remained on board, had neither subsistence nor even cloathing. The situation of Appius Cento in Illyricum, was still more wretched; a strong and immediate reinforcement being necessary to prevent a Roman commander from owing his safety to *flight!*

[4] Liv. L. xliv. c. 18. [5] See Liv. ibid. c. 20.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

he endeavours to restore them.

AEMILIUS made it his first care, to recover every part of the Roman army under his command from this state of debility. Anicius the praetor was ordered into Illyricum with a large body of forces. Octavius, another of the praetors, was appointed to command the fleet. Aemilius himself hastened the necessary levies with all possible expedition; and in eleven days from the time of his leaving Brundusium, though on his way he stopped at Delphi to sacrifice, he was in person at the head of the army in Macedon.

Faults committed by Perseus.

BUT, whatever advantages Aemilius might obtain from these vigorous exertions, he derived more from the timidity and sordidness of Perseus [6]. During the winter, which had been uncommonly severe, whilst the Romans, hemmed in on every side, had scarcely the means of subsistence, and every road, excepting to the hardy and experienced native, was utterly impassable, the Macedonian king had not made the least attempt to drive his enemies from that part of the country, and to regain the streights of Tempe. A winter's campaign, to his Thracian auxiliaries a matter certainly of little difficulty or hardship, had probably completed the ruin of this part of the Roman army, and restored the king to the possession of all those important passes which in the phrenzy of fear he had abandoned.

WHAT is still more extraordinary, Perseus had at length prevailed on a tribe of the Bastarnae [7] from the banks of the Danube, to march to his assistance, by the promise of a

[6] Liv. L. xliv. c. 20. [7] Liv. L. xliv. c. 26. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

large

large subsidy, ten pieces of gold to every horseman, five to every foot soldier, and a thousand to every chieftain; and they were already, to the number of ten thousand horse and as many foot, within seventy miles of the Macedonian camp. When the king saw that he must part with his money, his predominant passion interfered; and in hopes of putting off the payment, or perhaps of eluding it, he sent Antigonus with splendid presents to the leaders, and the strongest assurances, that they should find plenty of provisions and every kind of refreshment prepared for them, on their march. But, barbarians as they were, they were not to be so trifled with. Clondicus their leader, immediately demanded of Antigonus, "Have you also brought the promised subsidy?" who returning an evasive answer, "Let your master "then know," replied the barbarian, "that the Bastarnae "shall not advance one step farther, until the stipulated gold "is paid down to them." The sole expedient that now occurred to Perseus, was, at least to save a portion of his darling treasure, by taking into pay a part only of the auxiliaries; pretending to his lords, that they might prove dangerous inmates, should so large a body be permitted to enter Macedon. Antigonus was again dispatched, to inform Clondicus, that his master had only occasion for five thousand horsemen. This prevaricating proposal was answered with a cry of indignation from the whole army: "However," said Clondicus, "have you brought the gold for these five "thousand, whom you demand?" when, perceiving by the confusion of Antigonus, what the case was, he turned from him with indignant rage, instantly commanded his troops to move homeward, and in revenge, as well as for subsistence, marked

his sordid treatment of the Bastarnae.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

marked his return with ravage and desolation. It was extraordinary, that Antigonus was not made the victim of their fury. His escape, as Livy tells us, was more than he himself expected. These barbarians, it seems, of whose manners we are apt to conceive very injurious ideas, respected the sacred character with which Antigonus was invested,[s] notwithstanding the perfidiousness they had experienced from his master.

The loss sustained by him in consequence of it.

THE return of the Bastarnae proved an irreparable misfortune to Perseus. They were, Plutarch informs us, the finest body of men Macedon had ever seen. In stature, in activity, agility of body, and expertness at every kind of martial exercise, they were not to be excelled; while energy was given to all these advantages, by an uncommon boldness of spirit and contempt of danger. The occupations of navigation, agriculture, and pastoral life, being accounted disreputable among them, to fight and to conquer was their only object. Had the whole of this fierce emigration therefore been permitted to advance, and been employed in spreading devastation through Thessaly, whilst Perseus, by maintaining his post on the Enipeus, kept the consular army at bay, the Romans, Livy acknowledges, had with difficulty escaped.

[s] The learned reader will recollect, that the sacking of Rome by the Celtic tribes from Gaul, was occasioned by the violation of the rights of nations, of which the Roman embassadors had been guilty: these embassadors had been sent to the Gaulish camp before Clusium, to deprecate the destruction of that neighbouring city; but not succeeding in their suit, they departed from the character of ministers of peace, and fought under the Clusian banners; provoked at which, the Gauls instantly raised the siege, and marched to Rome.

THE

The same sordidness of temper prevailed through all the transactions of this weak and impolitic prince. He might at this time have gained the friendship and assistance of Eumenes; but he lost both by his avarice. That king, long the zealous friend of Rome, was said to be disgusted by certain insults, which he had received from the haughty Marcius[9]; and he began perhaps also to perceive, what he himself might expect from this formidable power, which he was aiding to advance to universal dominion. He entered therefore into a secret negotiation with Macedon[10]. On the payment of a thousand talents, he offered to withdraw his assistance from the Romans; and for fifteen hundred, to oblige them to conclude a peace; engaging at the same time to give sufficient hostages for the performance of his stipulations. The bargain to Perseus was highly advantageous; but with him, the difficulty was, to part with his money. He was willing enough to promise; but Eumenes, from experience of the man, was unwilling to place confidence on such unsolid grounds. After much negotiating, little to the honour of either party, Perseus consented to pay down the sum required, provided it was deposited in the temple at Samothrace, until Eumenes should fulfil his engagements. But this island being subject to Perseus, Eumenes considered it as perfectly the same, whether the money were in the coffers of the Macedonian king or in the temple at Samothrace: and thus the negotiation proved abortive[11].

Negotiates with Eumenes, and loses him by his avarice.

[9] Liv. L. xliv. c. 13. [10] Liv. ibid. c. 25.

[11] Some time after, the Romans discovered the intended treaty, and never forgave Eumenes for the share he had in the transaction.

BUT

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

His mean and perfidious dealing with Gentius.

But the baseness of the Macedonian monarch appears most conspicuous in his treatment of Gentius the Illyrian[12]. The district of Illyricum which he reigned over, was washed on its western extremity by the Hadriatic, on the eastern it was divided from Macedon by a ridge of mountains, and it extended southward to that part of Illyricum which the Romans claimed by right of conquest. The situation therefore of this prince rendered him to Rome, as well as to Macedon, a convenient friend or a troublesome enemy. Perseus and the Romans had both sought his alliance; but his inclination led him to the Macedonian interest; which he offered to join, on payment of three hundred talents. Perseus, however, had hitherto protracted the negotiation, in hopes of bringing him down to lower terms. But the present emergency would not admit of a longer delay. Peace, he saw, was not now to be obtained; and two envoys had at this very time arrived at the court of Gentius, in order to put the finishing hand to an alliance between Illyricum and Rome. In this situation Perseus had recourse to a stratagem. He agreed to the terms of Gentius, and desired that his embassadors might attend to receive the subsidy, and to swear to the due performance of the treaty; when he ordered the three hundred talents to be delivered to them; and in order to give the greater solemnity to the act, the treaty was executed in presence of his whole army. It was now proper, that messengers should be sent to the Illyrian king with an account of the transaction; and as the weight of treasure would have prevented the necessary dispatch, they took with them only ten talents, leaving the remainder sealed up with the signets of the

[12] Liv. L. xliv. c. 27. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

the Illyrian embassadors, to be delivered to confidential persons, who were to convey it without delay. Gentius entertained no suspicion; the money he was told was on the way; and, as a proof of his attachment to Macedon, he immediately seized and imprisoned the Roman envoys. This was the very thing that Perseus had in view. "He has "now," said he, "advanced too far to recede; and should "he even repent, it is impossible the Romans should forgive "him." Exulting in the success of his scheme, he commanded the money to be stopped. This despicable policy, however, produced no advantage to Perseus. It sacrificed, on the contrary, an ally, by precipitating the ruin of Gentius. This wretched prince, by the perfidy of the Macedonian king, losing both his crown and his liberty; Anicius, the Roman praetor, having soon after attacked him, reduced his whole kingdom, and carried him, with all his family, into captivity.

Gentius undone by it.

THIS transaction strongly marks the character of Perseus. Gentius indeed appears, from history, to have been a prince of a very unamiable character [13]; being a violent, merciless tyrant, rendered still more brutal by intemperance, to which he was much addicted. He stands charged with having sacrified to caprice or jealousy, some of his most valuable subjects, and with having even imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother, whose virtues he probably considered as his own reproach. But however unworthy of our pity the Illyrian may have been, the conduct of Perseus was not the less impolitic and unprincipled.

Character of this Illyrian prince.

[13] See Liv. L. xliv. c. 30.

HAD

Book VII. Sect. 2.

Had the king of Macedon adopted a more manly and more liberal system; had he made a proper use of the wealth and other resources of which he was still master, the Romans had found his overthrow a work of infinite difficulty. Had he been brave, generous, and honest, not only mercenaries, but voluntary succours had poured into him from every quarter. Most of the Grecian states secretly wished him success, well knowing, that in the fortune of Macedon was involved the fate of Greece. The Asiatics, in like manner, whatever connections many of them appeared to have with Rome, could not, without the most painful apprehensions, look forward to the probable consequences of the extinction of the Macedonian power. Even Prusias of Bithynia [14], the most servile of the Roman vassals, had ventured to remonstrate, by his embassadors, against the continuance of the war. The Rhodians did more; they required both the Romans and the Macedonian king to lay down their arms, threatening to declare war against whichever power should refuse to adopt pacific measures. But such was the folly of this prince, that every resource which might have contributed to his safety, was either rejected or misemployed; and he was at last deserted by all, only because he was the first to desert himself.

The Greek and Asiatic states well affected to the interests of Macedon:

Perseus neglects to improve these favourable dispositions.

The presence of Aemilius gave new vigour to the Roman arms. He began by improving their discipline [15]. The advanced posts had been permitted the use of shields, from which many inconveniences had arisen. Trusting to this defensive armour, they were often less watchful of the ap-

Activity of Aemilius;

his attention to the discipline

[14] Liv. L. xliv. c. 14. [15] Liv. ibid. c. 33. Plut. in Paul. Amelio.

proach

proach of the foe; and even ventured to ſtand and ſkirmiſh, when their duty was to have retreated, and alarmed the poſts behind them. They had frequently been found reclined on their ſhields aſleep; and the gleaming of the braſs had been known to diſcover them to the enemy: the conſul, therefore, gave directions, that when employed on this duty, they ſhould leave their ſhields [16] behind them. It had been the cuſtom alſo, to give out the daily orders aloud to the whole army; hence the pretence, that they had not been heard diſtinctly, afforded an excuſe, or at leaſt a palliation for every failure in duty; and what was ſtill more dangerous, no ſooner had the orders been delivered out, than the enemy generally was apprifed of them. The conſul, therefore, gave it in command, that thenceforth the military tribunes ſhould whiſper their orders to the firſt centurion, he to the officer under him, and ſo on, until every perſon had received them. At the ſame time, notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which theſe regulations were inforced, the attention he paid to every thing which could contribute to the ſecurity or refreſhment of the troops, endeared him to them all. At his arrival, they were in great want of water, which, in this climate, and at this ſeaſon of the year [17], was exceedingly diſtreſſing; and thoſe who had been ſent to look out for ſome, reported, that none but brackiſh water was to be found. The verdant and leafy ſummits of the mountains around, induced Aemilius, nevertheleſs, to pronounce, that

and wants of his army:

[16] Plutarch ſays, their *pikes* alſo were left behind, that they might guard the more againſt ſleep, when they were ſenſible that they had nothing to defend themſelves.

[17] It was now midſummer.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

springs could not be far distant; but possibly the water was absorbed in the sands, or discharged through some subterranean ducts into the neighbouring ocean; deep pits were, therefore, sunk at certain distances along the shore, he himself superintending the workmen. The consul's opinion was justified by the event. Fresh water gushed out in great abundance, and the army was relieved. The diligence of the soldier was equal to the attention of the general. Instead of sullen murmuring, or the uproar of tumult, lately the disgrace of the Roman arms, nothing was now to be heard throughout the camp, but the polishing or sharpening of arms, and the chearful bustle of men busied in preparing for action.

finds it difficult to force the Macedonian lines;

PERSEUS, meanwhile, was still posted [18] on the opposite side of the Enipeus, and as the channel at this time was fordable in many places, he had added to the security of his camp, by fortifying it towards the river with a strong pallisade, which, together with the height and steepness of the bank, rendered the approach difficult, and an attack exceedingly hazardous. Aemilius, after some attempts, finding, that here no impression was to be made, changed his plan [19].

attacks, by surprise, the rear of the Macedonian camp.

Being informed of a bye-path over Mount Olympus, by the castle of Pythium, which led to the rear of the Macedonian camp, where it was not defended by any intrenchment, he detached a body of eight thousand men, under the command of Scipio Nasica, and Fabius Maximius

[18] OLYMP. CLII. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 164. [19] Liv. xliv. c. 35. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

his

his eldest son. This detachment had public orders to embark on board the fleet then on the coast, and make a descent on some of the maritime parts of Macedon; but with secret instructions to return as soon as night had set in, and ascend the mountain, the summit of which, by computation, they were to gain early in the morning of the third day; Aemilius, mean time, employing the enemy's attention in the plain, by repeated attacks on their lines. The Macedonians had neglected the pass by Olympus, so that the Romans advanced without opposition, till a Cretan deserter having at length given notice of their approach, a detachment of twelve thousand men was sent to repulse them. But it was now too late; the enemy were already in possession of the summit; and, after a short though sharp conflict, drove the Macedonians down the mountains; who, in their flight to the camp, spread the alarm, that the Romans were pressing hard upon their rear.

Terror of Perseus; who flies to Pydna:

Struck with terror, the king, as usual, lost sight at once of all the advantages of his situation; and, as if on the point of being immediately surrounded, broke up his camp, and fled to Pydna: he wished to have retreated even farther. He talked of disbanding his army; of securing all the cattle and grain in the several strong holds throughout Macedon; of laying the country waste to deprive the Romans of subsistence; and of retreating into his interior provinces, where the numberless defiles and intricate windings would enable him to baffle for ever the pursuing enemy. The representations of his officers checked these timid and unmanly purposes. He had still, they told him, a force far superior in

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

in numbers to the Roman army; and his men, fighting as they now would, in defence of their altars and their families, those pledges which every generous mind holds most dear, and animated besides by the presence of their sovereign sharing every danger with them, would certainly exert a vigour that could hardly fail of proving victorious. Ashamed, though probably not convinced, he assumed a more resolute countenance, and commanded his army to form under the walls of Pydna; where, soon after, Aemilius appeared in order of battle, having been previously joined by the detachment from the mountains.

Aemilius advances against him;

NASICA, flushed with his late success, urged the consul to begin the attack instantly [19]. But the Macedonians were refreshed, while the Romans were fatigued and almost parched with drought after their precipitate march through sandy roads, exposed to the sultry heat of the mid-day sun. "Young man," replied the consul, "at your years I should "have thought as you do; at mine, you will act as I shall:" and having given directions to mark out the ground for incamping, and to inclose it with a ditch and rampart, he ordered the rear to move into it, as soon as it was completed; the front ranks still presenting an unbroken face to the enemy, until the rest of the battalions having successively quitted the field, they also fell back in like manner without confusion, though in the presence of an embattled foe: a remarkable instance of the excellence of Roman discipline.

but defers fighting until the ensuing day;

and on what account.

[19] See Liv. L. xliv. c. 36. Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

Eclipse of the moon; different effects it had on the Roman and Macedonian soldiery.

THE ensuing night, there happened an eclipse of the moon[20]. The Roman soldiers were apprized of it; the tribune Sulpicius Gallus having foretold it to the consul, and, with his permission, to the whole army. But in the Macedonian camp it occasioned the greatest dismay. This phaenomenon they were accustomed to view with terror; and they now considered the darknening of the lunar orb as a sure presage of the extinction of the glory of Macedon.

Battle of Pydna;

NEXT morning the two armies were drawn out in order of battle; but, however spirited and determined in appearance, probably rather for the purpose of observing each other's motions, than with any serious intentions to engage[21]; the consul as well as the king betraying, in their whole conduct, much irresolution and anxiety. Early in the day Perseus withdrew from the field into Pydna, "to offer," he told his soldiers, "his supplications to Hercules;" a god, says Plutarch, who never hears the coward's prayer. Aemilius, more artfully protracted the time, sacrificing beast after beast, under pretence that the omens were not yet propitious, until, upon the slaying of the twenty-first victim, the aruspices had orders to announce to the army, "that the gods had promised them the victory, on condition they stood on the defensive." The Roman writers scruple not to acknowledge, that this language of piety was all an artifice devised by the consul himself. During the former part of the day, the Romans had the sun in their faces; Aemilius wished to defer engaging, until his declination

[20] Liv. L. xliv. c. 37. Plut. ubi sup. [21] Liv. ibid. c. 37, 40.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

to the weſt had relieved his army from this inconvenience. The Macedonian phalanx, beſides, was poſted on advantageous ground, and preſented to view ſuch an impenetrable front of interwoven ſhields and pikes, as ſeemed to bid defiance to the moſt vigorous aſſault. Aemilius himſelf was wont to confeſs, that ſo ſtrong was the impreſſion which the ſight of this formidable phalanx had made on his mind, that a certain terror always attended the recollection of that day. He was therefore deſirous, that the Macedonians ſhould begin the attack, in hopes they might break their ranks as they advanced.

brought on by an unlooked-for incident.

THESE where the reaſons which the conſul alleged for his conduct. Livy[22], however, is of opinion, that his real purpoſe was to amuſe and reſtrain the Roman ſoldiery, who were impatient of delay; and, at leaſt for that day, not to have ventured a battle. At length, an unlooked-for incident[23] put an end to all farther heſitation. Towards three in the afternoon, ſome Thracian ſoldiers endeavouring to intercept a Roman convoy, or, according to others, to ſeize a horſe that had eſcaped from the Roman to the Macedonian lines, a ſkirmiſh enſued, and large reinforcements being detached from both armies, the engagement ſoon became general.

AN exact detail of this battle is not at preſent to be obtained, as moſt part of the narrative, which Polybius and Livy had given of it, is long ſince loſt; the principal circumſtances, however, may be gathered from the few facts which Plutarch and the later hiſtorians have preſerved.

[22] Liv. L. xliv, c. 40.

[23] Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

It

It began in a manner that threatened utter discomfiture to the Romans. Having attempted to make an impression on the front of the Macedonian phalanx, the length of whose pikes rendered it impossible for the Roman soldiers to reach the enemy with their swords, their first line was broken, and cut in pieces; and the second, discouraged by the fate of their companions, declined the charge, and retreated. Could this body of Macedonian infantry now have pushed on, without losing that compact form and solidity which constituted its strength, the fate of the Roman army had been at once decided. The consul's presence of mind saved them from destruction. He immediately ordered his men to divide into small platoons; and, instead of rushing against this dangerous rampart with unavailing intrepidity, to mark the several breaks and interstices into which the long-extended front must necessarily open as it advanced, from the irregularity of the ground, and the different exertions of the combatants; to penetrate between the pikes into those vacant spaces, and charge the enemy sword-in-hand. This manoeuvre had all the success that could have been expected. The instant a void space appeared, the Romans, piercing through it into the very heart of the phalanx, dealt destruction on every side. The pike, meanwhile, remained a cumberous embarrassment in the hands of the Macedonian soldier; and the ranks, from their being wedged together, were slaughtered without the power of resistance. The Roman armour, besides, had considerable advantage over the Macedonian in close combat. The sword of the Macedonians was short, and their bucklers small and slight; the Romans, on the contrary, had shields that covered them from head to foot, and swords ponderous, well-tempered, and of powerful execution.

The Romans in danger at the beginning;

but obtain a complete victory.

AT

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

At the same time that discomfiture was thus spreading along the whole front of the phalanx, both the flanks and the rear were likewise successfully attacked. So that this formidable mass of warriors, which had lately so fierce an aspect, now exhibited one continued scene of disorder and carnage.

Young Cato's distress at losing his sword;

The victory was no longer doubtful, and the rage of battle was beginning to subside, when an unexpected event unhappily added to the slaughter of this bloody day. The younger Cato, son to the censor, and afterwards married to one of the consul's daughters, had lost his sword [24]. After distinguishing himself in the attack on the phalanx by many acts of valour, it had sprung from his hand in the heat of action, and he had hitherto searched for it in vain. For a soldier to have returned without his sword, though he had even returned victorious, had been highly reproachful [25]. He hurried from rank to rank, bewailing the disaster and imploring the assistance of every companion and friend. A considerable number soon joined him, and under his command, again rushed impetuously on the foe, relentless slaughter marking their way as they advanced; until at length they discovered the fatal sword under an heap of arms and dead bodies. Elevated with this success, they charged the few that remained unbroken, with redoubled ardour. Three thousand Macedonians, all chosen men, had hitherto kept their ranks; they were now cut off to a man. The rest of the army fled; but few escaped; neither flight nor darkness saving them from the Roman sword; the pursuit being eagerly continued during the night, for upwards of

its effects fatal to the enemy.

[24] Plutarch. in Paul. Aemilio et in Catone.

[25] Excerpt. Polyb. L. vi. c. 25.

fifteen

fifteen miles. The sides of the neighbouring hills were covered with the dead and dying; and the river Leucus, which the Romans passed the following morning, was even then tinged deep with blood [26].

Remarkable circumstances that attended this battle:

If we are to believe Plutarch [27], this important action was determined in less than one hour. It began, he tells us, at the ninth hour [28], and before the tenth hour the Romans were in full possession of victory. The returns which he gives us of the dead, is not less amazing. Twenty-five thousand of the Macedonians fell; and of the Romans, one hundred at most; according to Scipio Nasica, only eighty [29]. It is also remarkable, that the auxiliary troops of the Macedonian king, and particularly the Thracian horse, who at the battle on the Peneus had done important service, and might have retrieved, perhaps, the fortune of the day, appear to have taken no share in the engagement [30]. Are we to suppose, that they had received the consul's gold? or that they disdained to fight for a prince who had not the spirit to fight for himself? We certainly have it on Livy's [31] authority, that the Bisaltae, a Thracian tribe to whom Perseus made appli-

the Thracian auxiliaries desert.

[26] From this memorable day, the Macedonian phalanx seems to have been held in low estimation. It gained little credit at Cynoscephalae; but the battle of Pydna completely ruined its reputation.

[27] In Paul. Aemilio.

[28] The same with our three in the afternoon.

[29] The circumstances of this battle, as related by Plutarch, will suggest to the reader of reflection, many reasons for doubting the truth of this account.

[30] Liv. L. xliv. c. 42. [31] Ibid. c. 45.

cation

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

cation in his flight, denied him affiftance; and that the Thracians he had in pay, as foon as they had reached the banks of the Strymon, abandoned his fervice, and retired homeward.

Perfeus flies to Pella;

IMMEDIATELY on the defeat of his army, Perfeus, in terror, fled from Pydna, efcorted by a confiderable body of cavalry; but numbers of the Macedonian infantry, who were making their efcape from the field, coming up, and infulting the horfemen, to whofe cowardice and treachery they imputed the difcomfiture, Perfeus began to fear, that an affray would follow, in which he might poffibly be involved. Apprehenfive of the confequences, he ftruck off from the road into the thickeft part of a wood, through which, with great difficulty, and with only a few attendants, he at length, about midnight, made his way to Pella.

his diftraction and ferocity:

THE anguifh of difappointed ambition, remorfe, and terror, racked the tyrant's mind, and added to his natural ferocity. Euetus and Eudaeus, two principal officers of his exchequer, having ventured to blame fome part of his conduct, he ftabbed them with his own hand [32]. Shocked and alarmed at this act of barbarity, his other lords refufed to approach him; fo that, not knowing where to hide himfelf, or whom to truft, he fet off again from Pella before break of day, taking with him what treafure he could carry. The whole force he had now to attend him [33], confifted of three captains of auxiliaries (every Macedonian having de-

obliged to leave Pella;

abandoned by the Macedonians;

[32] Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

[33] Liv. ubi fup. c. 43. Plut in Paul. Aemilio.

ferted

ferted him) Evander the Cretan, Neon the Boeotian, and Archidamus the Aetolian, together with five hundred Cretan mercenaries, who had been allured by the hopes of sharing the treasure of which they saw him in possession. He suspected their motive; and, to save the rest, suffered them to carry off a number of vessels of gold and silver, which he had designedly caused to be scattered in their way.

THE third day after the battle, he entered Amphipolis [34], to as little purpose as he had entered Pella. He would have addressed the people, before whom he presented himself with his eldest son, in hopes of exciting their compassion, when a gush of tears stopping his utterance, he made signs to Evander to speak for him; but they unanimously refused to hear him, exclaiming with indignation, "Away, away, "lest we also should be involved in ruin." Driven in this disgraceful manner from Amphipolis, he hastened to the sea-side, in order to pass over into Samothrace, where the reputed holiness of the place promised him, he imagined, a secure asylum. But anxious to save his treasure, not less than to save his life, he could not think of leaving with the Cretans what his fears had induced him to disperse among them. Among the vessels which they had carried off, he told them, were certain vases which had belonged to Alexander the Great, for which, if restored, they should receive the most ample recompence. The Cretans of those days are said to have surpassed all the nations of the earth in fraud and artifice: they were, nevertheless, overmatched on this occasion. Depending on his royal

flees to Amphipolis,

and is driven from thence;

seeks to escape to Samothrace;

over-reaches his Cretan mercenaries,

[34] Liv. L. xliv. c. 45.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

word, they restored to Perseus most of the vases he required, to the amount of thirty talents; but he forfeited his promise: they received nothing in return.

Total revolution throughout Macedon.

By this time, a total revolution had taken place throughout Macedon, one of the most rapid recorded in the page of history. In fifteen days after Aemilius had begun to put his army in motion, all that formidable armament under Perseus was broken and dispersed; and in two days after the defeat at Pydna, the whole country had submitted to the consul. This extraordinary change, effected so soon and with so much facility, Plutarch [35] seeks to ascribe to some miraculous interposition of the gods, exerted in favour of Rome; "that a people, hitherto eminent for the love they "bore to their kings, should now, as if the chief bulwark "of their constitution were overthrown, and all were fallen "with it, have at once given up all thoughts of resistance, "and have renounced their native and kindred princes!" But the cause is easily discovered in the conduct of Perseus himself. The pusillanimity, the cruelties, and sordidness of this unhappy prince, had lost him that affection which he certainly possessed in the beginning of his reign, and from which a wise and virtuous king had derived strength and security. But even a foreign yoke seemed now, to the Macedonian nation, more tolerable than the domination of a native tyrant, equally merciless and oppressive [36].

As

[35] In Aemilio.

[36] We are sometimes apt to question the character which the Roman writers have drawn of this prince, and to suspect, that the colouring has been overcharged: but that he should have been thus abandoned by his own subjects, forms a presumptive

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

As soon as it was known that Perseus had fled to Samothrace, the praetor Octavius sailed thither in pursuit of him[37]. Perseus had taken shelter in the temple of Castor and Pollux. The difficulty was, how to draw him from thence without violating the privileges of a sanuctuary, held in the highest reverence by the pagan world. Evander had accompanied him; and the Romans availed themselves of this circumstance. The priests to whom the superintendency of the island belonged, were asked, whether it was not a defilement of the sacred ground, that a polluted person should there find a retreat? and why this holy asylum was permitted to Evander, the assassin of king Eumenes, and the impious profaner of the Delphic temple? Perseus, who soon had notice that Evander was not to be protected, felt, with excruciating agony, the consequences of his being delivered up. The king had not one guilty secret, to which this worthless associate was not privy; and in the hands of the Romans, the hopes of life might tempt him to reveal all. Apprehensive of the event, he endeavoured to persuade Evander to prevent, by a voluntary death, the tortures that certainly awaited him, should the Romans once have him in their power. The Cretan seemed convinced, and agreed to poison himself; but the king perceiving that he procrastinated, and beginning to fear that he meditated an escape, procured him to be murdered; and corrupted Theondas, chief of the Samothracian priests, to report that he died by his own hands.

The Romans pursue Perseus to Samothrace:

the dastardly and perfidious arts he has recourse to:

tive evidence against him, to which it is difficult to give an answer. Forsaken by a people, lately zealous in his service, it is hardly possible, but his administration must have been beyond measure oppressive.

[37] Liv. L. xlv. c. 5 & seq.

This perfidious treatment of the unhappy inſtrument he himſelf had employed, and whoſe chief guilt it was, that he had too faithfully obeyed the orders of ſuch a maſter, deprived Perſeus of his few attendants that remained, almoſt all of them going over to the Romans. The Macedonian monarch had before this, ſolicited Aemilius [38] to accept his ſubmiſſion; but though this requeſt was conceived in the moſt abject terms, the conſul refuſed to liſten to any propoſal that was not accompanied with a reſignation of the regal title. The only reſource that now remained to this wretched prince, was to attempt an eſcape to the Thracian coaſt, and to implore the protection of Cotys his late ally. Oroandes, the captain of a Cretan veſſel, who lay off Samothrace, had engaged to take him on board the enſuing night, when under favour of the darkneſs he might elude the vigilance of his enemies. He had accordingly cauſed his treaſure to be ſhipped; but when he reached the ſhore, to his inexpreſſible mortification, Oroandes was already ſailed with all his wealth. Thus bereaved of his treaſure, and expoſed to his enemies, he wandered diſconſolate for ſome hours along the beach, and was forced, at the approach of morning, to ſhrink back to his ſanctuary, which with difficulty he reached before the Romans could prepare to intercept him. In addition to his misfortunes, Ion of Theſſalonica, his chief favourite, to whoſe care he had intruſted the younger part of his family, now deſerted alſo to the Roman admiral, to whom he delivered up all the royal children committed to his charge. Abandoned thus by all but his eldeſt ſon Philip, without a probability of eſcape, with-

finds it impoſſible to ſave himſelf, and ſurrenders to the Romans.

[38] Liv. L. xlv. c. 4.

out means even of ſubſiſtence, he was under the neceſſity of ſurrendering at laſt to Octavius, who immediately ſet ſail with his priſoner to Amphipolis, and from thence tranſported him to the conſul's camp.

The behaviour of Aemilius.

AEMILIUS received the king[39] in a manner which, whatever Perſeus deſerved, did the victor little honour. The Macedonian, remarkably mean under every reverſe of fortune, approached with the moſt abject ſervility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring, with his ſuppliant arms, to graſp the knees of Aemilius. "Why, wretched "man," ſaid the proud Roman, "doſt thou acquit fortune "of what might ſeem her crime, by a behaviour which "makes it appear that thou deſerveſt her indignation? Why "doſt thou diſgrace my laurels, and detract from my glory, "by ſhewing thyſelf an abject adverſary, and unworthy of "having a Roman to contend with? Courage in the unfor-"tunate is revered even by an enemy, and cowardice, though "attended with ſucceſs, is, by the Romans, treated with con-"tempt."

THIS ſtern and humiliating addreſs, which a more generous conqueror would have ſpared, he ſeemed afterwards to temper, by raiſing him from the ground, and bidding him, nevertheleſs, to hope every thing from the clemency of the Roman people. Of this boaſted clemency, Perſeus ſoon had the moſt bitter experience. A ſpectacle to his enemies in the ſtreets of Rome, he was forced to adorn the victor's pomp, expoſed, with all his family, before

39 Plutarch in Paul. Aemilio.

the

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

the consul's triumphal car. With much earnestness he begged of Aemilius to save him from this ignominy: "It is in his own power to save himself," replied the obdurate Roman. The triumph ended, he was cast into a dank and dreary prison, the common receptacle of the meanest malefactors, and fed on the same allowance with these outcasts of society; until Aemilius, probably ashamed [40] of such excess of cruelty, procured his removal to a cleaner apartment, and took care he should be supplied with better food; but, unable to brook his almost unparalleled reverse of fortune, and the contempt with which he was treated, this wretched prince soon after starved himself to death. If we are to believe others, he ended his days in a manner yet more dreadful. The soldiers who guarded him, from some provocation which he had given, marked him as the object of their vengeance; and, finding no other means more effectual, contrived to hinder him from sleeping. They watched him by turns, and used such diligence to effect their purpose, that, worn out at last with want of rest, he expired. His eldest son Philip [41] and one of his younger sons, are supposed to have died before him. Another son, Alexander, became so great a proficient in the Roman language, as to be able to discharge the office of a writing clerk; in which capacity he is said to have been employed by the chief magistrates of Rome.

Death of Perseus.

Fate of his family.

[40] Plutarch tells us, that those Macedonian nobles who were obliged to remove to Rome, found afterwards an active protector in Aemilius.

[41] Livy (L. xlii. c. 52.) says he was his brother, and his son only by adoption.

SUCH

SUCH the uncertainty of human greatneſs! and ſuch the cloſe of the royal houſe of Macedon, once one of the moſt illuſtrious the world had ever ſeen, and whoſe empire ſeemed, by its ſtrength and vigour, to promiſe ſtability for a length of ages! Perſeus reigned eleven years. And from the death of Alexander the Great, to the final ſubverſion of the Macedonian monarchy, one hundred and ſixty years only had elapſed.

Settlement and humiliation of Macedon.

THE ſpirit of Rome appeared ſtill more glaringly deſpotic in the ſettlement of Macedon [42], and the policy ſhe now obſerved towards the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. Ten commiſſioners were appointed to aſſiſt the conſul in arranging the Macedonian affairs; the principal outlines of which arrangement, had previouſly been traced out to them at Rome. In conſequence of this plan, a new form of government took place throughout Macedon. The whole kingdom was divided into four diſtricts; the inhabitants of each were to have no connexion, intermarriages, or exchange of poſſeſſions, with thoſe of the other diſtricts, but every part to remain totally ſeparated and diſtinct from the reſt. They were neither to fell timber themſelves, nor to permit others to fell any. They were not to import ſalt; nor even where they had it in plenty, to export it, but under certain regulations laid down by their Roman maſters. They were prohibited the uſe of arms, unleſs in thoſe places which were expoſed to the incurſions of the barbarian borderers. They were permitted to work their iron and copper mines; but the working of thoſe of gold and ſilver was ſtrictly pro-

[42] Liv. L. xlv. c. 29.

hibited;

hibited; probably lest the Macedonians, by thus acquiring wealth, should regain any portion of their former greatness. They were excluded from all share in the administration of government; some unimportant offices in the civil department excepted, which were delegated to certain municipal officers annually chosen by the Macedonian people. Whilst all the nobles of Macedon, all who had held any command in the king's fleets or armies; all governors of towns, and officers of his court; all, in a word, who had been in any shape distinguished by high birth, large possessions, elegant living, or any circumstance which raised them above the level of the vulgar, were ordered, with all their children above the age of fifteen, under pain of death, to leave their native land, and transport themselves into Italy [43].

Misrepresentations of the Roman writers in favour of Rome.

A MORE severe humiliation could hardly have been devised: indeed, a more complete debasement almost baffles imagination. Must we not then turn with disgust and indignation from those writers, who, after the narration of such facts, wish to convey the idea, that the Roman conquest bestowed liberty on Macedon? But it seems, that the overthrow of royalty, and the subjecting a kingdom to the far more oppressive yoke of a Roman senate, was, in the language of Rome, *to give liberty to a people*. In one point alone, the alteration seems at first sight to have been favourable to the conquered. They were to pay the Romans one half only of the taxes they were accustomed to pay to their kings. Had this indulgence been even meant as a relief, it had been a poor compensation for a dismembered

[43] Liv. L. xlv. c. 32.

kingdom,

kingdom, bereaved of its chief strength by the expulsion of its noblest and most respectable families, and laid prostrate beneath a foreign yoke. But, in truth, even this diminution of taxes, in the present impoverished state of Macedon, far from being dictated by mercy, was the result of necessity. It was the utmost that Macedon could bear. The Roman consul had not only possessed himself of the numerous magazines and granaries which Perseus had erected throughout his territories, and plundered the royal palaces of all the rich furniture, precious vases, and other costly manufactures, in which they are said to have abounded; he had also drained the kingdom of its wealth, having every where seized on all the treasure he could find. The amount, there is reason to conjecture, must have been prodigious, as it appears, that the Romans themselves were industrious to conceal it, every one of their historians giving us a different account of the matter. From one circumstance, however, which we have on the authority both of Cicero [44] and Plutarch, some judgment may be formed. In consequence of the money brought into the treasury by Aemilius on his return from the Macedonian war, the Romans were exempted from taxation during the space of an hundred and twenty-five years [45].

Prodigious value of the plunder of Macedon.

THE arrangement of the administration of government in Illyricum, was conducted on the same plan with that of Macedon.

44 Tantum in aerarium pecuniae (Paulus) invexit, ut unius imperatoris praeda finem attulerit tributorum—says Cicero. De Off. L. ii. 22.

45 Until the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Caesar and Antony.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Triumphal games celebrated by the consul at Amphipolis.

Aemilius concluded the settlement of Macedon with the celebration of triumphal games at Amphipolis[46]; to which all the neighbouring nations both of Europe and of Asia were invited. The magnificence exhibited on this occasion surpassed, we are informed, all that this part of the world had ever seen. Besides the extraordinary pomp and elegance with which the various sports were introduced, and the richness of the prizes bestowed on the successful candidates, all the ornaments of gold and silver, with every thing precious, elegant, and rare, that had been found in the numerous palaces of the Macedonian princes, were ostentatiously displayed, and the scenery beautifully diversified with such prodigious quantities of curious armour, exquisite paintings, and finished statues, that the eye was not only filled, but dazzled with the variegated profusion. The consul prided himself in exhibiting these splendid marks of victory, and he was probably no less pleased with the opportunity of impressing on the different nations who witnessed them, an awful idea of the power of Rome, before which, an empire, seemingly so formidable, and provided with such ample means of strength and defence, had not been able to stand. The vast concourse of people that crowded to the sight, as well as the Roman armies in the neighbourhood, were all entertained, at the same time, by Aemilius, in the most sumptuous manner, from the stores which had lately belonged to the Macedonian king. And such was the abundant provision of all things, that these feasts were not only continued as long as the games lasted, but the guests were, at their departure, presented with whatever they chose to take

[46] Liv. L. xlv. c. 32, 33. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

 away.

away. In the midst of the different pompous pageants produced at this festival, was seen to arise an immense pile of various weapons and instruments of war, which at the close of the solemnity the Roman soldiers, upon a certain signal, set on fire and destroyed. These, it seems, were the least valuable part of the Macedonian arms, not worth the transporting to Rome, and improper to be left in the hands of a vanquished people.

Treatment of Epire by the Romans;

FROM Amphipolis Aemilius directed his course to Epire. The Epirots had submitted some time before; and those leaders who had been instrumental in promoting the alliance with Macedon, and who had not saved themselves by flight, had all fallen by the sword, or been delivered up to the Romans. The consul now gave out, that the Roman garrisons were immediately to be withdrawn from Epire, and the whole country restored to the enjoyment of it's liberties; and having summoned ten of the principal inhabitants from every town to attend him, commanded them to collect whatever silver or gold was to be found in their houses or temples, in order to be delivered, at an appointed day, to persons to be commissioned by him for that purpose. The requisition was punctually complied with: and, lulled into profound security, the Epirots fondly pleased themselves with the thought, that this heavy contribution was all the penalty they were to incur.

BUT they knew not the atrocity of Roman policy. Parties of soldiers[47], under various pretences, were dispatched to

[47] Liv. L. xlv. c. 34. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

 their

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

their perfidiousness and cruelty.

their different towns so as to arrive about the same time; with orders, that on the same day, and at the same hour, they should seize, for slaves, every native of Epire, level the walls of their cities, and totally despoil them of all they possessed. The gold and silver having, in obedience to the consul's commands, been accordingly brought in and delivered to the Roman officers, the signal was given, and an hundred and fifty thousand persons, unheard, unconvicted, unsuspecting, without any particular crime even alledged against them, were, at one instant, doomed to slavery, their dwellings given up to the spoiler, and all their towns, to the number of seventy, laid in ruins: a deed so horrid, and of such exceeding perfidy, that, to use the words of a judicious historian, *I should not believe it, had any one writer said to the contrary*[48].

PLUTARCH[49] endeavours to exculpate Aemilius. This military execution, he would have us believe, was altogether contrary to the gentleness of his disposition: and he only yielded obedience to orders, which it was not in his power to control. Should this excuse be admitted, in what light must the Roman senate appear! But from the manner in which Aemilius had just before treated the Aetolians, we are led to form of him a very different judgment. Violent disputes had for some time prevailed among the people of Aetolia, a great number of them having declared in favour of the

Barbarous treatment of the Aetolians.

[48] Raleigh's History of the World.

[49] Plutarch says, Every soldier had only eleven drachmas to his share (somewhat more than seven shillings.) Livy says, That every horseman got 400 denarii (about 12l. 18s. 4d.) and every foot-soldier half that sum.

Romans,

Romans, whilſt others were ſtill for maintaining an oppoſition to a power, which they ſaw threatened ruin to the Aetolian liberties. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of Aemilius in Macedon, two chiefs of the Roman faction [50], Lyſiſcus and Tiſippus, obtained from A. Baebius, the Roman commander in Aetolia, a body of ſoldiers; and ſurrounding the place where the convention of the Aetolian eſtates was held, fell unexpectedly on thoſe in the contrary intereſt, and having put to the ſword five hundred and fifty of the principal perſons, baniſhed the reſt, and confiſcated the poſſeſſions of them all. The matter was ſoon after laid before Aemilius; and the families of thoſe who had periſhed, together with the unhappy exiles, made application to him for redreſs. His anſwer is memorable. The only queſtion before him, he ſaid [51], was, "To what party the ſufferers had "belonged; if not friends to Rome, whatever they had ſuf-"fered, they had ſuffered deſervedly:" nor would he reverſe the iniquitous decree. Yet ſo flagitious in the eyes of the Romans themſelves was the barbarous deed, that this acquittal of the perpetrators of it, did not ſave Baebius; he was pronounced guilty of having debaſed the Roman ſoldiery, by making them the inhuman inſtruments of the perfidious maſſacre.

Humiliation of Greece.

FROM Livy it appears, that this deciſion of the Aetolian cauſe, in which Rome ſeems indeed to have laid aſide all diſguiſe, completed the humiliation of moſt of the Grecian commonwealths. The creatures of Rome became now all-powerful in almoſt every place: they obtained poſſeſſion of every magiſtracy; and the direction of every meaſure: whilſt

[50] Liv. L. xlv. c. 48. [51] Ibid. c. 31.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

those who presumed to vindicate their ancient liberties, or even to recommend temperate counsels, were marked out as harbouring treasonable designs against their Roman lords, or of having some secret connection with their enemies.

Tyrannical proceedings of the Romans throughout the Grecian states;

THE Romans, on their part, did every thing to confirm them in this servile dejection. Neon the Boeotian, and Andronicus the Aetolian, two persons of the first rank in their respective countries, had served under Perseus; they were both beheaded, as having departed from the allegiance they owed to Rome. Emissaries were dispatched throughout Boeotia, and all the adjacent states, with special instructions, to make inquiry concerning all who had favoured the Macedonian interest, and report them to Aemilius; when the accused were commanded immediately to attend him to Italy, in order to take their trial. This mode of inquiry was extended even to Asia. And it having appeared that Antissa, a city of Lesbos, had in the course of the late war received the Macedonian fleet into her harbour, and supplied them with provisions, Labeo was sent to exterminate the inhabitants, and to lay the place in ruins.

Achaia excepted;

whence this exception.

OF all the Grecian states, Achaia alone remained not yet totally subdued; having hitherto been exempted from this species of inquiry. The reasons of this apparent lenity, however, we are not to look for in the moderation of the Romans. A portion of the spirit of ancient days still animated that republic, from which they apprehended much opposition. And though even there they had gained over several leaders, who were prepared to betray the liberties of Achaia, it was necessary to proceed with great circumspection,

Designs of Rome against the Achaeans.

tion, left the destruction of their own creatures should defeat the Roman designs. These considerations Livy [52] himself mentions. He adds another consideration; which, for the honour of his country, a less candid historian had concealed. " After the severest scrutiny, not the least vestige was found of a correspondence having ever subsisted between any member of the Achaean body and the late king of Macedon." Accordingly, in order to ground an accusation, *invention* was to supply the place of *evidence*. On this account it was thought expedient, that some of the Roman commissioners should, in person, pass over into Achaia, and either by terror or subtilty, bring the Achaean diet to make concessions, of which advantage might be taken at some future period.

THE dishonourable scheme was accordingly carried into execution; with what success, will be seen in the following pages.

[52] See Liv. L. xlv. c. 31. See also Polyb. Legat. xciv.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Insidious designs of the Romans against Achaia.—The Achaean chiefs transported into Italy—with what views—and how treated.—Perplexed state of the Achaean councils—the perplexity encreased by the policy of Rome.—Affairs of Oropus.—The Achaeans take up arms against Sparta.—The Roman commissioners attempt to disunite Achaia from the several states not originally belonging to the Achaean body.—An insurrection is made at Corinth.—The Romans dissemble—and from what reasons.—New war in Macedon.—Andriseus pretends to be the son of Philip—his success—and the termination of his fortunes.—Another pretender ascends the throne of Macedon—is overthrown—and escapes into Dardania.—A third pretender appears—is defeated—and slain.

Cautious councils of

ACHAIA, guiltless of any connection with Macedon, remained unsuspicious of the Roman machinations. Whatever jealousy she might have entertained of the designs of Rome against Greece, or however averse, in general, the Achaeans

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

the Achaean states.

Achaeans might have been to the total overthrow of the Macedonians; yet the follies and the crimes of Perseus, with the apprehension of being involved in his ruin, had given a bias so different to the national councils, that, far from assisting that depraved and pusillanimous monarch, repeated offers had even been made to second the Roman operations in Macedon with the united strength of Achaia. But their innocence or guilt was a matter perfectly indifferent to the Romans. *Is Achaia formidable?* was the sole question at Rome.

Rome jealous of Achaia;

THOUGH much fallen from her antient splendour, Achaia still maintained a respectable appearance. That form of government, which had been the foundation of her power, notwithstanding the wide breaches made by foreign cabals and domestic faction, still subsisted. She was at the head of the Peloponnesian states, and she possessed a territory well cultivated and populous. Her cities were numerous; and some of them, Corinth particularly, superbly ornamented with those works of magnificence and taste, which are considered as indications of opulence and power. All these, to a Roman eye, were objects of envy and of rapacious desire. The Achaeans were besides distinguished by their discipline, and that kind of warlike knowledge which experience alone can teach; while many of their leaders were equally conspicuous in the cabinet and the field. What rendered all these circumstances the more formidable to Roman jealousy and suspicion, was, that they could not be supposed to have beheld the fate of Macedon with an indifferent eye; and yet not the least trace was to be discovered of their having had any correspondence with Perseus; an alarming proof, according to the interpretation of

 Rome,

Rome, of their well-concerted ſchemes, and of the art with which they were conducted.

ſends commiſſioners to the Achaean diet.

FRAUGHT with theſe impreſſions, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, the two Roman commiſſioners [1] who had Achaia for their department, entered the Achaean diet. The infamous Callicrates, whoſe perfidious practices againſt his country have been already recorded, had previouſly delivered to Claudius and his colleague a liſt of all thoſe citizens who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their zeal for the liberties of Achaia, and from whom an oppoſition to Roman meaſures was of courſe to be expected. The commiſſioners accordingly opened their addreſs to the diet with a complaint "That ſome of the firſt men of Achaia had acted in concert "with Macedon." At the ſame time, they required that ſentence of death ſhould be immediately pronounced againſt them; and promiſed, that after ſentence ſhould be given, they would produce the names of the guilty. "After ſentence is given!" exclaimed the aſſembly; "what ſort of juſtice would that be? firſt name thoſe whom you accuſe, make good your charge, and "we ſhall be ready to proceed againſt them."—"I name "then," reſumed the commiſſioner, "all thoſe, who have borne "the office of chief magiſtrate of Achaia, or have been the "leaders of your armies."—"In that caſe," anſwered Xeno, a noble Achaean of eminent worth, "I alſo ſhall be "accounted guilty, for I have commanded the armies of "Achaia; and yet I am ready to make proof of my in-"nocence, either here, or before the ſenate of Rome."—

Roman duplicity.

[1] See Polyb. Legat. 94. Liv. L. xlv. c. 31. Pauſan. in Achaicis.

"You

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

"You say well," replied the subtle Roman, laying hold on his last words; "Let the *senate of Rome* then be the tribunal, "before which you shall answer." A decree was accordingly obtained, by which all whom he should name were to be sent as delinquents to Rome, in order to answer for their conduct[a].

The Achaean chiefs transported into Italy;

THUS, by a sentence general, indiscriminate, arbitrary, and ill-founded, was the strength of Achaia, her noble leaders, her ablest and most faithful counsellors, in number above a thousand, transported into a foreign land. It was an act of oppression, says a Grecian writer[3], beyond the most daring attempts even of Philip or Alexander, in the meridian of their power.

the principal cause of this iniquitous measure.

THIS transaction, so reproachful to Rome, exhibits the noble remains of virtue which still existed in the midst of Grecian degeneracy. Every other probable expedient to enslave, had doubtless been already tried by the Romans; and it was not, we may safely pronounce, till after the failure of all those arts of corruption, which they had practised with such fatal success throughout the other Grecian states, that they had recourse to a deed so replete with unblushing and infamous oppression. What then must Achaia have been! that in this little corner of Greece, not three or four chosen spirits only, but upwards of one thousand patriots should have been found, whose integrity had remained unshaken amidst every

[a] OLYMP. CLIII. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 163.

[3] Pausan. in Achaicis.

effort

effort of corruption, and every impreſſion of fear; who, unſeduced by the ſplendid offers of Rome, and unintimidated by her arms, devoted themſelves with a manly ſteadineſs to the ſervice of their country.

Cruel treatment of the Achaean exiles.

THIS, as a famous hiſtorian [4] juſtly calls it, was truly *the captivity of Greece*. From the ſubſequent treatment of theſe illuſtrious priſoners, the deſigns of Rome appeared notoriouſly conſpicuous. Inſtead of admitting them to an hearing, and inſtead of the ſmalleſt inquiry into the truth of the accuſation, the ſenate imperiouſly decreed, that they ſhould be diſperſed through the cities of Etruria. This was to add cruelty to injuſtice, by depriving them of that mutual intercourſe which alleviates the ſorrows of the unfortunate. The only colouring they could give to theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings was, that their cauſe had been already heard, and their condemnation pronounced, by their own countrymen. Repeated deputations [5] were in vain ſent from the Achaean ſtates, diſavowing this pretended trial, and requeſting the ſenate to take cognizance of the matter. But theſe cares were ineffectual. The united power, however, of Roman influence and policy could not prove the priſoners to be guilty; and yet their acquittal was a meaſure which Rome was determined never to permit. The anſwer of the ſenate to one of theſe deputations, addreſſed to the chief magiſtrates of Achaia, has been preſerved by Polybius [6]. It betrays the whole ſecret, and diſcloſes the ſhameleſs rapacity of Roman artifice. "It is "neither advantageous for *you*," ſay the ſenate, (who, by

[4] Raleigh, Hiſtory of the World.

[5] See Polyb. Legat. 105. 122. 129. 130. 137. and Pauſan. ub. ſup.

[6] Legat. 105.

the

the removal of so many illustrious personages, are now at the head of the Achaean affairs) "nor for the good of your "*people*," (whose wisest policy it is to submit in silence, and who might be raised to bolder hopes than we mean they should, were their high-spirited chieftains to be restored to them again) "that the exiles should be suffered to return into "Achaia." Thus did the Roman fathers endeavour, at the same time, to work upon the hopes and fears of the Achaean magistrates, by reminding them, in this indirect manner, that the exile of their countrymen had placed them in the seat of power, and that a secure possession could only be insured by the absence of those illustrious citizens; whose return, with their superior talents, and influence in the state, would reduce *them* to their former insignificancy, and rouse the spirit of the *people* to a vain struggle against the imposition of a yoke, which Rome was determined to impose. At length, after a period of seventeen years, when more than two thirds of the unfortunate victims had perished, either by the lawless outrage of their tyrants, or by that consuming anguish which preys on the unhappy[7]; and when Achaia was so reduced, that the interposition of the remaining few could be of little avail; the senate granted to the survivors the permission so often applied for in vain[8]. Nor had even

[7] Pausanias informs us (in Achaicis) that "as many of these illustrious captives, "as were found attempting to escape out of the hands of their oppressors, were put "to death without mercy by the Romans." What a dreadful charge is this against Rome!

[8] After some years, Polybius informs us, the solicitations of the Achaean states were only employed in behalf of a few of those captives, whom they applied for by name; *for*, says he, *length of time had consumed almost all the rest; men, whose memories well deserve to be held in reverence:* τοὺς μεν γὰρ πλείστους σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ὁ χρονος ἤδη καταναλώκει, τοὺς γε δη καὶ μνήμης ἀξιους. See Legat. 122.

this indulgence been obtained, had it not been for Cato's repeated expoftulations: "Shall we for ever be debating," faid he to the fenate, "whether a few old Greeks fhall have "leave to be buried in their native land[9]?" An expreffion of his to Polybius the hiftorian, who was one of the exiles, paints, on this occafion, in the ftrongeft colours, the opinion which that venerable Roman entertained of his countrymen. When the permiffion to return home had been at laft granted to them, Polybius implored Cato's mediation with the fenate, that they might alfo be reftored to their honours. "Polybius," faid he, "you do not imitate the wifdom of Ulyffes; "you are for going back to the den of the Cyclops, in "queft of the hat and belt you left behind you."

Seventeen years, abounding in events, had elapfed, as we have obferved, from the firft perpetration of this act of defpotifm, to the return of the remaining exiles[10]. We have given an unbroken and circumftantial detail of the whole of this memorable event; and fhall now endeavour to delineate the other tranfactions of this period, which are not lefs important or interefting.

Farther attempts of the Romans againft Achaia;

The carrying to Rome as delinquents the chief men of Achaia, was only a fmall part of the Roman plan of fubjugation. Having removed that barrier againft her tyrannical defigns, the Romans took the remaining fteps with more confidence of fuccefs, and contemplated with a fecret fatiffaction the future completion of her fchemes. What had

[9] Plutarch in Catone.

[10] Olymp. clvii. 2. Before Christ 146.

principally

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

principally contributed to render the Achaeans formidable, was the association, which they had framed, of the several states of Peloponnesus and the adjoining parts. To dissolve this confederacy was the object the Romans had in view[11]. For this purpose Sulpicius Gallus was sent to Greece, with instructions to encourage faction and dissension among the states composing the Achaean league, and in the name of the Roman senate to hold out the lure of protection and assistance to all who should consent to be dismembered from that powerful body. The temper of the times was but too favourable to this insidious plan. Numbers, to ingratiate themselves with the Romans, were assiduously employed in sowing every where the seeds of discontent, and in fostering a jealousy of the present establishment. The Spartans, above all, bore with impatience their present abject condition, and wished eagerly for an opportunity of attempting a revolution. The Achaean councils too were perplexed, unstable, and turbulent; the families of those, who had been carried off into Italy, filled all Achaia with their complaints; the people warmly espoused the same interest; and, under the pretence of supporting this public-spirited cause, the factious and most contemptible of the citizens had got possession of the administration. A general ferment thus prevailed throughout all Greece; and there was scarcely a single state or city that was not tainted with corruption, or inflamed with anger.

and their success.

IN such a situation of affairs, it was hardly possible that Sulpicius could have failed to operate the purposes of his commission. Pleuron, a city of Aetolia, which some time

[11] Just. L. xxxiv. c. 1. Pausan. ub. sup.

before

Book VIII. Sect. 1.

before had been incorporated into the Achaean league, now applied to be relieved from this connection, and was pronounced an independent ſtate [12]. A difference about their boundaries, between the Lacedemonians and Argives, was referred to the arbitration of the Roman commiſſioner. He might eaſily have ſettled the diſpute; but this would not have accorded with his views. He choſe rather to leave it to the deciſion of Callicrates the Achaean; who, being the moſt inſolent of all the Greeks, and one of the moſt flagitious inſtruments of Rome, was therefore the moſt likely to widen the breach. There was, beſides, a farther policy in this. The Spartans, exaſperated by the treatment which they were probably to receive from Callicrates, would have an additional reaſon for reſenting the domination of Achaia, to whoſe ſupreme court of judicature they, as part of the Achaean body, were now amenable; and they might reſolve upon a ſeparation, and demand their independency. Sulpicius, accordingly, gave them a private intimation, that Rome was ready to encourage and aſſiſt them in their expectations of this kind. Similar intimations, it appears from Pauſanias, were given to all the ſtates belonging to the confederacy of Achaia. So that this noble fabric of alliance being ſhaken and disjoined, became every day more feeble and more ruinous.

Affairs of Oropus.

The Athenians, mean time [13], impoveriſhed by their continual wars with Macedon, had been tempted by the proſperous circumſtances of the people of Oropus [14], to make a

[12] Pauſ. in Achaicis. [13] Pauſan. ibid. Plutarch in Catone. [14] A city on the confines of Attica.

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

predatory incursion on their territory, and had taken and plundered their capital. The Oropians carried their complaint before the senate of Rome; who, with what view is obvious, instead of determining the matter themselves, left it to the decision of the Sicyonians. They accordingly condemned Athens to pay a fine of five hundred talents; from which sentence the Athenians having appealed to the Roman senate[15], the Romans, still farther to excite the mutual enmity

[15] The contest, in which this affair of Oropus involved the Athenians, holds a distinguished place in history, from the share it had in introducing the arts of Greece into Rome. The Athenians, according to Plutarch (in Catone) had sent thither Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic, (to whom Cicero (Orator. l. ii.) and Aulus Gellius (vii. 14.) add Critolaus the Peripatetic,) to plead their cause before the senate; the three persons, doubtless, from whose eloquence they thought the greatest success was to be expected. Some years before, certain Greek philosophers and orators had attempted to establish themselves in Rome; but those Romans who still retained the ancient spirit of their ancestors, apprehensive that this kind of study might check that martial ardour, which they rather wished to encourage, procured an edict to be issued, by which they were expelled the city. This, according to Suetonius, (de Clar. Rhetor.) happened in the year of Rome 592, in the consulship of Caius Fannius Strabo and Marcus Valerius Messalla. The present philosophers stood on a different footing. They came invested with the sacred character of ambassadors; and by the law of nations were entitled to an honourable reception upon their arrival. All the Roman youths, therefore, who had a taste for learning, crouded to hear them. Above all, they were charmed with the impetuous and forcible eloquence of Carneades, *who*, says Cicero, *never attempted to support an argument, which he did not establish, or to combat an opinion, which he did not overthrow*: "qui nullam "unquam rem defendet, quam non probârit; nullam oppugnavit, quam non "everterit," so that his reputation filled in a short time the whole city, and drew an audience of the politest and most considerable persons in Rome. The report was, "that there had come from Greece a man of astonishing powers, whose elo- "quence, more than human, was able to control and disarm the fiercest passions, "and who had made so strong an impression on the Roman youths, that, abandon- "ing every former amusement and pursuit, they burned with an enthusiastic love of "philosophy alone." The fathers in general were delighted to behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful men. Cato, on

enmity and contention of the Grecian states, pronounced the punishment to be excessive, and reduced it to a mulct of an hundred talents, but without taking the least step to inforce its payment. The Oropians, thus baffled, implored the protection of Menalcidas, at this time first magistrate of Achaia; who, in consideration of a reward of ten talents, engaged to oblige the Athenians to do them justice. Callicrates, then at the head of the Roman faction, and therefore exceedingly powerful in the state, was prevailed upon, by the promise of three talents, to join with him in persuading the Achaean diet to support the cause of Oropus. This compact, however, was of little service to that city; for the

on the contrary, was alarmed. From the moment he perceived this passion for Grecian learning prevail, he began to fear, that the Roman youths would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to reputation for arms. When he found, that the fame of these philosophers was rising higher every day, and that even some of the senatorial order did not disdain to translate their speeches into Latin, he had no longer patience, but went to the senate, and preferred a complaint against the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as these, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "Decide in their affairs," said he to them, "as speedily as possible, that, returning to their schools, they may "hold forth to the Grecian youth; and that our young men may again give at"tention to the laws and the magistrates." He had conceived an opinion, Plutarch tells us, which he was wont to deliver with a kind of prophetic confidence, "that, "when the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would "lose the empire of the world." The event in some measure justified the prediction; Rome having lost her constitution and liberties, at the very time she had reached the summit of Grecian literature, and had made the greatest progress in every kind of erudition. This, however, is not to be charged to the account of literary improvement; the cause is to be sought in that irreligion, that luxury, that dissoluteness and general immorality, the attendant and disgrace of those times, in which the greatest politeness of taste and refinement of living are found. Rome ceased to be free, not because she ceased to be rude and ignorant, but because, corrupted by prosperity, she ceased to be virtuous. The reader will readily conclude, that, defended by such able advocates, the Athenian cause was victorious.

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

Athenian garrison, as soon as they heard that the Achaeans were hastening to its relief, pillaged it a second time, and, carrying off every thing of value, had evacuated the place, and marched back to Athens, before Menalcidas appeared. This hireling protector contrived, however, to extort the ten talents from the wretched Oropians; and, to compleat his baseness, he defrauded Callicrates of his share, under the pretence that this Achaean, who in fact had fulfilled his engagements, having failed in the performance of the stipulated services, was entitled to no reward. The vengeance of disappointed avarice is blind and unrelenting. As soon therefore as Menalcidas was out of office, Callicrates, though himself a traitor to his country, accused him before the convention of the Achaean estates, of having betrayed the interests of Achaia to the Romans, and of having laboured to detach Sparta from the Achaean confederacy. And, so powerful was his influence, that the condemnation of Menalcidas was inevitable, had he not, with the three talents which were to have been the portion of Callicrates[*], bribed Diaeus of Megalopolis, his successor in the office of chief magistrate; who managed the business with such dexterity, that he was acquitted, in opposition to the general sense of the assembly.

Character of the Achaean magistrates.

THESE intrigues in the Achaean councils, which strongly marked the degeneracy of Grecian manners, had serious consequences. Diaeus, finding[16] that the protection given to Menalcidas had lost him the confidence of his countrymen, became solicitous to reinstate himself in their affections, and formed the

Attempts of Diaeus against the liberties of Sparta.

[*] Pausan. in Achaicis.

plan of bringing the Spartans into a total ſubjection to Achaia; a meaſure moſt grateful to the Achaean people, whoſe jealouſy of Sparta nothing could extinguiſh. By the laſt arrangement made by the Romans, all matters of a civil nature, in which Sparta had any concern, were to be finally determined by the Achaean diet. Diaeus pretended, that by this arrangement all their criminal cauſes were likewiſe to be decided by the ſame tribunal. The admiſſion of this claim, with their former ſubjection in civil matters, inveſted Achaia with full power over the property and lives of the Spartans, and reduced them to the moſt abject ſtate of dependence. The legality of the claim was therefore denied, and Sparta would have appealed to Rome; but the Achaeans alledged, that ſuch an appeal could not conſtitutionally be made, unleſs with the concurrence of the Achaean ſtates, and immediately prepared to eſtabliſh their pretended right by force of arms. It was in vain for Sparta to attempt reſiſtance. And Diaeus, to inſure the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, imperiouſly demanded, that twenty-four of their principal cititizens, who had moſt ſtrenuouſly aſſerted this *laſt* immunity of their country, ſhould be delivered into his hands. The Spartans durſt not refuſe; and to have obeyed, had been the higheſt cruelty. They took a middle courſe. The obnoxious perſons were ſuffered to eſcape, and, under colour of having fled from juſtice, their eſtates were confiſcated, and the ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced againſt them. They had, however, been previouſly inſtructed to repair to Rome, in order to lay the whole matter before the ſenate; and the Achaeans, being ſoon apprized of their intention, ſent alſo a deputation thither to juſtify their proceedings.

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

The Spartans appeal to Rome.

THE

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

The artifice of the Romans.

THE Romans acted on this occasion with their usual duplicity. They heard, and gave hopes to both parties; and at last, instead of deciding, appointed commissioners, whom they promised to send into Greece, to investigate and determine the matter in dispute. But these commissioners, being on various pretences artfully detained in Rome, every thing was still left in suspence; and both parties returned elated with the success of their negociations, without having obtained any formal decision. The Achaeans asserted, with exultation, that the subjection of Sparta was unquestionably decided; while the other party maintained, with equal confidence, that she was henceforth to be considered as independent.

War between Achaia and Sparta.

THESE contradictory accounts led to consequences which were agreeable to the wishes of the Romans. The contending powers had recourse to arms; the Spartans in vindication of their liberties; the Achaeans to inforce their subjection. A battle ensuing, the Spartans were defeated, with the loss of above a thousand of their best troops; and Sparta itself must probably have fallen, had not Damocritus, then at the head of the Achaean commonwealth, preferred plunder to the main object of the war; for which he was afterwards condemned, and fined in fifty talents. To Damocritus, Diaeus succeeded; who, at the request of Metellus, then commanding in Macedon, granted the Lacedemonians a truce, which was merely illusory; for Diaeus employed the respite it afforded in gaining over and garrisoning all the circumjacent towns; so that the unsuspecting Spartans soon found themselves environed by their enemies. Irritated by these treacherous proceedings, they renewed the unequal war;

which, from their enfeebled condition, turned out as unprosperous as before; their depopulated country could not raise an adequate military force[17], nor could their exhausted treasury afford the necessary supplies.

Roman commissioners come to Corinth;

AFTER the strength of Peloponnesus had thus, during more than two years, been wasted in these intestine wars, the Roman commissioners at length appeared, with Aurelius Orestes at their head, and required the attendance of the Achaean chiefs at Corinth, in order to receive the final determination of the senate. The Roman plan now began to unfold itself. The Achaeans were commanded to retire within their ancient boundaries; and those states, not originally of the Achaean league, but which, in the course of time, had been incorporated into their confederacy[18], were pronounced by the Romans to be dissevered from it, and henceforth unconnected and independent. This was evidently no more than a prelude to future humiliations; and was probably intended by the Romans as a kind of experiment. Should the Achaeans tamely submit, it was easy to proceed by degrees to the total dissolution of the league; if they made resistance, that would serve to palliate whatever violent measures Rome should find it necessary to adopt. The best expedient that seemed left to this devoted nation, was apparently to have submitted for the present to what it was not in their power to prevent. But the republican fire was not yet extinguished; and it burst forth on this occasion with uncommon spirit.

and decree the dismemberment of Achaia.

[17] Pausan. ub. sup.

[18] Sparta, the Arcadians of Orchomenus, the people of Heracleum, near Mount Oeta, Argos, and Corinth.

THE

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

Insurrection of the Achaeans.

THE Roman envoys had not yet made an end of reading the decree, when the Achaean chiefs quitted the assembly in a transport of indignation, and spread the alarm among the populace, who had crouded in numbers to Corinth. The rage of the multitude was inexpressible; and, as if Sparta alone had been guilty, it proved fatal to every Spartan that could be found. Popular fury, as blind as it is violent, could not discern that Rome was the source of all the mischiefs of which they had to complain, and that, under this pretended regard for Sparta, she was only executing her own designs. The sacred character with which the Roman ministers were invested, could not, however, command respect amidst this storm of tumultuary violence. Their house was forced open, and every Spartan torn from that asylum; nay, the envoys themselves, say the Roman historians, owed their safety only to their flight [19].

The Romans affect gentleness;

IT was to be expected, that the Romans would have called Achaia to a rigorous account for an outrage so violent. They nevertheless sent a second embassy thither, with particular instructions, not to animadvert with severity on the insult, but to employ only gentle expostulations; to conciliate, if possible, the minds of the Achaeans; and to leave to themselves the detection and punishment of the guilty. It is not difficult to trace the reasons of this uncommon and unexpected lenity [20]. They are discoverable in the situation of the Roman affairs

[19] Just. L. xxxiv. c. 1. See also Polyb. Legat. 143, and Florus L. ii. c. 16.

[20] Polybius, (Legat. 140 and 144) willing to excuse the Romans, pretends to believe, that their purpose, in thus threatening to dismember from the Achaean commonwealth the states which had been incorporated into it, was, not to carry their

affairs at this period. The final destruction of Carthage, alike the object of the hatred and dread of Rome, was not

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

their menaces into execution, but only to intimidate a people, whose high spirit had often been troublesome to them, and to awe those turbulent republicans into a more respectful observance of the dictates of Rome. And hence, according to him, arose that conciliatory temper, which they shewed on this occasion. However, there were others, he himself acknowledges, who accounted for this lenity in a very different manner; ascribing it, not to any regard they had for the Achaeans, but to their own apprehensions of what the consequence might be, should they at this time have provoked Achaia to take up arms against them, when Carthage was not yet destroyed, and Spain was endeavouring to throw off the yoke. But nevertheless, says Polybius, the charge is ill-grounded: " the intentions of Rome towards Achaia had nothing hostile in them; she had admitted the Achaeans into her friendship, and reposed a confidence in their faith, far greater than in that of any other of the states of Geece."——Is it possible to read this without amazement! And could Polybius, who knew so well how treacherously the Romans had brought humiliation on Achaia, and with what excess of cruelty they had treated her illustrious chiefs; Polybius, who was himself one of the number, (see Legat. 105, and 122;) Polybius, who was able to point out, as he fully does, the flagitious motives that engaged them in the Dalmatian war, viz. *to keep their military men in practice*, who, now the Macedonians were subdued, had no other nation in those parts, in whose blood they could drench their weapons, (see Legat. 125;) Polybius, who had been himself a witness of the prevarication they had been guilty of in the case of Demetrius of Syria, son to Seleucus Philopator, and grandson to Antiochus the Great, whom, in the view of having Syria at their disposal, they endeavoured to despoil of his paternal throne, (see Legat. 114. see also this transaction fully set forth in the ninth book of this work); Polybius, who had also witnessed how insidiously they had drawn in, first the Aetolians, (see Legat. 13) and afterwards the Carthaginians, (see Legat. 142) *to intrust their dearest interests to the faith of the Roman people*; I say, with such examples before his eyes, could Polybius be at a loss to know, by what motives Rome was now actuated?

on what account.

It is not impossible to discover what misguided the pen of this excellent historian. He was a captive of Rome, and Scipio's friend. Either therefore his attachment to the one led him to think more favourably of the Romans than they deserved; or his dread of the other induced him to suppress sentiments, which he could not avow without danger. So difficult is it for the historian, who lives near the times of which he writes, to keep close to the line of truth, unwarped by fear or by affection.

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

yet effected. The Roman arms, besides, had lately been unsuccessful in Spain; while new commotions, on a detail of which we are just about to enter, and which were not yet composed, had arisen in Macedon. In these circumstances, a war in Greece, an event to be expected from the present violence of the Achaean counsels, would have added considerably to the embarrassment of the Roman affairs. The Achaeans, however, from all that now appears, might have derived important advantages from the mild and pacific aspect which the Romans assumed on this occasion. It certainly presented them with the opportunity of soothing a power, which they could neither expect to subdue nor to resist; and of obtaining more favourable terms upon the subversion of their constitution, which, it was obvious, could not long be preserved.

Resentment of the Achaeans.

GUIDED, however, only by their resentments, they acted in direct opposition to all such prudential considerations. Unfortunately too for the Achaeans, their chief magistrate, Critolaus[21], was a man daring and precipitate. He had risen to power by encouraging the frantic multitude in their defiance of Rome, and, of consequence, besides the impulse of his natural temper, was impelled to violent measures by the additional instigations of popularity and ambition. Sextus, who was at the head of the Roman embassy, had, upon his arrival, demanded of him, to convene the national council,

Character and imprudent conduct of Critolaus, their chief magistrate.

[21] See Pausan. in Achaicis.

that

that he might lay before them his commission from the senate [22]. Critolaus, in appearance, complied; and accordingly issued his summons; but he sent at the same time private directions to the several members of the Achaean diet not to obey it; so that, upon the appointed day, the Roman ambassadors had none but Critolaus to confer with; who, as if to add to the mockery, told them, that they had only to wait the expiration of six months, and a second diet should be convened. The consequence was, that the Romans, highly offended, returned to Italy without executing the business of their embassy; and no sooner were they departed, than Critolaus, to evince that he meant to keep no measures with Rome, assembled the national council at Corinth [23], and, notwithstanding the conciliatory interposition of Metellus, by his deputies Papirius and Scipio Africanus the younger, obtained a declaration of war against Sparta, though avowedly protected by Rome; to which mad resolution Thebes and Chalcis imprudently acceded.

Views and policy of Rome.

WE have entered into a minute detail of the intrigues and contests, which appear to have agitated these petty republics during this period, in order that the insidious policy of Rome, as far as regards them, might be developed and exposed to view. We have beheld her affecting the most solicitous concern for the immunities of some particular city, that she might kindle the fire of variance and contention in the neighbouring states, and thus excite them to mutual hostilities, and mutual destruction. We have seen her bestowing her favours on the meanest and most worthless among the Greeks, because,

[22] Polyb. Legat. 144.

[23] Polyb. Pausan. ibid.

 false

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

false to their country, they were the ready and pliant instruments of her ambitious purposes; whilst those distinguished by wisdom, authority, and temperate counsels, by whose faithful services the public ruin might have been retarded, were discountenanced, oppressed, and banished. And lastly, we have seen her employing the very mischief which she herself had encouraged, the madness of an incensed populace, which her own oppressions had provoked, as an excuse for the violence and flagrant cruelty she exercised on this unfortunate people.

War in Macedon.

DURING these transactions in Achaia, a war had again broken out in Macedon[24]; which, from the few imperfect hints history has preserved to us, appears to have been attended with circumstances of a very extraordinary nature.

Claims and history of Andriscus;

Andriscus, a man of obscure extraction, say the Roman writers, originally of Adramyttium, a town of Troas, was thought to bear a strong resemblance to the late Macedonian king. Sixteen years had elapsed since the defeat of Perseus. Upon the credit, nevertheless, of this supposed resemblance, a story was fabricated, that he was son to Perseus by a concubine; that his father had directed that he should be educated in the utmost privacy, lest, if his parentage should be known, he should be involved in the same destruction with the rest of his royal house; and that he had intrusted the secret to certain persons, who had authentic vouchers to produce in support of the allegation. Andriscus first applied to Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, whose sister had been wife to Perseus;

[24] Liv. Epitom. L. xlix. and l. Florus, L. ii. c. 14. Zonaras, Tom. 2.

who

who doubting the truth of the story, or probably fearing the Romans, seized him as an impostor, and sent him to Rome! But in such contempt, from his appearance and manners, was he held by the Romans, that they paid no attention to the confinement of their prisoner; who soon after effected his escape, and fled for refuge into Thrace. Here, the tale of his birth and misfortunes being eagerly listened to, and readily believed by this plain people, he had soon formed a party, and through them had introduced himself to their Macedonian neighbours. The spirit of discontent which, at this time, universally prevailed in Macedon, secured him a favourable reception: the nation began to feel the severity of the Roman yoke; and, without scrupulously investigating the claims of Andriscus, considered him only as a daring adventurer, through whom they had a chance of being delivered from their oppressors. There is much reason to suspect, that the Romans were not ill pleased at seeing these discontents ripen into open rebellion; and that they at first connived at them, in the hope of availing themselves of the pretence with which they furnished them. Exhausted and humbled as the Macedonians were, still a little property, and a few privileges remained to them; and a new war would afford the Romans an excuse for doing what they had hitherto been restrained from by motives of policy alone. But the despair of an oppressed people found resources, of which the Romans were not aware; and where they expected only to find an opportunity of gratifying their despotism and rapacity, they met a war difficult and dangerous. When accounts arrived at Rome, that the insurrection in Macedon would probably become a much more serious business than had been imagined, Scipio Nasica, who, since the time he had served under

is acknowledged by the Macedonians;

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

under Aemilius Paulus, had a confiderable influence in Greece, was difpatched thither to obferve the fituation of affairs. His report was, that, by the affiftance which he had obtained from the Achaeans and fome of the cantons of Theffaly, he had with difficulty covered the northern provinces of Greece from the incurfions of the enemy; but that the revolt was general throughout Macedon, where Andrifcus was in poffeffion of the throne, and had affumed the name of Philip; that moft of the Thracian tribes had likewife declared for him; that feveral of the Grecian ftates were fufpected of favouring the fame caufe; and that, unlefs the Romans exerted themfelves fpeedily, and with vigour, the iffue of the war was to be dreaded. In confequence of this intelligence, a confiderable army was immediately ordered into Greece, under the command of the prætor Juventius Thalna. Juventius, at the fame time rafh and conceited, marched immediately againft the ufurper, with a fettled contempt of this pageant-king, and in the full affurance that he durft not meet him in the field. His vanity had its reward. The Macedonian took care, by various feints, to confirm the prefumption of the prætor, until at laft he drew him on to an engagement, on the terms he wifhed, in which the Romans were totally defeated, with the flaughter of the greateft part of the army; Juventius himfelf falling, while he endeavoured in vain, by perfonal courage, to compenfate for his want of abilities as a general.

meets the Romans in battle,

and defeats them.

The Romans alarmed;

THIS unfortunate event was attended with circumftances exceedingly alarming. Theffaly, with moft of the northern provinces of Greece, acknowledged the claims of the victor, and took up arms in fupport of him. And though the

Achaeans had not followed their example, yet the present discontents of that people, and the manner in which their services had been repaid in the beginning of the Macedonian war, afforded little hopes that they would again be active in the interests of Rome. Even as far as Africa did the influence of this revolution appear to have reached; and an embassy arrived from the Carthaginians to congratulate the new king, and to negotiate an alliance with Macedon. To guard against these impending dangers, a powerful force was levied with all possible expedition, and Metellus, an illustrious Roman, of high reputation, was appointed to conduct the war.

send Metellus against him.

By this time, if the historians of Rome may be depended on, the blandishments of royalty were beginning to effect what the Roman arms had in vain attempted. Andriscus, thinking himself established upon the throne, abandoned himself to a viciousness of disposition, which he had before concealed. Not content with indulging to a shameful excess in all the gratifications of luxury, he ruled with all the wantonness of insult, rapacity, and cruelty; so that the unhappy Macedonians, instead of that freedom, in hopes of which they had crouded to his banners, experienced all the miseries of slavery. This as a Roman account, especially when compared with facts to be gathered from the same historians, seems liable to some objections. Notwithstanding his dubious title, the Macedonians, unprovoked by all these alledged vices, preserved to him an unalterable fidelity; a kind of proof, that either he was not altogether so dissolute and oppressive as the Roman writers pretend, or that the Romans themselves were such execrable masters, that the yoke of the most outrageous tyrant was deemed light, and thought preferable to theirs.

Close of the fortunes of Andriscus:

And

And ſo far was he from being odious among his allies, that, even when overpowered by the Romans, he found a friendly and ſafe retreat in Thrace, nor was he delivered up until Roman gold, it is to be ſuſpected, proved an overmatch for Thracian honeſty. His misfortunes ſeem to have been chiefly owing to his temerity, and the contempt he entertained of his enemy. Though Metellus, who had advanced againſt him, was far ſuperior in cavalry, yet the Macedonian ventured an engagement, and obtained a complete victory. Elated with this ſucceſs, and thinking that the Romans would hardly, for ſome time, hazard a ſecond battle, he made a conſiderable detachment for the ſecurity of Theſſaly. This proved fatal to him. Metellus marked the opportunity; and, attacking him with a great ſuperiority of numbers, cut his little army to pieces, and obliged him to take refuge among the Thracians. The Thracian princes ſoon ſupplied him with freſh troops. But the Roman commander had improved in ſuch a manner the advantages derived from his late victory, and was ſo well prepared for his reception, that, notwithſtanding the moſt ſpirited exertion on the part of Andriſcus, he was routed, with the loſs of the greater part of his army, and found himſelf under the neceſſity of again retiring into Thrace. The prætor could not purſue him thither; the commotions, we have before mentioned, in Achaia, which now threatened to involve all the adjacent ſtates, calling off his attention to the ſouthern provinces of Greece. Mean while, it was not his purpoſe that Andriſcus ſhould eſcape. He had already entered into a negotiation with the Thracian chiefs, at whoſe court the fugitive prince had taken ſanctuary, who, for certain conſiderations eaſily to be conjectured, but which

his contempt of the enemy, the cauſe of his ruin.

which the Roman writers have not thought proper to specify, delivered him up to Metellus.

The unhappy fate of Andriscus, it might have been expected, would have restored peace to Macedon. But, such now was the deplorable situation of the miserable Macedonians, that they were eager to support the pretensions of every claimant, through whom they had the most distant prospect of deliverance. No sooner had Andriscus perished, than Alexander, another pretended son of Perseus, made his appearance, and met with the same loyal welcome from this oppressed and credulous people; and nearly with the same success. A considerable party had taken up arms in support of his title, but, unequal to a contest with Metellus, who, upon the first tidings of this insurrection, had hastened back into Macedon, they were soon dispersed; the pretended prince making his escape into Dardania. To the hospitality and incorruptible honesty of the inhabitants of this country, he was much more indebted than the unfortunate Andriscus had been to those of Thrace. The Romans, after the strictest inquiry and the most lavish offers, could never discover his place of concealment. And from this time, as history is silent, nothing more is known of this adventurer.

A second adventurer ascends the throne of Macedon; is overthrown, but escapes.

These repeated insurrections in Macedon effectually answered the end, which the Romans doubtless had in view. We have already seen the severity of the terms imposed on that kingdom, by the arrangement of Aemilius Paulus. These terms, nevertheless, the Romans considered as the excess

The Romans turn these insurrections to advantage,

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

cess of mercy. It was thought expedient to finish more completely the subjection of the Macedonian people; which accordingly we are told was now fully accomplished. This event took place about twenty years after the settlement by Aemilius. And henceforward Macedon remained in the humiliated state of a Roman province. By what arrangements the final humiliation of the Macedonians was effected, history has not exactly informed us; but of this it is easy to form very probable conjectures. The Macedonians had, at first, been allowed to have judges of their own for the decision of trivial matters; but even this faint shadow of judicial power they now lost; and, according to the customary Roman practice with conquered nations, a general confiscation probably took place of all the estates throughout Macedon, which were in the smallest degree objects of desire to these rapacious conquerors.

In this manner did Rome establish her dominion on the ruins of every national constitution. At first, her yoke was for the most part laid on with an affectation of gentleness; but, afterwards, repeated arbitrary and oppressive proceedings having provoked resistance, every manly effort against them became an excuse for additional exertion of power; until the system was by degrees completed, and appeared in all the stern severity of despotism.

A third adventurer appears in Macedon;

SOME years after, there appeared a third adventurer[55], a second Philip, and another pretended son to Perseus;

[55] Liv. Epitom. L. liii. Eutrop. L. iv.

who found that Macedonian credulity was not yet exhausted, and that their desire of liberty was not yet at an end.

BUT his career was soon run. Having hazarded an engagement with Tremellius Scrofa, the Roman commander, his army was totally defeated, and he himself was slain.

and meets with no success.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

The Achaeans, provoked by the perfidiousness of Rome, take up Arms — Metellus marches against them—defeats them—is superseded by Mummius,—who continues the war—obtains a decisive victory—takes, and burns Corinth—puts an end to the Achaean Commonwealth, and to the liberties of Greece.— The principal causes that produced the decline and final overthrow of the Grecian states.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Achaean war;

THE Macedonian insurrection under Andriscus was not yet completely suppressed, when the flames of war, which the Achaeans had lighted up, were already spreading through the southern provinces of Greece. Metellus had at first endeavoured, by repeated remonstrances, to stop the progress of these commotions. But, finding his representations to be ineffectual, he had, as soon as the Macedonian affairs permitted him, advanced southward, to intimidate, since he could not persuade; and perhaps not without the hope,

hope, that to the reduction of Macedon, he should have the glory of adding the conquest of Peloponnesus.

inducemnts to it;

FROM the extraordinary spirit displayed by the Achaeans on this occasion, and from the precipitancy with which they rushed into this war, a judgment may be formed of the violence of their resentment. The Roman arms, from their late success in Macedon, were become more formidable than ever; and of all the Grecian states without the Isthmus, whatever might be their secret wish, not one had ventured to avow itself the confederate of Achaia; Thebes, and the people of Chalcis excepted. The Achaeans nevertheless, as if unconscious of their own weakness, and insensible of the recent fate of Macedon, provoked a contest, which was evidently to terminate in discomfiture and servitude.

imprudence in attempting it.

Siege of Heracleum.

THE siege of Heracleum, near Mount Oeta, which had revolted and declared for Rome, was the commencement [1] of hostilities. It was invested and taken by Critolaus [2]; who afterwards hearing, that Metellus was on his march to attack him, endeavoured to retreat to Scarphaea [3], where, the Romans coming up with him, before he could get into the city, he was forced to engage *. The issue was fatal to the

Achaeans defeated by Metellus;

[1] See Pausan. in Achaicis.

[2] OLYMP. CLVIII. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 144.

[3] A city of the Locri.

* Pausanias (in Achaicis) blames Critolaus for his retreat to Scarphaea; and thinks that he ought rather to have secured the straits of Thermopylae, and thus have stopped the progress of the Roman army. But the way over the mountain was no longer considered as impracticable; and, unless he had secured the passes above, for which probably his forces were not sufficient, his being possessed of the straits below had been of little service.

Achaeans.

Book VIII. Sect. 2.

Achaeans. They were defeated, and the greater part of their army ſlain or made priſoners. The fate of Critolaus himſelf is uncertain, his body not having been found. He is ſuppoſed to have periſhed in ſome of the moraſſes*, which then covered a great part of this country, from the Maliac bay towards the foot of Mount Oeta. In addition to the loſs ſuſtained by the Achaeans in the field, a thouſand Arcadians, who had eſcaped, were intercepted in their retreat homeward by Metellus, and all put to the ſword.

who takes Thebes;

The Roman general marched then to Thebes, which he found deſerted; moſt of the inhabitants having fled to the mountains upon his approach. To induce them to return and ſubmit, he gave orders to ſpare the city; and required only, that Pytheas the Boeotian chief, who had adviſed the league with Achaia, ſhould be put to death.

offers terms of peace to the Achaeans,

His intention now was, to enter Peloponneſus, and at once, if poſſible, to put an end to the war. However, as if averſe from the deciſion of arms, he once more endeavoured to gain the Achaeans by expoſtulation and friendly profeſſions; and even offered to conclude a peace, on the condition that Sparta, and the other ſtates they held in ſubjection, ſhould be reſtored to their antient privileges. But, either governed by paſſion, or perhaps diſtruſting an enemy by whom they had been ſo often deceived, the Achaeans rejected his propoſals.

which are rejected.

It appears indeed from the account given by the Romans

* So ſays Pauſanias: Livy's epitomizer, (l. lii.) in contradiction to him, ſays, that he poiſoned himſelf.

themſelves,

themſelves, that this proffered peace was but a political expedient, in which the Achaeans would have found but little ſecurity; and that in fact, under the pretence of ſerving them, the Roman general was only conſulting the intereſts of his own ambition. For Mummius, one of the new conſuls, had been appointed his ſucceſſor; and, jealous of having the fruits of his victory wreſted from him, it might be his wiſh to ſettle the affairs of Peloponneſus on any terms, rather than allow his ſucceſſor to reap the glory of terminating the war [1].

Metellus ſuperſeded by Mummius.

Mummius ſoon after arrived, and aſſumed the command. But neither the arrival of the new general, nor the ſupplies he brought with him, occaſioned the leaſt alteration in the Achaean councils. Diaeus the Megalopolitan, a man not inferior in daring enterpriſe to Critolaus, had been appointed chief magiſtrate in his ſtead. Immediately upon his appointment, he ſummoned to the field every Achaean and Arcadian who was able to bear arms, and conſiderably augmented his forces by the manumiſſion, and inliſting of the ſlaves. With an army, amounting at moſt to twenty thouſand men, this impatient and adventurous commander prepared to diſpute the fate of Achaia with Rome. A trifling advantage, obtained at the beginning, emboldened him the more. Mummius, being encamped within the Iſthmus, that he might be apprized of the motions of the enemy, had poſted a body of auxiliaries at its ſouthern extremity, where the ſtreight opens into Peloponneſus. The apparent remiſſneſs and ſecurity of this ad-

The Achaeans prepare for a vigorous defence;

emboldened by a trifling advantage;

[1] See Pauſan. ub. ſup.

vanced

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

vanced guard, tempted the Achaeans. They attacked, and carried the post, after having slain about five hundred of the detachment. This success to these vain republicans was a sure presage of victory. In full confidence that the defeat of Mummius might as easily be accomplished, they with the utmost ardour demanded to be instantly led against him; and their demand was readily complied with by the impetuous Diaeus.

Mean while Mummius, who marked the exultation and confidence of the Achaean troops, and foresaw the consequences, had already formed his army in order of battle; and, upon the approach of the enemy, commanded his horse to charge the Grecian cavalry; who, thrown into confusion by this unexpected vigour, after a short resistance, were broken, and put to flight. The infantry, undaunted by this misfortune, for some time maintained their ground with resolution and firmness; but, deserted by their cavalry, and attacked in flank by a detachment, which the consul had kept in reserve for that purpose, they were at length totally routed [6].

are totally routed.

This battle was fought within the streights. And so well assured were the Achaeans of the victory, that all the hills around were covered with their women and children, whom they had brought to be spectators of the discomfiture of the Roman army. The pursuit [7] was continued by the consul, as far as Corinth, to which it was his intention to lay siege; but, to his great amazement, he found the gates open, and

Corinth abandoned.

6 Pausan. ub. sup.

7 Just. L. xxxiv. c. 2.

the

the city deſerted. The remains of the Achaean army had puſhed through it; and the bulk of the inhabitants, abandoning themſelves to deſpair, accompanied them in their flight. This extraordinary appearance, ſo different from what he expected, ſtruck the cautious Roman. A city, the pride [illegible], famous from the ſieges it had ſuſtained, and known to be of conſiderable ſtrength, forſaken, without an attempt to ſave it, induced him to apprehend a ſnare. Impreſſed with ſuſpicions, it was not until the third day, after he had encamped before it, that he ventured within the walls. On entering the city, a ſcene, the moſt ſplendid that Greece had to diſplay, was exhibited to the eyes of the Roman army. Beſide the advantages derived from the fertility of its territory, Corinth had for ages been the great emporium of both the eaſtern and weſtern worlds; and, ſince its reſtoration to freedom by Aratus, it had become the principal city of the Achaean confederacy. From theſe copious ſources, its opulence had encreaſed to a wonderful degree. Whatever decorations either private wealth or public magnificence, under the direction of the moſt delicate and refined taſte, had ever beſtowed on any city, it had accordingly enjoyed. Its noble edifices, porticos, temples, and palaces, were the admiration even of the Greeks, to whom objects of this kind were familiar; and its paintings and ſtatues, in number as well as in value, were not inferior to what Athens herſelf had to boaſt. Its elegance accordingly had paſſed into a proverb[1].

taken;

[1] Horat. Epiſt. L. i. Epiſt. xvii. v. 36.

"Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum."

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Of all this wealth Mummius became now the master. The possession of Corinth, a prize of such value, and so easily gained, afforded such a striking acknowledgment of the humiliation of Achaia, as might have disarmed the resentment of the victor. But the sternness of Roman severity was not thus to be softened. The situation of Corinth [illegible] formidable[9], and consequently pointed out its destruction, according to the desolating plan of Rome. The horrid scene began with the massacre of the few men found in it, and the sale of the women and children. The Consul having then directed his soldiers to remove the most valuable of the paintings and statues, with which the temples and other public buildings were adorned, commanded the city to be set on fire, and all its boasted monuments of art and genius to be consumed. And such, it is said, was the quantity of curious works in gold, silver, and brass, thus devoted to the flames, that, during the conflagration, the united streams of these various metals poured along the streets of this unhappy city[10], forming that famous consolidated mixture, which obtained the name of *Corinthian brass*, and which, for many ages, was held in the highest estimation. This unprovoked destruction many of the Romans, however, seem to have lamented; and the *nollem Corinthum*[11] of one of the finest geniuses of Rome, is a lasting testimony of this opinion.

and burnt.

[9] This reason is assigned by Cicero himself. See Leg. Manil. 32. Offic. L. i. 11.

[10] Flor. L. ii. c. 16.

[11] See Cicer. de Offic. L. i. c. 11. et L. iii. c. 11.

Book VIII. Sect. 2.

The integrity of Mummius:

To the honour of Mummius, it is neverthelefs to be obferved, that he ftands altogether clear of a fpecies of guilt, with which other Roman commanders are generally charged. To the unpolifhed tafte of the rough foldier, hiftory has, with fome apparent reafon, afcribed his contempt for thofe exquifite productions of art, which an improved and travelled Roman would have beheld with admiration. Being prefent, we are told [12], at the fale of fome of thefe Corinthian paintings, when the Bacchus of Ariftides, a piece efteemed one of the fineft in the world, was purchafed for king Attalus, at the price of fix hundred thoufand fefterces [13]; "it is impoffible," cried out Mummius, "it fhould be of fuch value, "unlefs fome magical power is concealed in it; and if fo, "it muft not be poffeffed by an Afiatic." He then commanded it to be fet afide. And fo little was he acquainted with the unrivalled excellence of the great Grecian mafters, that he is faid to have bargained with the commanders of the veffels, to whofe care he intrufted the ftatues and paintings, which he was fending to Italy, "that, in cafe any of them "were loft, they fhould deliver him new ones in their "ftead [14]." However much, at the fame time, men of tafte may lament the unrefined manners of the Roman Conful, his difinterueftednefs ftands unimpeached in hiftory. No portion of the riches of Corinth were applied by Mummius to his own private emolument: Cicero himfelf informing us [15], that, though feveral of thofe curious works of the painter and ftatuary, which he had faved out of Corinth, were to be

[12] Plin. L. xxxv. c. 4. [13] £. 4843. 15 s. 0 d.

[14] See Vell. Patercul. L. i. c. 13.

[15] In Verrem. i. 21. et Offic. L. ii. 22.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

seen in the temples and public edifices throughout Italy; yet in the house of Mummius not one was to be found. And in such indigence, after all his conquests, did he leave his daughter, an only child, that provision was made for her by the senate out of the public treasury [16].

his motives for destroying Corinth.

MAY it not then be suspected, that these Corinthian works owed their destruction rather to the virtuous and patriotic apprehensions of the honest Roman, than to inelegance of mind? While the fine arts had been progressively carried to an uncommon degree of perfection in this part of Greece, every kind of luxury had kept pace with them. And, distinguished by their delicacy of taste, the Corinthians had not been less remarkable for their voluptuousness and dissolute manners. Hence probably the apprehensions of Mummius, that the introduction of the same arts into Italy would give rise to a similar degeneracy. The statues and paintings he preserved, as they appeared to him the least dangerous articles of Corinthian splendour [17]: the rest, he considered as tending only to enervate; and, in this view, he destroyed what he feared might prove fatal to his countrymen. To save Rome, he burnt Corinth [18].

[16] Front. Stratag. L. iv. c. 3. 15.

[17] And yet this very introduction of these productions of the great Grecian masters into Italy, Sallust, certainly an able judge, numbers among the causes of the corruption of the Roman people. Velleius Paterculus uses the same language. *Better*, says he, speaking of Mummius's ignorance in the arts, *that the Roman taste had still remained thus unimproved, than that it should have acquired the improvement it now has, at the expence of the public manners.* See Vell. Paterc. L. i. c. 13.

[18] About 103 years after, it was rebuilt and colonized by Julius Caesar.

THEBES

Thebes and Chalcis razed to the ground.

THEBES and Chalcis, now fell the victims of their Achaean alliance. Mummius, to whom an affectation of lenity was no longer necessary, razed them to the ground[19]. Meanwhile Achaia remained in a state of inactivity, without forming a single plan, or attempting the least exertion for self-defence. Diaeus, whose rashness had principally contributed to bring on the present calamity, had fled from the field of battle to Megalopolis, and in the frenzy of despair, murdered his wife, and laid violent hands on himself. The Achaean cities were, most of them, forsaken by their chiefs; many of them were abandoned by numbers of their inhabitants; and all of them waited the determination of their fate with anxious and trembling solicitude. The demolition of three great cities, seeming in the mean time to have stayed the victor's fury, he now contented himself with dismantling every place of strength, and with obliging the inhabitants to surrender up their arms. Even this, however, was but a temporary suspension of servitude and ruin. Mummius, in fact, could not proceed farther, till the arrival of commissioners from Rome, jointly with whom, he was to be impowered finally to settle the affairs of Achaia. And, accordingly, upon their arrival, the long-projected scheme of Roman policy was carried into execution. They began by the dissolution of the Achaean constitution, and by declaring the several states and cities, formerly component parts of that respectable league, to be henceforth entirely distinct and independent. All popular assemblies were forbidden throughout Peloponnesus, and that small share of the civil administration which the natives were permitted to retain, was transferred from the people, and placed in the hands of the

Despair of the Achaeans.

Dissolution of the republic of Achaia.

[19] Liv. Epitom. L. lii.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

the richer few, whoſe reſponſible circumſtances the Romans conſidered as a pledge of their ſubjection. At the ſame time, leſt any individual ſhould acquire an influence that might be troubleſome to Rome, by the poſſeſſion of extenſive property, they not only took care to impoveriſh the more opulent families, by fines and ſevere taxations, but alſo enacted, that a Grecian ſhould be incapable of encreaſing his poſſeſſions by the purchaſe of any lands in Greece.

Reaſons for the Roman ſeverity.

IT had, in former times, been the conſtant policy of Rome, in giving laws to the conquered, at firſt to diſguiſe the ſeverity of the humiliation to which ſhe deſtined them. But now Achaia, for many years the moſt reſpectable of the Grecian ſtates, of whoſe aid Rome had frequently availed herſelf, and whoſe greateſt crime was, that ſhe had liberties, which were dear to her, ſaw herſelf doomed at once to the moſt abject vaſſalage. The reaſon is evident: in thoſe days of ſeeming gentleneſs, Syria, Macedon, and Carthage were ſtill formidable; and had Rome at once avowed her purpoſes, the mingled feelings of intereſt, indignation, and deſpair, would ſurely have united theſe nations in a cauſe, which was in reality the cauſe of them all; and Rome might have been involved in a conteſt pregnant with difficulty and danger; whereas now, neither Syria nor Macedon was in a condition to excite her apprehenſions; and the final deſtruction of Carthage by the younger Africanus, which had taken place about the ſame time with that of Corinth, enabled them to throw aſide the maſk of gentleneſs, as it left them not an enemy to fear.

THE

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

THE terms granted to Achaia, which we have mentioned, are recorded by Pauſanias [20]. But the particular ſeverities employed on this occaſion, he and every other hiſtorian have paſſed over in ſilence. Indeed an exact relation of all occurrences of this kind, which ſuch a revolution muſt have produced, was hardly to be expected from the writers of thoſe days; who, whether Grecian or Roman, influenced either by fear or ſhame, would avoid a minute detail of the melancholy ſtory. With what unrelenting acrimony the Romans purſued theſe wretched remains of the Grecian people, we may, however, gather from a circumſtance which Polybius [21], though in a great meaſure the advocate of Rome, has preſerved to us. The commiſſioners encouraged the preferring an accuſation againſt thoſe Achaean chiefs, who of old had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in advancing the proſperity, or vindicating the liberties of Achaia. Philopoemen and Aratus were arraigned as criminals! and even Achaeus, the ſuppoſed founder of the Achaean people, as if on this account he ought to be numbered among the enemies of Rome, was to have ſuffered by a poſthumous condemnation! A requeſt was preferred to the commiſſioners, that all the decrees which had been enacted to the honour of theſe patriots ſhould be reſcinded, and their ſtatues overthrown. But while this extraordinary trial was carrying on, and when ſentence was on the point of being pronounced, Polybius arrived in Peloponneſus, in his return from the ſiege of Carthage, whither he had accompanied his friend Scipio. Diſpoſed, as Polybius might

Extraordinary proſecution ſet on foot by the Roman commiſſioners.

[20] In Achaicis.

[21] See Polyb. de virtut. & vitiis, p. 1483, & ſeqq. Caſaub. 8°.

be,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

be, from a regard to his perſonal ſafety and intereſt, and ſtill more, perhaps, from an attachment to his Roman friend, to give way to the prejudices of that all-powerful people, and well apprized of the jealouſy they entertained of theſe illuſtrious citizens, the boaſt and honour of Achaia; ſtill this great man could not ſuppreſs his indignation at the ungenerous attempt. Philopoemen he had perſonally known in his earlier years, and had in part been a witneſs of the exalted virtues of that excellent patriot; "and ſhall then," ſaid he, "that integrity of conduct, which was his glory, be now "his guilt! Far from having been the inveterate enemy "of Rome, he ſupported your cauſe, he fought under your "banners, againſt Philip, againſt Antiochus; and if at any "time he engaged in oppoſition to you, it was only when, "impelled by the leading motive of all his actions, regard "for his country. Such as he was, ſuch were alſo Aratus, "and thoſe other Achaean chiefs, whoſe ſtatues you are "about to demoliſh; criminal, only becauſe unalterably "faithful to the intereſts of Achaia. And will you con-"demn in a Grecian, what in a Roman you would have "accounted worthy of the higheſt praiſe?"

The ſpirited conduct of Polybius:

THE commiſſioners ſeemed convinced; and, probably conſcious of the infamous part they were acting, artfully gave up to Polybius what they could not have inſiſted on, without making themſelves altogether odious. They not only dropped the proſecution, but likewiſe cauſed the ſtatues of Achaeus, Aratus, and Philopoemen, which had already been tranſported out of Peloponneſus, to be brought back. They even affected to do Polybius particular honour; and orders were iſſued to preſent him with whatever portion of the

confiſcated

confiſcated eſtates he ſhould think worthy of his acceptance; an offer which he nobly refuſed, diſdaining to grow rich by the ſpoils of his unhappy countrymen. His diſintereſted ſpirit raiſed him ſtill higher in the eſtimation of the Romans; and he had a commiſſion given him, to viſit the ſeveral diſtricts of Achaia, and to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and cultivation throughout that diſtracted and deſolated country. The ability and zeal with which he acquitted himſelf in the diſcharge of this delicate office, endeared him to all. To have encouraged the Achaeans in the moſt diſtant hopes of that liberty which they were never more to enjoy, would have been the higheſt cruelty. He therefore endeavoured to reconcile them to their preſent fate; to allay the various diſcontents and perſonal animoſities which the late times of tumult and confuſion had engendered; and to induce them to acquieſce in a peaceable ſubmiſſion to thoſe laws, under which they were now deſtined to live.

his diſintereſtedneſs;

AMIDST unavailing regret for having been ſo long deprived of the preſence of a citizen, whoſe ſalutary inſtructions might poſſibly have prevented their ruin, the Achaeans gratefully acknowledged the importance of his preſent ſervices by every mark of public eſteem. Some of the ſtatues then erected in honour of this patriot, Pauſanias, who lived three hundred and twenty years after the deſtruction of Corinth, tells us, remained till his time. On one, which he ſaw in Arcadia, within the ſacred precinct of the *Deſpoina*, the moſt revered of the Arcadian deities, appeared the following honourable inſcription[22]: "Polybius, from whoſe counſels Greece might

honours paid him by his countrymen.

[22] See Pauſ. in Arcadicis.

 " have

" have derived ſafety, had Greece ſuffered herſelf to be " guided by them; and in whom ſhe found her only pro-" tector, in the day of her diſtreſs."

Greece formed into a province;

THE overthrow of the Achaean commonwealth finiſhed the debaſement of Greece, which ſoon after ſunk into a Roman diſtrict, under the denomination of the province of Achaia; becauſe with the overthrow of this republic was compleated the final reduction of the Grecian ſtates [23]. In this province were compriſed Peloponneſus, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece lying to the ſouth of Epire and Theſſaly. All to the north of that line, as far as the utmoſt verge of the Macedonian frontier, was the province of Macedon. Theſe two provincial governments of Macedon and Achaia, including the antient dominions of the Macedonian princes, together with the ſeveral ſtates and republics of Greece——that once illuſtrious land! ennobled by a number of glorious atchievements! the choſen ſeat of liberty, ſcience, polity, and arts! were henceforward to be conſigned to humiliation and ſervitude!

THE Roman writers, however, ſpeak of Greece, and particularly of Athens, as ſtill retaining, under all the diſadvantages of this provincial eſtabliſhment, that pre-eminence in literature, by which ſhe was diſtinguiſhed in her days of freedom and glory. Accordingly, for ſome ages after, we find the Roman youth reſorting thither, in queſt of that improvement, or at leaſt of that reputation, which the arts and

[23] Pauſan. in Achaicis.

Book VIII. Sect. 2.

ſciences of Greece were ſuppoſed capable of beſtowing. But nevertheleſs, rather to the fame of antient days, than to any merit ſhe from this period poſſeſſed, is the eſtimation of Rome to be aſcribed. The liberties and genius of Greece gradually declined, and at laſt expired together. For, though her philoſophical ſchools for a while maintained a reſpectable name; though, at diſtant intervals, a few writers of diſtinguiſhed merit made their appearance, eſpecially in the antiquarian and hiſtorical lines, yet did the general turn of the Grecian people ſoon become frivolous, and, in reſemblance of their fortunes, groveling and ſervile. Their walk of learning ſeldom produced any thing higher than the profeſſional rhetorician or the captious diſputant; and what abilities they poſſeſſed were meanly proſtituted in humouring the follies, or in adminiſtering to the depravity of their Roman maſters. By degrees, therefore, the very appellation of Greek, which once implied ſuperior talents and the higheſt mental improvement, came to ſignify ſomewhat exceedingly abject; and under the Roman Caeſars was frequently uſed, by the ſatiriſts [24], as a term of the utmoſt reproach. Even thoſe literary productions, which in this decline of Greece do her moſt honour, when compared with what went before, can only be conſidered as the feeble rays of the evening ſun, when contraſted with his meridian ſplendor. What praiſe ſoever we may be willing to allow them, we ſearch in vain for that originality; that juſt obſervance of nature; that richneſs of invention; that nervous ſenſe; that glow and dignity of ſentiment; that power of expreſſion, which

Its decline in literature after this period.

[24] See Juvenal paſſim.

 characterize

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

characterize her earlier poets, historians, philosophers, and orators.

Age of glory of the Grecian people;

From the days of Cimon, when Greece had attained the summit of her glory, to her final subjection to the Roman power, about three hundred and twenty years had elapsed; and from the death of Alexander the Great, when the whole Persian monarchy confessed the Grecian dominion, about one hundred and sixty. It may then be matter of useful instruction to inquire, from what causes that total alteration was brought on, which, within this period of time, appears to have taken place in the Grecian character; and whence, a people, whose civil institutions, prowess, and extensive accomplishments, seemed to lead to universal empire, should have thus declined, and with so little struggle have sunk into dependence and insignificancy.

causes of their decay and final overthrow.

Division into small, and independent principalities;

I. There was originally a principle of weakness and decay in the very constitution of the Grecian government. Greece, parcelled out into a number of small states, each enjoying an independent sovereignty, was incapable of that exertion of strength, which results from conspiring counsels, and the joint efforts of an embodied people. On the important day of Marathon, of all the Grecian states, only ten thousand Athenians, and one thousand Plataeans appeared in support of the common cause. And though afterwards, rouzed by the example of Athens, other Grecian powers armed against the Persians, yet was this the armament only of a few states; formed too by most of them on a partial and confined plan, rather for the preservation of their own particular territories, than in vindication of the general liberties, and the

defence of the country at large; ſo that, had not the artifice as well as the firmneſs of Themiſtocles been employed on this intereſting occaſion, it had been hardly poſſible to have ſaved Greece. The council of the Amphictyones was indeed a kind of national ſenate, and probably in its firſt inſtitution was deſigned to be the center of unity of the ſeveral ſtates, whoſe repreſentatives compoſed this auguſt aſſembly. But this tribunal was chiefly adapted to the infant times of Greece. As particular ſtates advanced in power, it was often too feeble to control the refractory, and at length found itſelf, as in the caſe of the ſecond ſacred war (that fatal aera, from which Greece dates her decline) under the neceſſity of calling in foreign aſſiſtance to render its deciſions effectual.

jealouſies and conteſts thence ariſing.

II. From theſe numerous ſovereignties there aroſe, beſides, endleſs jealouſies and conteſts; the weaker ſtates ſtill ſuſpecting the ſtronger; and the ſtronger by their ambitious encroachments juſtifying but too much the ſuſpicions of the weaker. Scarcely had Greece recovered from the terror of the Perſian invaſion, when Sparta, regardleſs of the noble part that Athens had lately acted, could not conceal her envy at ſeeing this rival city ſpring more powerful from her ruins, and endeavoured to perpetuate her deſolation. Throughout all the Grecian commonwealths the ſame unhappy ſpirit of envy and diſſention prevailed, which was conſtantly encouraged and fomented, by the policy of the ſeveral princes who ſat after Xerxes on the Perſian throne. Conſcious of their inferiority in arms, they endeavoured to divide thoſe whom they could not ſubdue, and their intrigues and treaſure were

but

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

but too succefsfully employed. "Ten thousand archers [25] have "driven me out of Asia," said Agesilaus [26], when the orators of Athens and Thebes, pensioners to the Persian king, had stirred up a war against Sparta, which obliged him to abandon his Asiatic conquests, and hasten to the defence of his own kingdom. To the like practices the Macedonian kings owed whatever advantage they obtained over Greece: And the Romans pursued the same arts with still greater effect; until, exhausted by her own domestic feuds, Greece fell an easy prey to her oppressors.

Difference in their forms of government.

III. THE flame of intestine animosity acquired more fierceness, and more destructive rapidity from the difference in the forms of government that subsisted in the several Grecian commonwealths. Throughout Greece the establishment was, at least in part, democratical; but in some places, as in Athens, the power was lodged in the hands of the people at large; in some, as in Sparta, it was delegated only to a few. Where the *many* had the power, they not only were suspicious of whatever seemed to threaten their own privileges, but wished to establish the dominion of the multitude in every state around them. And, in like manner, the *few*, not content with securing themselves at home against the encroachments of the *many*, aimed at the introduction of their own contracted form of government, into all the neighbouring cities. Private ambition had here many tempting opportunities: the seeds of dissention every where prevailed: in

[25] An archer was the imprefs on the Persian coin.

[26] See Plut. in Agesilao.

every city two parties were at all times prepared for civil broils; mutually jealous, and mutually credulous of every miſrepreſentation; and equally violent in executing their reſolves, as precipitate in forming them. So that under the ſpecious pretence, either of defending the cauſe of freedom, or of controlling the exceſſes of a licentious populace, intereſted and ambitious leaders had always numbers at their call. The powers of Aſia, of Macedon, and of Rome, in their ſucceſſive attempts on the liberties of Greece, practiſed the ſame kind of artifice; under the guiſe of friendly interpoſition, playing one party againſt the other, and thus betraying the true intereſts of the ſtate, and gradually waſting it into debility and ſubjection. At one period of time, we ſee in Diodorus, the number of exiles, whom party-violence had driven out of their native cities, amounted to twenty thouſand. In the days of Polybius, we find the ſame ſpirit of diſſention ſtill continued; and it was happy for the ſufferers, when this atrocious ſpirit was contented with baniſhment alone.

Difficulty of preserving a democracy in its purity.

IV. The democratical form, which, as we have ſeen, prevailed under various modes throughout Greece, however friendly we may ſuppoſe it to liberty, was attended with inconveniences of conſiderable detriment to the national proſperity. It opened an ample field to the factious and the turbulent; to the pretended patriot and the venal orator: It frequently rendered the public councils paſſionate, inſolent, capricious, and unſtable: It baniſhed the ableſt chiefs: It gave birth to thoſe cruel and reproachful edicts, which we meet with even in the Athenian annals, againſt the Aeginetae,

Aeginetae, againſt the Samians, againſt the ten admirals: and, what is yet a ſtronger inſtance of the folly often prevalent in popular aſſemblies, it produced that abſurd Athenian law[27], which diverted to the amuſement of a giddy multitude thoſe funds, which had been originally appropriated to the moſt important department of government, "the ſupport of their naval ſtrength." That, in a political form, of which we are apt to conceive great things, and which, it muſt be confeſſed, has often wrought the nobleſt atchievements, theſe miſchiefs ſhould be found, ariſes from the very nature of that form. The *vital principle* of democracy, as a celebrated writer *juſtly* obſerves[28], is *virtue*. And therefore, whilſt invigorated by this exalting principle, democracies have reached an height of glory, which other forms of government emulate in vain. But on this very account alſo have democracies been more rapid in their declenſion than other political conſtitutions. Great opulence, and extent of empire, thoſe darling objects of human ambition, whoſe allurements are ſo ſeldom reſiſted by political wiſdom, have been always fatal to them; becauſe, ſo prone to corruption is the human heart, that it is hardly poſſible this *vital principle* ſhould preſerve its vigour, beneath the baneful influence of an opulent and wide-extended dominion. The ſage founder of the Spartan laws ſaw this, and endeavoured to provide for the ſecurity of Sparta, by excluding the purſuit of wealth and of extenſive empire. But the temptations of ſucceſsful war, and the avidity of man, defeated the purpoſes

[27] It was made death to move for a repeal of this law.

[28] Eſprit des Loix, L. iii. c. 3.

of

of the lawgiver[29]. In contempt of the barriers, which he had raised, avarice and the lust of conquest made their way into Sparta, and produced their wonted effects of corruption and dissolution. The truth of this observation appears yet more remarkably in the fate of Athens. The history of the Pagan world has not a more august scene to produce than what Athens exhibited, from the third year of the sixty-seventh Olympiad, the expulsion of the Pisistratidae, to the third year of the eighty-second, the death of Cimon. During this memorable period, she told the number of her heroes by that of her citizens; and every virtue, that can give strength and dignity to a state, was found among that illustrious people. But too soon there succeeded the intoxication of prosperity[30]; and that very democracy which, whilst they continued virtuous, was a source of glory, now, as their degeneracy advanced, added to the public calamity. Corrupted by that excess of power which they enjoyed, and which made them supreme in the dispensation of rewards and punishments, in the disposal of honours, in the decision of the most important questions of government; corrupted by the adulation with which their leaders and orators generally addressed them, the people considered themselves as above controul; and, in full confidence of their own strength, and vain, at the same time, of the glory derived to them from the prowess of their ancestors, they looked down with contempt on other nations, and with fond credulity entertained every visionary scheme of conquest,

[29] See Polyb. L. vi. c. 46. 47.

[30] See Polyb. L. vi. c. 42.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

with which their flattering demagogues sought to amuse them. Athens had extended her establishments along the coasts of Thrace and of Asia, and over most of the adjacent islands; yet, as if this were little, both Sicily and Egypt became the objects of her ambition; and a city, that scarcely mustered twenty thousand citizens, is said to have conceived the mad project of attempting the empire of the world. Meanwhile, they had rendered their yoke insupportable even to their Grecian neighbours; their confederates they treated as vassals; and the contributions which they received from them, and which they were to have administered for the general good, they wantonly lavished on the pride and magnificence of their own city; in name the *protectors* of Greece, but in reality its *oppressors*. Amidst all this insolence and bold shew of enterprize, the Athenians nevertheless had nothing of their antient vigour remaining. Employed in the bustle of their popular assemblies, or in the ostentatious display of those trappings of sovereignty, with which the citizen of Athens was invested, they had substituted the clamour and chicane of debate to military exertion; and while they were careful of their proficiency in intrigue and cabal, they were backward to maintain a superiority in arms. This debasement was manifested at Chaeronea; and, as if the reproach of that defeat had only served to encrease their cowardice and abjectness, they shewed it in a manner still more opprobrious at Lamia. Only two hundred Athenians, Pausanias [31] tells us, had fallen there; and yet, as if cut off from all resource, they tamely opened their gates, and submitted, without reserve, to Anti-

[31] In Achaicis.

pater. But indeed proſperity, the pride of dominion, the vacant and unwarlike eaſe of a municipal life, had produced a total change in the Athenian character. That people, whom the devaſtation of their territories, and their city in flames, had not diſcouraged from ſupporting the liberties of Greece againſt the powers of Aſia, were now reduced to the moſt puſillanimous deſpondency, by the ſlighteſt reverſe of fortune; and, ſtrangers to the ſpirit of their anceſtors, becauſe ſtrangers to their virtues, they reſigned themſelves to ſervitude with an abject timidity, ſcarcely to be believed of a republic, lately the haughtieſt to be found in the annals of hiſtory.

Fatal influence of irreligion.

V. But what ſeems to have had the largeſt ſhare in bringing decay and humiliation on the Grecian people, was *the fatal prevalence of Atheiſtical tenets*, which, for above a century, had been ſpreading from the Epicurean ſchool through every part of Greece. It was the wiſh of Fabricius [32], when told by Cineas of the opinions which Epicurus was then propagating, "that they might be adopted "by the enemies of Rome!" The event did honour to the wiſdom and foreſight of this virtuous Roman. The baneful doctrine completed the ruin of Grecian manners. Naturally volatile, of a ſceptical turn, and, from the arts of refinement and elegance which were familiar to them, prone to diſſipation and pleaſurable indulgences, the Greeks but too eagerly embraced a ſyſtem, that levelled all religious reſtraints, and left them without a God to inſpect human actions. The conſequence was, what in the like caſe it will ever be. We have it

[32] See Plut. in Pyrrho.

 from

from Polybius [33], who was an eye-witness, that venality, fraud, treachery, an utter disregard of country, of the most sacred oaths, of all ties whatsoever, human and divine, crimes which indicate in the strongest manner the corruption of a nation, and are the surest presages of its ruin, soon became prevalent throughout most of the states of Greece. The Achaeans seem to have been the only exception. Possibly, as they were a plainer people, and less conversant in philosophical researches, the contagion had made less progress among them. Accordingly the Romans, who, from the vicious and enervated state of the other Grecian commonwealths, had obtained an easy conquest, met here with a vigour and strength of virtue, such as they little expected; and, amidst that general wreck of principle that marks those degenerate days, it was the glory of Achaia, to have a number of citizens who, steady to the interests of their country, treated the temptations held out by Rome with their merited contempt, and beheld her warlike operations without dismay. To defeat this formidable opposition, the Romans contrived the expedient already related. Under the pretence of transmitting them to Rome to prove their innocence of a charge which the Romans themselves knew to be groundless, they seized on upwards of a thousand of the most respectable of the Achaean nobles, and sent them to perish in Italy. In the mean while, taking advantage of the distracted councils of a people who were now abandoned to the misrule of demagogues of equal turbulence and incapacity, they effected their long-concerted project, the final overthrow of the Achaean liberties.

[33] See Polyb. L. ii. c. 45. L. vi. c. 54. 55. L. xii. c. 1. L. xiii. de virtutibus et vitiis.

Abject ſtate of Greece after its ſubjection to the Roman power.

It would have been, however, ſome recompence to Greece, for the loſs of her independence, if ſhe had found an effectual defence in that power, to which ſhe was thus ſubjected; and if, under the protection of her new maſters, ſhe had ſeen her tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed; but ſhe had not even this conſolation. Confounded in that maſs of nations, which formed the enormous and unwieldy body of the Roman empire, ſhe ceaſed to have any fortune of her own; and at the ſame time, though, from her ſituation, it was forbidden to her to partake unmixed of whatever proſperity the Romans happened to enjoy, ſhe ſhared largely in moſt of their calamities; in the diſtreſſes of the Mithridatic war; in the depredations of the Cilician pirates; in the bloody conteſts between Caeſar and Pompey; between the republican party of Brutus, and the avengers of Caeſar's death; between Octavius and Mark Antony; in the various oppreſſions, of which the deſpotiſm of the emperors was afterwards productive; and, at length, in that general devaſtation which overſpread this mighty ſtate from the repeated incurſions of barbarian nations. Not to mention, how ſeverely the private vices of the Romans themſelves were often felt by this unhappy country, in the exactions and inſults which ſhe had often to ſuffer from her deſpotic governors; the common fate of all the provinces under the yoke of Rome. Until, from theſe ſeveral cauſes, Greece finally was left, as ſhe is at this day, with hardly a trace of her former glories.

A cursory view of what is moſt memorable in theſe latter events ſhall cloſe this part of our hiſtory.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

Greece threatened by the Cimbri—joins Mithridates.—Character and views of that prince.—Siege and ruin of Athens by Sylla.—Sylla overthrows the armies of Mithridates—close of the fortunes of Mithridates.—Greece ravaged by the Cilician corsairs—involved in the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey; between the republican party and the avengers of Caesar's death; between Octavius and Mark Antony.—Abject condition of Greece under the Roman Emperors.—Irruption of the Goths.—Reigns of Constantine—Constantius—Julian—Jovian—Valentinian—Valens—Gratian—Theodosius—Arcadius, and Honorius.—Overthrow of the Roman empire in the West.—Ruin of Greece by the Barbarians.—Decline and fall of the empire of Constantinople.—Present state of Greece.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

Greece threatened by the Cimbri.

GREECE, debilitated and exhausted, and still bleeding from the wounds of Rome, beheld, with all the terror of conscious weakness, the Cimbri [1] hovering on her northern boundaries.

[1] Liv. Epitom. L. lxiii.

boundaries. To complete her misfortunes, this impending storm of war had scarcely blown over, when the ambitious schemes of Mithridates of Pontus exposed her to new dangers, and involved her in fresh calamities.

Mithridates;

THIS extraordinary prince, the most powerful of his time, and the most able and enterprising who had ever taken up arms against Rome, demands particular notice[a]. He was the eighth in descent from that Mithridates who, fleeing from the presence of Antigonus to the Euxine sea, had laid the foundation of the kingdom of Pontus. The voice of flattery gave him an origin still more illustrious, tracing his ancestry down from the antient line of the princes of the house of Cyrus. A minor at the time of his father's death, who had perished by domestic treason, and himself exposed to a similar fate, he was driven to seek for safety in the forests; where, under the pretence of pursuing the chase, he changed his haunts night after night, taking his repose on the ground, like the inhabitants of the wild; and never, during seven years, entering into any city, nor venturing under the cover of a roof. By this means he acquired an hardiness of body, that was proof against every extreme of weather, and not to be subdued by any toil. The danger of his situation suggested an additional precaution: he fortified himself with a certain medicine, of which he is said to have been the inventor, and which is reported to have been an infallible antidote against the effects of the most powerful poison.

his early fortunes:

[a] See Appian de Bello Mithridat. Plutarch. in Syllâ, Lucullo, Pompeio.

HIS

His father had been in friendship with the Romans, and had done them important services in their war against Andronicus, the last of the Pergamenian kings. The son was too formidable to be admitted to the same friendly intercourse. The Romans viewed him with jealousy, and resolved to accomplish his humiliation. With this view, the senate judged it expedient to circumscribe his sovereignty within narrower limits. Provoked at the presumption of this arbitrary attempt, Mithridates conceived the bold design of overthrowing the Roman empire in Asia; a great part of which he soon united under his own banners. Three Roman generals marched against him; the proconsul Lucius Cassius, Quintus Oppius, and Manius Aquilius, a man of consular dignity, who had been honoured with a triumph, and was at this time at the head of the Roman commissioners for the settlement of Asia. Mithridates defeated them all, and having gotten the three commanders into his hands, regardless of their quality, exposed them to ridicule and scorn, producing them by way of spectacle through the Asiatic cities. Aquilius particularly, whom he charged with being the author of the war, was treated with the utmost contumely. He loaded him with chains, and mounting him on an ass, compelled him, as he passed along, to inform the gazing multitude of his name, and his rank in the Roman armies[3]. To mark yet farther the execration

attempts to overthrow the Roman empire in Asia.

[3] Mithridates probably considered this as an act of justice. Manius Aquilius was in fact a person who merited infamy: he had triumphed at the close of the Pergamenian war, though, in the conduct of it he had done little service; Perpenna having brought that war nearly to a conclusion; but, he dying, Aquilius stepped into the command, and claimed the merit of what another had atchieved. A few of the Asiatic cities still remaining to be reduced, he, in violation of the laws of war, treacherously

execration in which he held the Roman name, he iſſued orders to the Aſiatics in the ſeveral provinces throughout his dominions, on an appointed day to maſſacre [4] every Roman and Italian they could find among them, without regard to age, ſex, or condition; the debtor to have half the fortune of the creditor, whom he ſhould murder, and the ſlave, who had ſlain his maſter, his liberty; and forbidding them, under the pain of death, to ſave any of their lives, or, when dead, to give them burial. The atrocity of theſe orders, and, ſtill more, the horrid zeal with which they were executed, ſtrongly evince how odious the Romans muſt have been to the Aſiatic nations; eighty thouſand, by the loweſt accounts [5], having periſhed in this maſſacre; neither the feelings of humanity, the claims of gratitude, the ties of friendſhip, nor the reverence of religion, ſhielding thoſe unhappy victims from the ſavage fury of unrelenting vengeance; even thoſe who fled for refuge to the temples, being torn from them, or ſlaughtered at the altars. The death of Manius Aquilius cloſed this ſcene of horror; Mithridates cauſing molten gold to be poured down his throat, in reproach of Roman avarice.

His ſanguinary orders.

Maſſacre of the Romans and Italians throughout Aſia.

treacherouſly poiſoned the ſprings, from whence they were ſupplied with water, and thus compelled them to ſurrender. We may judge, accordingly, how the Aſiatics, who had ſuffered ſo much from his perfidiouſneſs, muſt have enjoyed his humiliation. See Florus, L. ii. c. 20.

4 Liv. Epitom. L. lxxviii. Appian. ub. ſup.

5 An hundred and fifty thouſand, ſays Plutarch (in Sylla).

4 O THE

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

Mithridates forms an alliance with the Grecian states.

THE object of Mithridates was now to attempt an alliance with the states of Greece; with their assistance to pursue his plan of hostilities in the neighbourhood of Italy; and, should circumstances favour him, to carry the war into the heart of the Roman empire. The conjuncture was favourable to his designs. The Romans, distressed at home, first by the Italian insurgents or the confederate war, and afterwards by the dissentions which Marius and Sylla had excited, seemed to have withdrawn their attention from Greece. These circumstances, with the powerful arguments that Mithridates had to offer, "of the exploits already atchieved by "him," and "of his avowed enmity to Rome," could not fail of establishing an interest with a people, in their happiest days impatient and changeable, and at this time sharpened to a keener sense of the oppressions they endured, by the very remembrance of the liberties which they had enjoyed. The Athenians even prevented his wishes. Exasperated by certain fines, which the Romans had lately imposed on them, they had sent an embassy to the king of Pontus, to implore his protection. Nothing could coincide more opportunely with his views. A considerable body of land-forces, under the command of his son Ariarathes[7], and another under that of Archelaus, with a large naval armament, were immediately ordered to their assistance. At the same time that his troops under Archelaus took possession of Athens, his fleet was employed, with the most rapid success, in reducing the numerous islands that cover the Aegean sea; and Ariarathes extended his conquests through Thrace and Macedon. In Greece, the Roman commander Brutius Sura opposed Archelaus at first with vi-

[7] Appian calls him Arcathias.

gour,

gour, and in one engagement obliged him to retreat to his ships. But this check produced nothing decisive. And the whole province of Achaia, from Thessaly to the Cretan sea, had soon acknowledged Mithridates; the little city of Thespiae having been, it is said, the only place, whose resistance rendered a siege necessary.

MEAN while Sylla, having expelled the Marian faction, prepared to punish the Grecian revolt. His very name impressed terror and dismay. As soon as his approach was known, the Grecian cities, Athens alone excepted, conscious of guilt, sent to deprecate his wrath, and to tender their submission. The other more important wars, to which his ambition was exciting him, probably saved them. Disdaining to stoop to any mean game, he marched with rapidity to Athens, where the chief of the Mithridatic force seemed to be collected. His aim was, to extinguish at once the war in Greece, by storming Athens. But this he found a task more difficult than he expected.

Sylla enters Greece; marches against Athens.

ATHENS was divided into two parts, the upper town, and the lower. The upper, comprehending the city properly so called, together with the Acropolis or Athenian citadel, was inclosed within one common wall of considerable strength. The lower, distant about five miles from the upper, was the great sea-port of Athens, generally known by the name of the Piraeus; famed for its noble arsenal, for its docks, and the variety and extent of its buildings for naval purposes; for the number of seamen and artisans with which it was crouded; and above all, for its harbour, the work of Themistocles, said to have been large enough to afford

State of Athens:

 shelter

Book VIII. Sect. 3.

ſhelter to a thouſand ſhips*, and opening its capacious boſom to the trade, not only of the adjacent iſlands, but to that of Aſia and Egypt. Around it was a fortification of ſtone, raiſed by Pericles, ſixty feet in height, and of proportional thickneſs, remarkable for the maſſy ſize of the ſtones with which it was conſtructed, and yet more ſo for the compactneſs and ſolidity of their junctures. From the Piraeus to Athens there was a road, ſecured on each ſide by a ſtrong wall, which formed a communication between the port and the city.

defended by Ariſtion,

In the upper town Ariſtion poſſeſſed the command; a factious demagogue, who had riſen to power by an abject compliance with the follies and vices of the multitude; and who by profeſſion was an Epicurean philoſopher, but, like many of that dangerous ſect, concealed under this philoſophic diſguiſe the blackeſt flagitiouſneſs of mind. By intrigue he had been appointed ambaſſador to Mithridates, into whoſe favour he had inſinuated himſelf by the ſervility of his deportment, and by betraying to him the intereſts of his country. On his return, he had amuſed the Athenians with aſſurances, that the great views of Mithridates were pointed ſolely to the humiliation of Rome, with the reſtoration of the popular government,

* So ſays Pliny, L. vii. c. 37. Strabo, probably more exact, ſays four hundred. Spon (Voyage de la Grece, tom. ii.) ſuppoſes, that in its preſent ſtate it could hardly be capable of receiving fifty of our large ſhips. See Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 5. for a full account of this famed harbour. From a marble lion, of admirable workmanſhip, ten feet high, which was placed at the inmoſt extremity of this harbour, it has been known by the name of Porto Draco, or Porto Liono. The lion has been carried away by the Venetians, and is now to be ſeen before the arſenal at Venice.

and

and all the ancient liberties of Greece. Having, by these arts, obtained by degrees the unlimited confidence of the multitude, he soon usurped the sovereign authority, and used it like a tyrant, exercising the severe scourge of arbitrary sway on the very people who had trusted him with power; murdering or banishing, under pretence of having discovered their connections with Rome, every man whose wealth could tempt his avarice, or whose station or virtues could alarm his fears. Urged on therefore by his crimes, Aristion, though not truly brave, which a villain never is, was desperate; and had embraced the resolution to suffer every extremity, rather than yield to a foe, from whom, he well knew, he had no mercy to expect.

and Archelaus.

In the lower town, Archelaus had the direction of the military operations, a brave and experienced officer, who was attentive to improve every advantage of his situation. Beside a numerous garrison, he had a strong fleet at his disposal, which enabled him to command from abroad every necessary supply. And, in addition to these advantages, there was an army of above an hundred thousand men in Macedon, ready to march to his assistance.

Sylla's difficulties,

Sylla, on the contrary, after some fruitless attempts to carry the place by storm, saw himself beset with difficulties. He had brought with him only five legions and a few cohorts, in all about thirty thousand men; a force far inferior to that of the enemy. Besides, he had neither the machines necessary for a siege, nor military stores of any kind, nor money to purchase them. But in his own daring mind he found resources for every want. He sent Lucullus into Egypt for naval succours. He prevailed on the inhabitants of Aetolia and

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

and resources.

and Thessaly, probably by way of atoning for their late defection, to send him a reinforcement of men, and a supply of arms and provisions. He cut down all the sacred groves round Athens, and spared not those of the Lycaeum and Academy in the Athenian suburbs, in order to procure timber for his engines; and he seized on the holy treasures at Epidaurus, Olympia, and Delphi. His answer to Caphis, a certain Phocian, whom he dispatched on this errand to the Delphic temple, is memorable; and shews, that this stern Roman was as little embarrassed by scruples of religion, as by the feelings of humanity. Just as Caphis was preparing to seize the sacred offerings, the priests contrived that the lyre of Apollo should be heard to sound from the inmost sanctuary; Caphis, struck with a religious horror, immediately desisted, and sent the Roman commander an account of the tremendous prodigy. Sylla replied jestingly, "that he was surprised Caphis did not "know, that music was the expression, not of anger but of "joy. And that he might therefore boldly take the trea-"sures, since Apollo gave them with such good will[a]."

He is baffled in his several attempts;

WITH all these aids, however, Sylla had not much to boast of. He attempted to scale the walls, and was repulsed. His warlike engines were set on fire, and destroyed in a sally of the besieged. He battered their works in vain, while a new wall instantly appeared behind every breach that had been made. He tried to proceed by mining; but the Athenians countermined his works, and slew or put to flight his miners. Thus baffled in every attempt, and winter coming on, he resolved to change the siege into a blockade, in hopes of re-

[a] Plut. in Syllâ.

ducing

ducing the place by famine. He had already thrown down part of the long walls, which joined the Piraeus to Athens, and had made a lodgement on the very road, which ſerved as a communication between them, ſo that the former method of conveying proviſions from the port to the city, was rendered almoſt impracticable. Difficulties, however, he ſtill had to combat; and theſe aroſe chiefly from Archelaus, who, active and enterpriſing, took every opportunity, and often with ſucceſs, to attack the Roman lines, and to throw relief into Athens; but the treachery of two Athenians belonging to the Piraean garriſon, at length enabled Sylla to prevent even theſe precarious and hazardous ſupplies. Expert at the ſling, they diſcharged a number of leaden bullets into the Roman camp, day after day, inſcribed with notices of whatever Archelaus was preparing to do—— "to-morrow we ſhall "make a ſally"——"on a part of your lines is the attack "to be"——"at ſuch an hour the convoy ſets out"—and Sylla took his meaſures accordingly.

forms the plan of reducing the place by famine.

DEPRIVED in this manner of every reſource, Athens ſoon began to feel the utmoſt ſeverity of want. A buſhel of wheat was ſold for a thouſand drachmas[10], the people feeding not only on the herbs and roots that grew ſpontaneouſly in the citadel, but on ſodden leather and oil-bags, ſome even on human carcaſes, while the tyrant indulged in plenty and riot; and when applied to by the prieſts and chief men of Athens, who conjured him to compaſſionate the public miſery, and treat with the Romans, he commanded his guards to anſwer them with a ſhower of arrows, and drive them from his

Diſtreſs of Athens:

[10] £. 32. 5. 10.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

presence. Sylla had information of all these proceedings; and rightly judging, that now was the favourable moment, determined once more to try whether storming might not succeed. A part of the wall having been observed to be lower than the rest, there he directed the attack to be made; and taking the opportunity of the dead hour of the night, he carried his point with little difficulty; the inhabitants, from surprise, or from their present feeble condition, or perhaps from the disaffection of many to a service, which terror alone had made them submit to, scarcely attempting opposition. These considerations, the last especially, from a more merciful conqueror, might have obtained some degree of favour for Athens in this hour of its misery. But of a temper naturally rigid and vindictive, and by long practice made familiar with deeds of blood, Sylla had become a perfect stranger to all the tender feelings of humanity. He had besides been irritated by the obstinate resistance he had met with; and still more, if we are to believe Plutarch[u], by certain personal insults he had received from Aristion, who, during the siege, fearless of the issue, had wantonly insulted the Roman general as he passed under the walls; and Sylla possessed not that greatness of mind which forgives or contemns such indignities.

taken by storm.

Vindictive spirit of Sylla.

EAGER therefore for revenge, he abandoned to his soldiers the plunder of the city, with express orders, that all within the walls, whether citizens or soldiers, male or female, young or aged, should be indiscriminately put to the sword. The

[u] Ubi sup.

scene

ſcene that followed is one of the moſt dreadful that is recorded in the Grecian annals. Goaded on by the fierceneſs of Sylla, and, not leſs ſtrongly perhaps, by their own reſentments and avarice, the ſoldiery ruſhed furiouſly againſt this emaciated, diſpirited, defenceleſs multitude; the darkneſs of the midnight hour, the ſound of trumpets, the blowing of horns, the clang of arms, the ſhouts of the conquerors, and the ſcreams of deſpair, all contributing to the horrors of this inhuman maſſacre. Unchecked by any reſiſtance, ſlaughter had ſoon made its way from quarter to quarter; many of the miſerable inhabitants, worn out with want, offering themſelves to the ſtroke of death; and ſome, even before the ſword of the enemy reached them, unwilling to outlive the liberties, or the exiſtence of their country, or wiſhing to prevent the violence of the brutal ſoldier, falling by their own hands. The number of the ſlain, according to Plutarch, was ſo great, that it exceeded all computation, and was only to be judged of from the quantity of blood, which is ſaid to have poured in torrents through the gates of the city.

His ill-feigned mercy.

SATED at length with carnage, Sylla yielded to the importunities of thoſe about him, and with ill-feigned mercy, conſented to ſpare what remained of this wretched people. He granted their lives, he ſaid, from the high reſpect he bore to their illuſtrious anceſtors, "forgiving the *many* on account "of the *few*, the *living* for the ſake of the *dead*[12]."

Fate of Ariſtion.

AMIDST the confuſion of the night, Ariſtion and his minions had eſcaped into the citadel; but in a few days the want

[12] Plut. in Syllâ.

 of

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

of water obliged them to surrender: the tyrant was put to death by the command of Sylla, and together with him, according to Appian[13], all who had shared in his councils.

The Piraeus taken.

Soon after the taking of Athens, the Piraeus was evacuated; Archelaus, who saw that it was no longer defensible, now that the higher grounds were in the possession of the enemy, drawing off his troops, and contenting himself with blocking up the mouth of the harbour with his fleet. Here therefore human victims were wanting to satisfy the exterminating spirit of the conqueror; and instead of these, the magnificent structures, and various decorations, with which Athenian pride and genius had during three hundred years been adorning this favourite port, supplied fresh objects to his fury. He set fire to the place, and then demolished whatever the flames had not destroyed. In the sacking of the upper city, a considerable part of it had been levelled with the ground. But here Sylla reduced the whole to one dismal mass of ruins, not a single edifice escaping from his more than gothic barbarity.

Destruction of Athens.

This was the most complete destruction that Athens had ever experienced since the Persian invasion! and it was with difficulty, and by slow degrees that she ever rose again to consideration. When the devastations of war had ceased, the few Athenian families that survived returned to their ruined city; and both public and private munificence were employed from time to time in repairing her breaches. But still many

[13] De bello Mithrid.

monuments

monuments of Sylla's vengeance remained long; and it was not till the days of the emperor Hadrian, the most bountiful of her latter benefactors, that she began to resume somewhat of her former splendor. BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

THE destruction of Athens was, however, but a part of what Greece had to suffer from the hands of Sylla. He had scarcely taken possession of that city, when Taxiles, who had succeeded to the command of the army of Mithridates, on the death of Ariarathes, the king's son[14], and now, by repeated supplies, had increased his forces to an hundred and twenty thousand men, marched against him from Macedon; and having been joined by Archelaus, advanced into Boeotia. Sylla's numbers, with all the reinforcements he could procure, were two-thirds short of those of the enemy. To intrench himself within the Athenian ruins, where it had been difficult for the Asiatics to force him, seemed his only resource. But the country of Attica being now a waste, and his troops being in danger of perishing by famine should he attempt to remain in his present position, he determined to advance into the plain, and boldly trust the event to Roman courage. A particular account of the action that followed, belongs to another history. It is sufficient to say, that, the two armies having joined battle at Chaeronea, Sylla obtained a complete victory, with the possession of the enemies camp, while an hundred

Sylla defeats the armies of Mithridates;

[14] From the private papers of Mithridates, which Pompey (Plutarch in Pompeio) found in the castle of Caenon, it appeared, that the young prince had fallen a victim to *eastern jealousy*; he was taken off by poison by his father's orders; whose envy and suspicions were probably both awakened by the martial reputation he had acquired in Macedon.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

hundred and ten thousand of their men were left dead upon the field. Mithridates, unappalled by misfortunes, and fruitful in resources, immediately dispatched Dorylaus at the head of an army of eighty thousand men, to oppose Sylla. They engaged at Orchomenos in Boeotia; where, notwithstanding the most spirited exertion on the part of the Asiatics, which at one time had nearly proved fatal to the Romans[15], Sylla proved again victorious. History speaks highly of his valour as well as conduct on both these occasions. It is suspected, however, that another cause contributed much to his success. Archelaus is said to have been drawn into a treasonable correspondence with Sylla, and to have sold his master: Of this Mithridates himself, in a letter to Arsaces, king of the Parthians[16], appears to have entertained strong suspicions: It is certain, that Sylla ever after treated Archelaus with extraordinary regard, presented him with a large tract of land[17], in the island of Euboea, and conferred on him the title of the FRIEND AND ALLY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE; favours, which he would never have bestowed, had they not been purchased by important services.

executes vengeance on the Boeotians.

THE first use that Sylla made of his victories, was, to execute vengeance on the Boeotians. This unhappy people, whose country had been the scene of the late battles, had

[15] The Romans were retreating in confusion, when Sylla, frantic at the sight, leaped off his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and rushing in among the fugitives, "here," cried he, "shall I die with honour: and you, Romans, when asked, "where you betrayed your general, remember to tell, it was at Orchomenos." Shame, and a sense of honour, stopped their flight, and turned the fortune of the day. Plut. in Syllâ.

[16] Fragm. Sallust. L. iv.

[17] Ten thousand acres.

already

already ſuffered ſeverely by the common deſolations of war, and the inſolence and rapine of the Aſiatics[18] as well as Romans. Sylla's reſentment was not ſo eaſily to be appeaſed. Beſide the guilt of the firſt defection, in which they ſhared with the reſt of Greece, they were charged, and probably not without reaſon, with having given aſſiſtance to both the Aſiatic armies. In revenge, he abandoned Boeotia to maſſacre and devaſtation; many of the cities[19] were laid in ruins[20], and the inhabitants condemned to indiſcriminate ſlaughter. To complete the whole, he deprived the Thebans of half their territory, conſecrating it to the *Pythian Apollo* and *the Olympian Jupiter*, "to make compenſation," ſaid the pious ravager, "to thoſe gods for the treaſures that he had taken from "them."

Latter fortunes of Mithridates;

As to Mithridates, though Greece had no connection with his ſubſequent fortunes, yet here the following ſhort ſketch of them may not improperly be placed. However humbled by repeated overthrows, he ſtill roſe ſuperior to every diſaſter; continuing, through a long ſeries of wars, of victories, of defeats, of negotiations, and of conventions, the irreconcile-

18 A ſhort time before the battle of Chaeronea, the barbarians, though ſeemingly in friendſhip with the Boeotians, had in their excurſions ſacked two Boeotian cities, Panopea and Lebadea, and pillaged the oracular temple, for which the latter was famed. Plut. in Syllâ.

19 Three of them, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alaeae, are particularly mentioned.

20 We have from Plutarch (in Syllâ) the following anecdote, from which we may judge, with what an unfeeling ſeverity theſe wretched cities had been treated. Syllâ one day in his walks meeting with ſome fiſhermen, who preſented him with a curious diſh of fiſh, inquired, whence they were; when hearing they were Alaeans, "what," ſaid he, "are any of the Alaeans alive!"

able

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

able enemy of Rome. Though opposed at different periods by three of the greatest generals of his time, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, yet he was never totally subdued. At last, when seemingly bereaved of all his hopes, and driven into a remote and inhospitable corner of his dominions, we see him with astonishment forming the bold design of an irruption into Italy, by the very road, which some ages after the northern bands attempted and prosecuted with such fatal success. At the time he conceived this daring plan, he was drawing near his seventieth year; and yet, even thus circumstanced, Rome had probably found him a second Hannibal, had not the revolt of his son Pharnaces disconcerted his councils, and put an end to all his schemes. Of all his sons he held him dearest, considered him as the last support of his royal house, and had appointed him his successor; as from him, amidst the various treasons, which he had experienced from the rest of his children, he had always met with attachment and fidelity. Overwhelmed by this unexpected blow, the hoary monarch, in a fit of despair, at once put a period to his own misfortunes, and to the fears of Rome. How formidable he must have been to the Romans, we may judge from the intemperate joy they indulged upon receiving the tidings of his death, "as if," says Plutarch, "ten thousand "of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates[21]."

his death.

Rise and progress of the Cilician corsairs;

To the calamities of the Mithridatic war there soon succeeded, what proved nearly as fatal to Greece, the depredations of the Cilician corsairs. These lawless rovers had their original

[21] Plutarch. in Pomp.

settlement

ſettlement among the rocks and faſtneſſes of the Cilician coaſt[22], where, enriched by numerous prizes, which the adjacent ſeas and iſlands afforded them, and taking advantage of the conteſts or the weakneſs of the Aſiatic princes around, in whoſe ſervice they were occaſionally employed, they acquired a degree of ſtrength, which rendered them at length the terror of all the neighbouring ſtates. In this ſituation Mithridates found them, when that enterpriſing prince was meditating the empire of Aſia. He ſaw at once the important advantage to be derived from the intrepidity and naval experience of theſe ravagers, and diſdained not to inrol them among his confederates. Emboldened by this alliance, they now adventured on expeditions more diſtant and hazardous, and had ſoon extended their excurſions from the pillars of Hercules to the ſhores of Egypt; whilſt the Romans, embarraſſed on every ſide by inteſtine commotions, and the precarious condition of many of their moſt valuable provinces, marked the gathering ſtorm, without being able to guard againſt it.

their power and ſucceſs;

ELATED and aſſiſted by incidents ſo alluring and favourable, theſe ſons of rapine roſe to a degree of power, that ſeemed to promiſe nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of the Mediterranean. Not contented with attacking ſhips, they aſſailed towns and iſlands. They had in various parts their arſenals, their ports, their watch-towers, all ſtrongly fortified. The number of their gallies amounted to a thouſand, which were moſt completely equipped; and the cities, of which they were in poſſeſſion, were not fewer than four hundred. Nor was

[22] See Strab. L. xiv. p. 459. Flor. L. iii. c. 6.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

there one place almoſt of note throughout the whole Mediterranean ſea, that had not paid them contributions, or ſuffered from their depredations. Even the legions of Italy could not ſecure her from theſe piratical invaders. They inſulted her coaſts; they even ventured upon inland incurſions, plundering villas, and carrying off both plunder and people; ſo that within a certain diſtance of the ſea-ſide there was no longer any travelling with ſafety.

To theſe predatory invaſions Greece, by her ſituation, was neceſſarily much expoſed. The multitude of iſlands which ſurrounded her, and the great extent of coaſt open to the Aegean, the Cretan, and the Ionian ſeas, abounding with creeks and harbours, and preſenting to the view flouriſhing cities, rich paſturages, and various ſcenes of rural wealth, which overſpread this beautiful country, were objects too inviting to be paſſed over without a viſit from theſe rapacious ſpoilers. Accordingly, few countries appear to have ſuffered more. They plundered her ſhips; they pillaged her towns; they laid waſte her territory. And on the Peloponneſian coaſt with ſuch ſucceſs were their depredations carried on, that the promontory of Malea, the ſouth-eaſt point of this part of Greece, received from them the name of the *golden promontory*[23]. They did not ſpare even the temples of the gods. Plutarch reckons ſeven of the moſt revered temples of Greece, which, until that period, the rapacious hand of the invader had never dared to violate. But theſe now were laid in ruins; amongſt which number we find the famous temple of Juno at Argos, and that of Aeſculapius at Epidaurus.

they ravage Greece;

[23] Florus, ubi ſup.

5

DURING

are extirpated by Pompey.

During a period of near forty years, theſe enemies of mankind had thus continued their outrages, when the Romans, now in ſome meaſure relieved from their late embarraſſments, reſolved to employ every effort for their extirpation. The arms of Pompey, to whom the conduct of the war was committed, were completely ſucceſsful. He deſtroyed their fleets, purſued them to their moſt ſecret haunts, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all their fortreſſes. Having at laſt reduced them to unconditional ſubmiſſion, he diſperſed them in different countries, appointing them inland ſettlements, that, having no proſpect of the ſea, they might not again be tempted to renew their naval depredations.

Deplorable ſtate of Greece.

As to Greece, from a remarkable circumſtance, recorded by Plutarch on this occaſion, we may judge what at this period was her deplorable ſtate of depopulation, in conſequence of theſe calamities. It was found expedient, in order to re-people the country, to tranſplant a conſiderable body of theſe pirates into Peloponneſus. Pompey aſſigned them the territory of the Dymeans, lately one of the principal tribes of the Achaean confederacy; this whole diſtrict, as large, and formerly as fruitful as any in Achaia, being now, to uſe Plutarch's words, *widowed of inhabitants*[24].

The Romans loſe their liberties.

The guilty ſcenes, that ſoon after followed, are well known; when ambition finiſhed what corruption had begun; and when the ruin of the Roman liberties, which rapacity, venality, and diſſoluteneſs had been preparing, was completely effected by the bold and ardent ſpirit of Caeſar, the diſſipation of Antony, and the calm time-watching hypocriſy of Octavius.

[24] Χηρεύουσαν ἀνδρῶν. In Pompeio.

The

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

The civil wars of the Romans fatal to Greece.

The sword of civil discord had not long been unsheathed, when Italy poured the whole war into this unfortunate land; and by the contending factions of Rome were the plains of Pharsalia drenched in blood. Upon Caesar's death, the contest was renewed; and Greece became again the field, in which the prize of empire was to be disputed. The jealousies of Octavius and Antony produced a third war; and still was Greece, as before, the scene of action; on the coast of Epire being fought the battle that gave to Octavius the world.

WITHOUT the aid of history, the mind may easily conceive what must have been the desolations [35] of a country, the theatre of all these hostile operations, compelled to take an active part in civil broils, and thinned of its people by wars not its own; whilst a multitude of foreign bands, many of them fierce barbarians, from Gaul, from Thrace, from Africa, from the forests of Germany, and from the wilds of Caucasus, invited thither by the hopes of spoil, completed the distress. Yet even these calamities, inseparable perhaps from convulsions such as these, and which, it might be expected,

[35] When Antony was preparing to fight Octavius, Plutarch (in Antonio) informs us, the reapers and ass-drivers, even the very boys, throughout Greece, were forced away to man Antony's fleet. Plutarch's great grandfather, Nicarchus, was at this time at Chaeronea, his place of residence; and he used to relate, that the inhabitants of this part of the country, not having horses, were compelled to carry the corn on their own backs to the sea-coast, as far as Anticyra on the Corinthian gulph, and were driven by the soldiers with stripes, like beasts of burthen. And after the battle of Actium, in such extreme indigence were the cities of Greece, having been plundered of all they had, that Caesar, though highly displeased with them for their attachment to Antony, was induced by their distress, to order the corn, which had been provided for the use of the war, to be distributed among them.

would

would have terminated with the ceſſation of hoſtilities, Greece found to her ſorrow only the commencement of her ſufferings. The war being ended, whoever had not been the victor's friends, were now conſidered as his foes; vengeance and rapacioufneſs, eaſily found out pretences againſt all, from whom plunder might be expected; and the pillage of cities, and the confiſcation of territories, were as the right and the reward of the conqueror. Caeſar himſelf, the moſt clement tyrant that ever roſe to power by the ſword, was not altogether innocent of theſe vindictive executions. The Athenians had declared againſt him; and their whole country, now beginning to recover from Sylla's deſolations, he again reduced to a ruinous waſte. The people of Sicyon, who together with the reſt of Peloponneſus, had been active in the intereſts of Pompey, he deſpoiled of the Corinthian territory, which had formerly been aſſigned to them; and, probably to humble this part of Greece, he raiſed Corinth from its ruins, colonizing it with a body of his veterans, and a number of enfranchiſed ſlaves from Italy[26].

State of Greece under Auguſtus;

WHEN, upon the fall of Antony, Octavius or rather Auguſtus, for ſo had flattery now named him, ſaw himſelf in the uncontrolled poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, the ſuppreſſion of the ſpirit of liberty, wherever in the courſe of the late conteſts any exertion of it had appeared, became his principal object. Greece was not forgotten. Several of her ſtates had not only inliſted under Pompey's banners, but had afterwards eſpouſed the cauſe of the conſpirators, and latterly that of Antony.

[26] See Plutarch. in Caeſare. Pauſan. in Corinth. Strabo. Caſaub. L. ix. p. 265.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

Antony. The Athenians had even celebrated the death of Caesar as the aera of the re-eſtabliſhment of freedom, and had placed the ſtatues of Brutus and Caſſius next to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Auguſtus made it his ſtudy to humble theſe *inſolent* republicans. He abridged the few privileges that remained to the Athenians, and deprived them of Aegina. The Meſſenians he reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage; and he plundered the Arcadians of their very ſtatues and the monuments of their antiquity. He obſerved a ſimilar policy towards every other Grecian ſtate. And though the Lacedaemonians had declared in his favour, he thought it expedient, in order to reduce their power, to diſmember from them twenty-four cities of Laconia, declaring them to be thenceforward independent, and diſtinguiſhing them by the name of *Eleutherolacons*, or free Laconians[37].

FROM the days of Auguſtus the iron ſceptre of deſpotiſm has been extended over this unhappy land.

under the ſucceeding emperors.

UNDER the firſt Roman emperors, indeed, Greece is ſaid to have ſcarcely felt the ſeverity of her lot; and her own writers who lived in theſe times, Strabo[38] and Pauſanias[39],

[37] See Pauſan. in Corinthiac. Laconic. et Meſſeniacis.

[38] Μέχρι νῦν (ſays Strabo, L. ix. p. 274, ſpeaking of Athens) ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Strabo tells us he lived under Auguſtus and Tiberius, *during whoſe reigns*, ſays he, *Rome and her ſubject provinces enjoyed a proſperity ſuch as they had hitherto never known.* See Strab. L. vi. in fin. May not the teſtimony of ſuch a witneſs be queſtioned?

[39] See Pauſan. in Atticis, Eliacis, Achaicis.

ſpeak

ſpeak largely of the proſperity ſhe derived from the Roman government. It is not difficult to account for this partiality. The latter days of Grecian liberty had been times of confuſion and inteſtine miſery. From the commencement of the war of the Triumvirs, Greece had been one continued ſcene of devaſtation and bloodſhed. In the eſtabliſhment therefore of the imperial power, which extinguiſhed all theſe conteſts, this unhappy country found relief; and without regret gave up a freedom, long ſince little more than nominal, in exchange for domeſtic peace and protection from foreign invaſion. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the crimes of the earlier Roman tyrants were generally confined to Italy, where the objects of their deſires or of their jealouſy were moſtly found; and the provinces, whether from their ſuppoſed inſignificancy, or from the policy of their Roman maſters, were often permitted to enjoy a ſecurity, which was denied to the firſt families of Rome. "I will have my ſheep ſhorn, "not flayed," ſaid the unfeeling but ſubtile Tiberius to a certain governor of Egypt, who, with the view of recommending himſelf to his favour, had laboured to augment the imperial revenues by mercileſs exactions[30]. He would *enjoy*; but, attentive to his own intereſt, he was unwilling to *exhauſt*. The legionary armies, beſides, afterwards the formidable controllers of the Roman world, ſeemed as yet unconſcious of their own ſtrength, and diſdained not to receive orders, which they were ſoon to impoſe. In addition to theſe conſiderations, there is much reaſon to ſuſpect, that this very repreſentation of the proſperity of Greece under

Teſtimony of the Greek writers not to be relied on.

[30] Dion. Caſſius, Hanov. 1606. LVII. 608.

5 the

the Roman Government was in a great meaſure the language of ſervitude, in order to court the favour of theſe lords of nations; and that Greece was far from poſſeſſing [31] that ſhare of happineſs, which ſome of her writers would perſuade us ſhe enjoyed. What ſtrengthens the ſuſpicion is the ſervile adulation, which Greece appears to have paid even to a Nero. Never did a more flagitious tyrant diſgrace the imperial purple. And yet has Greece inrolled him among her deliverers. Vain of his muſical and dramatic excellence, he had paſſed over thither, to exhibit himſelf on the Greek ſtage, and to diſpute the wreath of victory with the Grecian performers, who had the reputation of being the moſt excellent then exiſting. His ſucceſs in the courſe of this whimſical expedition equalled his utmoſt vanity. Wherever he appeared, and in whatſoever character, (and he attempted every character, high or low, male or female) the judges with one voice, as may well be ſuppoſed, when the lord of legions was the performer, proclaimed him victor. At the celebration of the Iſthmian games, which ſoon after followed, he expreſſed his gratitude by publicly declaring Greece free and independent. This was a grant of little value to a people, who had neither

Greece reſtored to freedom by Nero:

[31] It is not to be ſuppoſed, that a detail (which there were ſo many powerful reaſons for ſuppreſſing) ſhould have reached us, of all the ſufferings of Greece under the imperial deſpots of Rome; but among Pliny's letters, there is one (viii. 24.) to his friend Maximus, upon his being appointed to the government of Achaia, ſtill extant, where, from many expreſſions, and the earneſt charge he gives him, "to remember the reſpect due to this once-illuſtrious people, whom," ſays he, "to "deſpoil of that little ſhadow and name of liberty, now left to them, it were hard, "it were cruel, it were barbarous!" one is apt to conclude, that they had not been always treated with a gentle hand. Pliny's repreſentations to his friend ſeem to form a kind of contraſt between what Greece had experienced from former governors, and what Pliny required of Maximus.

the virtue to enjoy nor the power to preſerve it; and it tended only to renew among them the fatal conteſts of their popular aſſemblies. It was a grant alſo, which Nero himſelf violated with the ſame levity with which it was beſtowed: having, at the very time he announced freedom to them, ſeized every relic of Grecian ſplendor which could be found; and having plundered the very temples of all the valuable ſtatues which had hitherto eſcaped the hand of the ſpoiler[32]. For this piece of mockery Pauſanias[33] nevertheleſs is laviſh in Nero's praiſe, as if *the reſtoration of Grecian liberty* had been really his intention; and he conſiders it as a mark of "innate "greatneſs of mind" in that emperor, "to have been, with "all his crimes, capable of ſo generous a purpoſe." Certainly little of the ſpirit of antient Greece was remaining when the pen of her hiſtorian could thus attempt to dignify the capricious follies of a madman.

This reſtoration an event of little importance.

THIS pretended reſtoration of freedom ended, as it was eaſy to foreſee it would. With the revival of the municipal right[illegible] of the Grecian tribes their contentions revived alſo; [illegible]t, leaſt is the Roman account. In order therefore to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in Greece, Veſpaſian declared it neceſſary to reduce it again to ſervitude[34].

Greece is again reduced into ſervitude by Veſpaſian.

IN reviewing the liſt of the ſucceeding emperors, it is painful to reflect, how few of their names,[35] deſerve to be recorded

Characters of the ſucceeding empe-

32 Pauſan. in Boeotia. Dion Chriſoſtom. Orat. XXXI.

33 In Achaicis.

34 Pauſan. ibid. Suetonius in T. Veſpaſiano.

35 The two illuſtrious Antonines, a Trajan, a Titus, a Nerva, perhaps are all that can be mentioned with approbation.

with

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

rors, and in what manner Greece was affected by them.

with honour, in comparison of those who in cruelty, and in dissoluteness, were the scourges, and, still more, the reproach of human kind. To add to the severity of the oppression, these tyrants seldom rose to the seat of dominion by peaceable succession, but generally made their way to it by military force; so that the defeat of the unsuccessful candidate, and the subsequent deposition of the successful one, proved fatal to all who, however innocent of their crimes, were even suspected of having had any connection with their fortunes. When Geta fell by the hand of Caracalla, "it was "computed, that under the vague appellation of the friends "of Geta, above twenty thousand persons of both sexes "suffered death. His guards and freedmen, the ministers "of his serious business, and the companions of his looser "hours, those, who by his interest had been promoted to "any command in the army, or in the provinces, with the "long-connected train of their dependents, were included "in the proscription, which endeavoured to reach every "one who had maintained the smallest correspondence with "Geta, who lamented his death, or who even mentioned "his name[36]." Marked in like manner with blood and devastation was every revolution, that placed a new family on the imperial throne; the removal of even the most guilty

[36] See Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. VI.

With particular pleasure I take the opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the elegant work, from which the above quotation is borrowed. I have had frequent recourse to it in this part of my history. If I have attempted to place some matters in a different light from that in which this ingenious writer seems to have considered them, I shall hope, from the liberality of sentiment which his writings assure me he possesses, that he will not disapprove of a freedom of inquiry, always serviceable to the cause of truth.

tyrant

tyrant becoming a public calamity, from the ſanguinary and extenſive miſchiefs of which it was productive. Not only party-rage armed the military ruffian; private animoſity alſo availed itſelf of the opportunity, and under the ſemblance of loyal zeal executed its ſelfiſh and vindictive purpoſes. What vengeance did not perpetrate, avarice executed; the plundering of every wealthy individual being frequently the only reſource that remained to the tyrant of the day to ſatisfy the demands of the clamorous ſoldiery, whoſe ſedition had raiſed him to the purple. Not leſs than thirteen of theſe revolutions within the ſpace of ſeventy years, from the death of Commodus to the acceſſion of Decius, have diſgraced the Roman annals, and now excite a mixed ſenſation of pity and deteſtation in the human breaſt.

Amidst that variety of miſery, which Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had to ſuffer from this fierce line of tyrants, ſhe had hitherto however been ſafe from the inroads of thoſe barbarian tribes, which for a conſiderable time had inſulted the Roman frontier; and at a diſtance from the ſcene of hoſtilities ſhe paid little attention to dangers, which ſhe fondly thought were never to reach her. The reigns of Decius, of the unhappy Valentinian and his ſon Gallienus, ſhewed her the vanity of her ſecurity. The Goths, a new race of adventurers, hitherto almoſt unknown to the Romans even by name, had iſſued from the northern extremities of Germany, and after various fortunes had proceeded to the Danube; the ſeveral tribes of barbarians that lay on their way, having either fled before them, or, by joining the invaders, added ſtrength to the increaſing hive. Againſt this irruption of ravagers, the feeble efforts of an

The Goths invade Greece.

exhausted empire could avail little. Decius, a prince worthy of happier times, attempted to oppose their progress; but, together with his son, his associate in the empire, he unfortunately perished in the attempt; and but few years had elapsed since their first appearance, when almost every province, from the banks of the upper Danube to the shores of the Euxine sea; and along the Asiatic coasts, from the mouth of the Phasis to the opening of the Hellespont, had felt their violence, or been forced meanly to purchase with gold a temporary and precarious forbearance. They now entered the Archipelago, and plundered most of the islands. They advanced into Attica; and getting possession of the once-famed Piraean port, they spread themselves over the whole country. Greece, after all her sufferings, still possessed many valuable remains; and could yet display various monuments of the magnificence and arts of ancient times. From a civilized conqueror, these noble memorials of human genius would have challenged some degree of respect; but they now served only to provoke the indignation and scorn of barbarians accustomed to live in the open field, to whom the dwelling in houses was imprisonment, and the knowledge of letters the badge of servitude. Hence the whole of this devoted country, from the eastern point of Sunium to the farthest verge of Epire, presented one continued scene of desolation. Finding it necessary at length to retire from the desart, they prepared to pass over into Italy, where the dastardly Gallienus completed the disgraces of the Roman name. The defence of the empire rested on him; and he had actually assembled a powerful force, under pretence of covering the Italian coasts from the insults of these plunderers. But subdued by his fears, he declined opposing them in battle, and submitted to accept of peace on terms at once

pregnant with ignominy and with danger, "the receiving of "a considerable body of them among his troops," and "the "investing one of their chieftains with consular honours." The remainder of these bold invaders filed off to the northward laden with the spoils of Asia and of Europe; returning home unopposed, to display to their countrymen what splendid rewards awaited the daring adventurer.

Greece enjoys a temporary relief.

UNDER the succeeding emperors, from the warlike Claudius to the bloody Dioclesian, Greece, though her coasts were still exposed to the tumultuary descents of barbarian rovers, began to enjoy better days, and had little more to complain of than her share in the general humiliation, the common fate of every people in subjection to the yoke of Rome.

The accession of Constantine;

THE accession of the great Constantine seemed to promise to the Grecian annals a new aera of glory. Sole master of the Roman world by the removal of his imperial rivals, he saw himself relieved from the consequences of that jealousy ever incident to a divided empire, and which had often drenched the Roman provinces in blood. Of the barbarians, many of the most formidable had either felt and dreaded his strength in war; or, having acquired an establishment in the countries, which the fears of Rome had formerly assigned to them, had formed an acquaintance with the arts of peace, and assisted in cultivating the lands they once had ravaged. The emperor himself, intelligent, enterprising, resolute, and vigorous, appeared to have both the desire and the ability to advance the prosperity of his people. The confines of Greece, also, he had made choice of for his place of residence, and the shores

why favourable to Greece.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

ſhores of the Thracian Boſphorus, where the Grecian colony of the Byzantines had been ſeated, were now to give a new capital to the world. Amidſt theſe intereſting events, a revolution ſtill more important took place; the gloomy ſhades of paganiſm fled before the light of the Goſpel, and inſtead of the abſurd and frequently impure fictions which had hitherto diſgraced the religion of Greece, there ſucceeded the beneficent and exalting doctrines of Chriſtianity.

Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity;

why hitherto impeded.

THE diſciples of Chriſt, from their earlieſt appearance, had to encounter the moſt obſtinate contradiction, firſt from the Jewiſh zealots, and afterwards from the pagan votaries; and ten [37] perſecutions had tried and atteſted the ſincerity and undaunted firmneſs of the profeſſors of the Goſpel. Their virtues, their fervent piety, their reſolute ſpirit ſuperior to reproach, to tortures, to death, had often made a deep impreſſion on their enemies; and even of thoſe, who had been the moſt inveterate perſecutors of the Chriſtian faith, many had become its moſt zealous preachers. Some of the emperors themſelves are ſaid to have beheld with admiration theſe uncommon exertions of the human mind; and to have entertained a ſtrong ſuſpicion, if nothing more, "that a "faith ſo active, ſo generous, ſo much ſuperior to every worldly "concern, muſt have had a divine origin." Still however the ancient ſuperſtition, ſupported by the deep-rooted bigotry of the multitude, by the illuſive pageantry of pompous rites, by the captivating decorations of painting and ſculpture, with which the temples of Greece eſpecially abounded, where the beings of fiction ſeemed to ſtart into life, and fa-

[37] Sulpic. Severus (L. ii. c. 48.) ſays nine only.

ble

the assumed a kind of reality. But, above all, by the intrigues of an interested, subtile, and numerous priesthood, paganism still kept its ground; and its most strenuous advocates bore witness in behalf of Christianity, by their alarms at every appearance of its success, and the earnest endeavours they employed for its suppression.

Constantine's conversion.

SUCH, during near three hundred years, had been the state of the Christian church, when the great Constantine, in obedience to an heavenly vision, according to some writers, or, according to others, instructed by his mother Helena, who, in full persuasion of the truth of Christianity, had taught him from his early years to hold the gospel in reverence, avowed himself the disciple of Christ, renounced the worship of the gods of paganism, and invited the various nations, who lived beneath his imperial sway, to embrace with him *a religion*, whose DIVINE OBJECT, whose PRECEPTS, and whose PROMISES, presented to the mind whatever can alleviate, purify, and enliven, the hope of man; whatever can either adorn and bless private life, or give increase and security to public happiness.

Greece disappointed of the advantages expected from it, and the causes of this.

EVERY circumstance here seemed to announce to Greece a prosperity which, in the times that follow, we look for in vain. It may be of use to trace the causes, to which the disappointment is principally to be ascribed.

I. THE crowd of pagan worshippers, firmly attached, from the strong dominion of ignorance, domestic example, and habit, to the altars of their country, saw with a kind of religious horror the triumphs of Christianity; and employed every

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

Opposition to Christianity,

every device[38], that priestly craft or popular superstition could suggest, to obstruct its establishment. Paganism had always abounded with prodigies. These were now the arms employed in defence of her cause. Spectres were seen; the order of nature was inverted by monstrous births; the hallowed grove resounded with nocturnal voices; all omens of tremendous import, menacing the empire with the vengeance of its deserted gods. At the same time, every public disaster became a convenient instrument, to impress new terror on the credulous multitude. Was any part of the Roman dominions desolated by earthquakes, laid waste by tempests, or afflicted with contagious disease? it was the indignation of Aesculapius, the vindictive arm of Apollo, the wrath of Neptune, the anger of the capitoline Jove, that had sent forth the judgment. Or did the barbarians spread again the waste of war, and had discomfiture disgraced the imperial banners? it was the goddess of victory who abandoned a people, by whose daring hands her statue, once the pride of Rome, had been overthrown. Or did intemperate seasons blast the hopes of the husbandman? the goddess of harvests was the cause, who, defrauded of her due honours, had resented the impious violation.

by the sophists,

WITH the same active zeal, and with still greater art, the Grecian sophists joined in the opposition. These sophists, the boasted successors of the Grecian sages of antiquity, ashamed of the legendary tales of paganism, and not honest enough to confess with the excellent Socrates, the

[38] See Montesquieu Grand. et Decad. des Romains, c. 19. See also Libanius & Ammian. Marcellin. passim.

weakness

weakneſs of human reaſon, had adopted the ſubtile but illiberal plan of diſguiſing what they could not ſupport. With them the whole pagan theogony became the myſterious repoſitory of wiſdom. Beneath the rough covering of the moſt uncouth fable ſome valuable truths, they pretended, lay concealed; and the ſeveral pagan divinities were, according to their interpretation, to be conſidered as ſubordinate miniſters of the Sovereign of the univerſe, or as allegorical perſonages, emblems of his operations or his attributes.

ſpeciouſly carried on;

THE attempt was ſpecious. Ancient wiſdom had frequently been employed in reducing many of the fables of heathen ſtory to the allegorical rank, which ſeems primarily to have belonged to them; and in withdrawing the reverence of the pagan world from thoſe beings of fiction, whom the ſimplicity of the timorous and ſuperſtitious villager, or the artifice of ſome deſigning impoſtor, had erected into gods.

their duplicity,

FAR different were the views of the ſophiſts. By clearing away the various abſurdities, which enveloped and obſcured the pagan ſyſtem, their purpoſe was to give it a more plauſible appearance, and a permanent eſtabliſhment. For, whilſt they paid their offerings at the ſhrine of every fabulous god, and required of their diſciples a ſtrict compliance with every idolatrous and abſurd rite of the pagan worſhip, it was their artful boaſt, that to the SUPREME ORIGIN OF ALL GOOD their piety was aſcending gradually, and in HIM was ultimately to terminate.

and ſucceſs,

IN ſupport of this laſt refuge of paganiſm (to which probably it had been driven by the bold attacks of the Chriſtian converts)

converts) all the various aids that Grecian literature could furnish, and the keenest weapons that sophistry had to wield, were incessantly employed [39]; with what success, the length of time during which the schools of the sophists continued to flourish, bears ample testimony. Sixty years elapsed from the issuing of Constantine's edict in favour of Christianity, before these sons of fallacy had sunk into the neglect and obscurity, which they had long deserved.

The Grecian converts too fond of abstruse disputation.

II. These however were not the enemies, from whom the churches of Greece had most to fear. In these days of Grecian degeneracy, versatility of genius, an acute and ready wit, a restless inquisitiveness, a fondness for argument and cavil, formed the principal lines of the Grecian character. This was more conspicuously the characteristic of the Athenians. As long as their democracy had subsisted, political contests, and the bustle of popular assemblies had been their favourite occupation; after its dissolution the captious disputations of the sophists, to whose direction the several schools of philosophy in Athens were now entrusted, became their chosen amusement. Many of the Greeks therefore, who embraced the Gospel, brought with them into the Christian church the practice of disputation, with a strong habitual fondness for curious disquisition and subtile argument. Not satisfied to abide within the boundaries, which the Almighty seems to have prescribed to man here below, their bold fancy attempted to explore the regions of the invisible world; and to pry into, to unfold, and to judge, the secret counsels of Infinite Wisdom.

[39] See Julian. Epist. ad Athen. et Epist. passim. Ammian. Marc. L. xxi. c. 1, &c. Liban. Or. Eutrop. in Maxim.

Points the moſt abſtruſe, and probably not meant for human diſcuſſion, were brought into debate. The pride of ſcience begot contention, obſtinacy, and mutual hatred. The haughty diſputant levelled his anathemas at thoſe who preſumed to queſtion his deciſions; and his opponents, not leſs abſurd, by way of vindication, retorted on him the condemnation he had dared to pronounce. Doctrine was ſet up againſt doctrine; tribunal againſt tribunal; and at the very time it was uncertain, and perhaps even of no importance, which of the two parties was in poſſeſſion of the truth, the cauſe of the higheſt importance to the happineſs of mankind, the cauſe of real religion, of brotherly affection and mercy, was deeply injured by both [40].

III. Love of fame, the imperious pride of the deciſive dogmatiſt, and impatience at being vanquiſhed in the field of argument, had almoſt in the earlieſt periods diſturbed the peace of the Grecian church: conſiderations ſtill more ſordid ſoon contributed to provoke new conteſts, and to ſpread the flame of animoſity. Conſtantine choſe to ſignalize his zeal for the Chriſtian eſtabliſhment by the favour he ſhewed to its miniſters. The ample revenues and ſumptuous offerings, with which the miſtaken piety of the early ages had enriched the temples of paganiſm, and the magnificent and oſtentatious diſplay employed in the celebration of its feſtive ſolemnities, were known to have contributed principally to the veneration of its votaries. Conſtantine would have thought he had been wanting in what he owed to the true God, had he aſſigned a leſs reſpectable ſituation to thoſe who were

The emperor's munificence to the church;

40 See Euſ. de vitâ Conſtant. L. iii. c. 4, 5. Sulp. Sev. L. iii. c. 50. & ſqq. See alſo Fleury Hiſt. Eccl. L. x. xi, xii. &c.

 more

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

more immediately engaged in his service. Emoluments and honours were therefore liberally, perhaps profusely, bestowed [41]. The noble and wealthy emulated the example [42]; till, by a natural progression, to add to the sacred patrimony was accounted the surest pledge the disciple of the church could give of his piety, or of his repentance.

attended with dangerous consequences.

The days of tribulation had been days of glory to the Christian church [43]; she was dishonoured by splendor and opulence. The experience of many generations has sufficiently informed us, that the human heart, even within the sanctuary of religion, is not exempted from frailty; it found here numberless temptations to avarice, to ambition, to insolence, and but too often confessed their fatal influence. With many, the station more than the duties of the churchman became the object of pursuit. Religious debates multiplied, and were maintained with additional acrimony, when an episcopal throne, and princely treasures were to be the rewards of victory. And within less than forty years after the death of Constantine, the prudence of a Christian emperor, Valentinian [44], was exerted to consult the real interests of religion, by prescribing limits to the property of the church.

IV. The

[41] Euseb. de vit. Constant. L. iii. c. 15. & L. iv. c. 1.

[42] For an account of the liberalities of Helena, the emperor's mother, see Euseb. L. iii. c. 44, 45.

[43] See Sulp. Sev. L. ii. c. 47.

[44] By an edict of his (Cod. Theod. L. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 20) addressed to Damasus bishop of Rome in 370, and published in the several churches on the 3d of the kalends of August, the director was no longer permitted to receive from his spiritual

His zeal in behalf of her doctrines;

IV. THE unbounded munificence of the firſt Chriſtian emperors had brought reproach on the church; and the exceſs of their zeal in behalf of the purity of her doctrine proved nearly as dangerous. Conſtantine himſelf had led the way. Too fond of taking an active ſhare in religious controverſy, he frequently encouraged and foſtered thoſe contentions, which he ought to have repreſſed or terminated[45]. Inſtead of extending a parental, and perhaps conciliatory tenderneſs to all thoſe of his ſubjects whoſe opinions were their only crimes, he ſet up party againſt party, and by lending the ſanction of his imperial name to whatever tenets he happened to honour with his approbation, often gave ſtrength and continuance to paſſions and enmities, which it was in his power at leaſt to have ſoothed, and perhaps to have extinguiſhed. Conſtantine went too far; his ſucceſſors proceeded farther; and the diſciple of the goſpel has it to lament[46], that under Conſtantius[47], Valens, Gratian, Theodoſius, Juſtinian, &c. &c. the church, emboldened by the imperial protection, frequently exerted againſt the unhappy recuſant the ſame mercileſs violence, which ſhe herſelf had ſo juſtly complained of, when the ſcourge of power was exerciſed by pagan authority.

improperly exerted.

V. EVEN

ſpiritual daughter any gift, legacy, or inheritance: every teſtament contrary to this edict was to be null and void. See Fleury Hiſt. Eccl. L. xvi. Mr. Gibbon (ch. xxv.) thinks, that by a ſubſequent regulation, all eccleſiaſtical perſons were rendered incapable of receiving teſtamentary gifts.

45 See Euſeb. de vit. Conſtant. L. iii. c. 64, & 65.

46 See Sulp. Sev. L. ii. c. 64, 65. See alſo Fleury, L. xiii. xiv. xv. & ſqq.

47 The words of l'Abbé Fleury are worthy of notice. Il troubla, ſays he, ſpeaking of Conſtantius, la Religion Chretienne, ſimple d'elle meme, par une ſuperſtition

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

The vicinity of Constantinople not favourable to Greece.

V. EVEN the neighbourhood of Constantine's imperial city, whose rising glories Greece beheld with conscious pride, and fond expectation, afforded little encrease to the Grecian happiness. The opulence and pomp of Rome had been removed thither; but so had her vices. And all that Greece appears to have derived from the splendid vicinity of Constantinople was nothing more than what provinces bordering on a great city have generally to boast of, the fatal pre-eminence[48] of being exhausted to support her magnificence, and of being corrupted by her example.

Constantine dies;

disposal of his dominions,

and the evils that followed;

THE act, that closed the life of Constantine was as injurious to the public prosperity as any that history has charged him with. His dominions he divided[49] among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, and his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus[50]; bequeathing to the Roman world the melancholy legacy of intestine wars and desolated provinces. Scarcely was the celebration of his obsequies ended, when Dalmatius and Hannibalianus perished in a military insurrection, excited by the creatures, and probably

stition de vielle; et s'appliquant plus a l'examiner curieusement qu'a la regler serieusement, il excita plusieurs divisions, qu'il fomenta ensuite par des disputes de mots. Hist. Eccles. L. xiv. p. 575.

[48] See Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. xvii. p. 19. oct.

[49] See Gibbon, Ch. xviii.

[50] Constantine had Spain, Gaul, and the British isles; Constantius Asia, with Egypt, and all the eastern provinces; Constans Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Illyricum; Dalmatius Thrace, and all Greece; Hannibalianus Cappadocia, Armenia, and Pontus. Aurel. Victor. 7 Epist. Eutropius (L. x. c. 9.) makes no mention of Hannibalianus. Socrates also (L. ii. c. 25.) mentions only Dalmatius.

by

by the arts[51] of Conſtantius. The crime of theſe two young princes evidently was, that a part of the imperial dominions had been aſſigned to them; beſide this, Dalmatius ſtood alſo charged with having inherited a large ſhare of the late emperor's abilities. Such guilt was not to be expiated but with their blood. Seven other princes of the imperial houſe, uncles or couſins to the ſuſpicious Conſtantius, ſhared their unhappy fate, together with all their friends, officers, and dependents; ſome of whom had been high in the favour and confidence of Conſtantine himſelf. Two princes more, Gallus and Julian, couſins likewiſe to Conſtantius, would have ſuffered in the maſſacre, had not the policy of the tyrant ſaved them. Julian, a child only ſix years old, was too inconſiderable to be the object of his kinſman's jealouſy: Gallus was aged twelve, but his infirm ſtate of health afforded to Conſtantius the pleaſing hope, that nature would ſoon relieve him from the neceſſity of employing againſt him the hand of the aſſaſſin.

THE three ſons of Conſtantine had now the whole extent of the Roman empire to divide among them. But each aſpired to the whole. Conſtantine, the eldeſt, fell by the ſword in attempting to deſpoil his brother Conſtans of his dominions. Conſtans himſelf, a prince, if hiſtory may be truſted, of the moſt deſpicable character, derived but little advantage from a victory, in which neither his proweſs nor his conduct had any part. Magnentius, one of his chief

Unfortunate end of two of his ſons.

[51] *Conſtantio*, ſays Eutropius (ub. ſupra) ſpeaking of the death of Dalmatius, *ſinente potius quàm jubente.* Socrates (loc. praedicto) ſpeaks ſtill plainer, ου κελεύοντος Κωνσταντίου τὴν φαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύοντος.

officers,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

officers, tempted by his incapacity and dissoluteness, conspired against him, put him to death, and boldly assumed the imperial purple, in those days of military despotism the customary reward of the successful traitor. Of the sons of Constantine the Great, Constantius alone now remained. Called forth by his brother's wrongs, and probably incited still more powerfully by the voice of ambition, he hastened from the eastern provinces, over which he reigned, to chastise the guilty usurper. He found in this enterprise more difficulty than his flattering courtiers had taught him to expect. And it was not until after a destructive war of three years, which in two bloody fields[52] swept away the flower of the Roman legions, that vengeance at length overtook the perfidious Magnentius[53].

Constantius reigns alone; revenges the death of his brother Constans;

During the intestine commotions of the western empire from the ambitious attempts of the younger Constantine, and the feeble administration of the dissolute Constans, Constantius had been engaged in a doubtful and unprosperous war against his Persian neighbours. Amidst the confusion of these busy times, Gallus and Julian had been suffered to live. And the cautious despot had contented himself with concealing them from public notice in a lonely castle of Cappadocia,

his treatment of Gallus and Julian;

[52] At Mursa in Pannonia, now Essek in Hungary, and at Mons Selenei, in the Cottian Alps.

[53] During the revolt of Magnentius, Vetranio had assumed the purple in Illyricum, as colleague to Magnentius, but had afterwards abdicated in favour of Constantius. Nepotian also, the nephew of Constantine by the princess Eutropia, had been saluted emperor at Rome, in opposition to Magnentius, but perished, after a reign of twenty-eight days. Eutrop. L. x. c. 11.

7 formerly

formerly the place of residence of the Cappadocian kings. Upon the murder of Constans, and the erection of the standard of rebellion by Magnentius, the whole weight of the empire at this season of anxiety rested on Constantius. He felt the burden, and venturing to seek relief in the assistance of Gallus, removed him from a prison to his court; and, under the title of Caesar, associated him to the honours and toils of the imperial station; leaving him to provide for the security of the Asiatic provinces, whilst he himself advanced against the rebel. After the overthrow of Magnentius, and the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, Constantius found himself at leisure to examine more attentively into the conduct of Gallus, since his elevation. Gallus had faults, and he had enemies. The eunuchs, at this time the despicable and insolent rulers of a luxurious court, deadly foes to whomsoever they could not govern, had placed their emissaries around him, who marked with jealous observation all his moments of pride or of passion. It was discovered, that Gallus affected an independence, which the emperor and his ministers did not mean to allow him. And some unjustifiable acts of violence committed at Antioch against certain confidential servants of the emperor, with the connivance, if not by the orders of Gallus, had thrown a deeper shade on the errors of which he had been guilty. Credulous nevertheless of what was artfully suggested to him, that it was his interest to have an interview with Constantius, and that his presence would dissipate every complaint, he was prevailed on to intrust himself to this insidious court, and in a few days after his arrival in Pannonia, on his way, as he thought, to Milan, where the emperor then resided, he was on a sudden carried

confers on Gallus the title of Caesar;

is jealous of him.

Death of Gallus.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

carried away under a strong guard to Istria, and there beheaded privately without even the formality of a trial[54].

Julian's dangerous situation;

JULIAN still survived. For some time his fate hung in suspence. And it was a question, whether the enjoyment of life could safely be permitted to a prince, who had so many domestic and personal injuries to revenge. To the generous interposition of the empress Eusebia, wife to Constantius, he owed his preservation. Her lenient counsels, inforced by the multiplicity of cares with which the emperor found himself oppressed, did even more. Softened by her representations, Constantius at last consented to admit his young kinsman into his presence, to invest him with the same imperial honours that Gallus had been graced with, and to appoint him to the important service of defending the frontier of the Gallic province against the warlike tribes of Germany[55]. Julian executed his trust with spirit and success. Repeated accounts assured the emperor of the abilities and atchievements of the governor of Gaul. He became alarmed. At the head of a victorious army, by whom he was adored, the Caesar might be tempted to forget what he owed to the emperor; and the sword of Julian, which was to have guarded the throne, might be employed to invade it. It was resolved to secure his allegiance, by depriving him of the means of revolt. The Persian bands still infested the eastern borders of the empire, and often made inroads into the adjacent provinces. Orders were issued, that the strength of the Gallic legions should

is brought to court;

created Caesar; appointed to the government of Gaul;

Constantius jealous of him.

[54] See Ammian. Marcellin. L. xiv. c. 1, 7, 9, 11.

[55] See Ammian. Marcellin. L. xx. c. 4. Eutrop. L. x. c. 14, 15. Abbé de la Bleterie. Vie de Julien; and Gibbon's Dec. of Rom. Emp. c. xxii.

6

immediately

immediately be dispatched to protect the Asiatic frontier. The tidings spread a general consternation. These legions were mostly composed of provincials, fondly attached to their native soil; and who, in violation of a promise said to have been solemnly pledged to them, now saw themselves torn away from their families and homes, probably never to revisit them more. Julian, with much pretended zeal for the honour of the emperor, and a seeming firmness in requiring obedience to the imperial orders, appeared however to share deeply in their affliction; and having on the eve of their departure convened them together, that he might take his last farewell of the beloved companions of his toils and of his victories, after a grateful recital of their gallant actions, affectionately lamented a distress, *which, bound as he was to obey, it was not in his power to relieve.* The hint was greedily caught up. "The Caesar, once emperor, might prescribe "the orders, instead of receiving them," was the cry of numbers of the friends of Julian, who doubtless had been duly instructed; and "Long live our emperor Julian!" instantly resounded from all the ranks.

Julian's artful management;

is proclaimed emperor by his army;

It is scarcely possible to avoid remarking how much of the artifice [56] of the sophist, Julian's conduct betrays on this occasion. An apparent amazement at what he must have expected, and what probably his own dark arts had been labouring to accomplish, was first of all assumed; he next answered their acclamations with all the semblance of the most poig-

[56] See his dream in Ammian. Marcellin. L. xx. c. 5. and his own account of another dream (Epist. 17.) to which, he confesses, he gave credit.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

nant concern; he expostulated; he conjured; he menaced; he bewailed; he even fled from their solicitations, and shut himself up during the whole ensuing night; confirming them the more effectually, by this appearance of unambitious reluctance, in the very choice he affected to resist. The farce concluded with his *submissive* acceptance of their splendid offer, and his promising to reward their sedition with a suitable gratification; the plunder of the public treasure being, in these days of corruption, the usual recompence, which the gratitude of the new emperor bestowed on the instruments of his fortune.

prepares to march against Constantius;

THE army of Gaul had created an emperor. Their next object was to support him. And these very legions who, rather than encounter the inconveniences of a distant service, had plunged into rebellion, were now impatient to brave every danger of an Asiatic expedition, under the banners of their favourite Julian. But the death of Constantius saved the new emperor from the guilt of civil bloodshed; he died at Mopsucrene[37] in Cilicia, on his way to dispute the empire of the world.

Constantius dies.

JULIAN did not long survive him. Ambitious of distinguishing himself in a war, which hitherto had generally baffled the Roman arms, he formed the plan of humbling the Persian king. Some inconsiderable advantages obtained at the beginning encouraged him to penetrate into a country with which he was ill acquainted. A defeat was the con-

Julian makes war on the Persians,

and falls in battle:

[37] The fountain of Mopsus. An oracle had formerly been there.

sequence

ſequence of his imprudence; and in the confuſion of diſcomfiture, he was pierced by an arrow from an unknown, and probably an ignoble hand.

Few princes have been more variouſly ſpoken of than Julian, few more the object of exaggerated praiſe and reproach: dignified by ſome writers with all the attributes of the hero, he is held forth by others to univerſal execration. From both parties a more temperate deciſion ought doubtleſs to have come, and would perhaps have approached nearer to the truth. In his private life he ſeems to have been deſerving of praiſe; his manners were unſtained with licentious pleaſures; his meals, his ſleep, were the frugal, ſlight refreſhments of the philoſopher; and his leiſure hours, inſtead of being waſted in diſſipation and frivolous amuſements, were generally employed in the purſuit of knowledge, though in the road to it he was unhappily miſtaken. As *a ſoldier*, the character he bears is high; not to be deterred by difficulty, nor diſcouraged by hardſhip; firm in the hour of battle, and always among the foremoſt in the path to glory. As a general, his abilities may be called in queſtion. In his Gallic campaigns, he was ſuppoſed to have acquitted himſelf with honour; in the Perſian war, where we have a more diſtinct view of him, he appears to have been injudicious, raſh, preſumptuous; and in the action in which he fell, he diſcovered himſelf to have been animated with a valour that bordered on inſanity.

his character in private life; as a ſoldier; as a general;

But what ſeems chiefly to have engaged philoſophic attention in the hiſtory of Julian, is his character as a religioniſt. He had been educated in the Chriſtian faith from his early years; had profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian; and had grown up

as a religioniſt;

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

up to manhood in that profession. Yet no sooner were his fears from Constantius removed, than he threw off the mask, abjured the faith of his former days, avowed himself the determined enemy of the religion of Christ, and, with all the virulence of an enraged, but crafty adversary, laboured for its extirpation to the last gasp of his life. What appears still more extraordinary; an infidel with relation to the Gospel, he became the zealous believer of the whole Grecian mythology; adopted its gods, its legends, and its sacrifices. Even its divinations, one of the most dangerous illusions that ever debased the human mind, of which, in the gloom of the dark ages, heathen priestcraft had frequently made fatal use, and which in a more enlightened age had been reprobated by the wisest of the pagan world, he restored, and protected with all the credulity of the most abject and uninformed bigot; importuning the altars of every divinity with anxious inquiries, and oftentimes with his own eyes, and an unfeeling curiosity, seeking his future destiny in the panting entrails of the innocent victim. Could it be from principle, that he renounced Christianity? If it was, how could the sceptic, who found it difficult to believe what the Gospel teaches, thus relax from the sturdiness of unbelief, and embrace with so easy a faith, all the absurdities of pagan fable? Or shall we say, with certain insidious advocates, that whatever might be his profession, Christianity or Paganism, the liberal-minded Julian was of both equally an unbeliever; a Christian by constraint, a Pagan from policy?

The various revolutions of fortune which he experienced may perhaps, when more attentively considered, throw some light on this dark part of Julian's history.

He was a child, when the arm of violence deprived him of his father, and robbed him of his liberty. To the stern officers of a jealous tyrant was his education of course intrusted; and under the impressions of terror, natural in such a situation, he received the rudiments of Christianity. The truths of the Gospel, conveyed to the young disciple by instructors of this kind, instead of conciliating his affections, had all the stubborn prepossessions of dislike, of suspicion, of resentment, to contend with. These prepossessions, deeply rooted in the heart, grew up with his years, and strengthened with his strength. When he was first permitted to approach the imperial court, new and more powerful prejudices took place in his breast. He saw in Constantius the merciless assassin of his family. And Constantius was *a Christian*. The croud of eunuchs, and fawning sycophants with which the throne was surrounded, the counsellors or ministers of the tyrant's crimes, and who in their treatment of Julian measured the respect they were to shew to him by the degree of regard paid him by Constantius, were also *Christians*. How many objections to the religion they professed must have arisen here in the susceptible mind of Julian, irritated by past wrongs, and inflamed by present contempt! And is it a matter of wonder, that he should have been led to confound a *religion*, which they disgraced, with the *principles* which seemed to actuate their conduct?

what induced him to leave the Christian Church,

The votaries of paganism were still numerous; and, though humbled, were powerful. Suspicious of Constantius and his ministers, they exulted in the thought, that in Julian their party might find a friend and protector. They marked, and strengthened, the impressions he had received. They courted

and to embrace paganism.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

courted his confidence. The most plausible and seducing of their sophists were employed to insinuate themselves into his intimacy. Julian's attachment to Christianity, if he had any remaining, was slight and wavering. A total rejection of all religion is a state ill suited to the human mind. Even the boldest pretender to infidelity will have his scruples, his moments of irresolution, diffidence, and anxiety. Julian felt, that a religion was wanting to him; this the heathen sophists were ready to supply. They offered him a religion, the religion said they, of his forefathers, under whose propitious auspices Greece had reached the summit of human glory, and Rome had triumphed over a subjected world; a religion now purified by philosophy, and set free from those absurd disguises that a pious ignorance had cast over it. A multiplicity of gods, indeed, crouded their temples, but in doing honour to these, they were in fact paying homage to the perfections of the Supreme Father of the universe, of which these emblematical personages were representations; or expressing their gratitude to those intermediate intelligences appointed by the great First Cause to minister unto man. Neither were these intelligences the airy creation of an enthusiastic fancy; their existence had been ascertained by the strongest proofs, by the oracles, the dreams, the monitory omens, which they had repeatedly addressed to faithful votaries. They had even been known to assume a visible form, and personally to instruct or protect the humble suppliant in his hour of difficulty. And the all-powerful evocations and holy rites, of which the guardian of the sacred mysteries was in possession, could summon them from their aerial or subterranean abodes, and force them to reveal the dark secrets of futurity.

To this artful representation Julian liſtened with pleaſure. His mind ſeems to have been prediſpoſed to meet it with approbation. Homer was his favourite[58], and there appeared a wonderful agreement between the poet's mythology and the ſophiſt's ſyſtem. Probably, the *one* was a tranſcript of the *other*. What rendered theſe tales of deceit the more captivating to Julian was a ſpecies of flattery well adapted to his hopes. They perſuaded him that the oracular voice of all the gods, and the promiſe of every victim, announced to him the ſpeedy poſſeſſion of the imperial throne[59]. Julian was not ungrateful. He ſteadily adhered to the altars of thoſe gods, of whoſe veracity he had received ſuch a *convincing* proof; and here perhaps it is not unjuſt to rank him among the moſt ſuperſtitious of the pagan zealots.

The people of Athens active in miſleading Julian's mind.

It is the reproach of Athens, that ſhe had a principal ſhare in miſleading the mind of Julian. Some time before he was inveſted with the honours of the Caeſar, he obtained permiſſion from Conſtantius to purſue his ſtudies in that city. His paſſionate attachment to paganiſm has its date from that period; before the friend of that religion, here he became a bigot to it. Thoſe pretended philoſophers, alſo, who were afterwards moſt aſſiduous in faſtening their bandage of illu-

[58] He appears to have had moſt of his works by heart.

[59] The dreams, and viſions, which Julian's hiſtorians (Zoſimus, L. iii. p. 155. Ammianus, L. xx. c. 5. Libanius paſſim) tell us he had, and which he himſelf avowed (Epiſt. xvii. ad Oribaſium) ſpeak him, if not an artful impoſtor, certainly a confirmed enthuſiaſt. The latter probably is the truth. And in a mind ſo diſpoſed, the fond perſuaſion, that he was the peculiar care of the gods, and by them deſtined to the empire of the world, might eaſily find admittance.

ſion

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

sion on this unhappy prince, were mostly from the Athenian school, in those days the great store-house of heathen super-stition. In a succeeding reign we have a strong proof of the powerful dominion of superstition over that infatuated people. They petitioned the emperor Valentinian to permit the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries; which, upon the re-establishment of Christianity, had been suppressed; and to restore to Athens a solemnity on which depended her glory and happiness. So little had the city of Socrates profited by a LIGHT, which that venerable sage would have beheld with rapture!

Summary of Julian's character.

FROM this delineation of Julian's character, however we may be induced to pronounce less severely against him, and to behold him even with compassionate indulgence, as a *deserter of the Gospel*, yet either as an *hero*, or a *philosopher*, the candid historian can afford him little praise. The oppressions of Constantius, and the manners of a servile court, may have driven him from the Christian church; but vanity, credulity, the curiosity of an ambitious mind, fixed him a pagan. How he has deserved the exalted name, which certain writers have been pleased to bestow on him, it is not for us to determine. Some perhaps will be apt to suspect, that his panegyrists would have been fewer, had he not inlisted among the enemies of Christianity.

The family of Constantine extinct.

IN Julian ended the house of Constantine. From the death of the latter to that of Julian, about twenty-six years had elapsed[69]. At the time of Constantine's death the imperial

[69] Constantine died in the year of Christ 337, Julian in 363.

family

family was in the moſt flouriſhing condition; hiſtory numbers no leſs than thirteen princes, brothers, ſons, nephews, to the deceaſed emperor, the ornament and ſtrength of the imperial houſe. In this ſhort period of time they had all periſhed, two only by the ſtroke of ſickneſs, and one in war againſt a foreign foe, all the reſt by the ſword of diſcord or domeſtic treachery. Such, in thoſe ages of arbitrary power, was the precarious tenure even of imperial greatneſs.

Succeſſors of Julian;

THE emperors, who ſucceeded Julian, reſtored the religion of the Goſpel, but without being able to re-eſtabliſh the public proſperity; of which a general profligacy of manners, and the fierce deſpotiſm of a military government, had been long before preparing the ruin. To theſe internal evils were added the terrors of hoſtile invaſion. An enemy, provoked by a wanton war, and now fluſhed with victory, threatened the eaſtern boundaries. And Jovian, whom Julian's army had called to the vacant throne, ſignalized his acceſſion by yielding to the Perſian monarch a conſiderable territory, to atone for his predeceſſor's raſh attempt. Similar dangers ſurrounded the empire on every ſide. In Britain, the Roman rampart oppoſed but a feeble and impotent barrier to the impetuous valour of the warriors of the north, and even the legionary troops had been found unable to withſtand the onſet of the Caledonian ravagers. In Gaul, the defenceleſs condition of the frontier, moſt of whoſe braveſt protectors had followed the banners of Julian, had encouraged the German tribes to renew their hoſtilities. Africa was in rebellion; and, among the barbarian tribes of the Danube, there were ſtrong indications of a ſpirit of commotion.

their ſituation,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

and characters.

What rendered this situation of things the more formidable, these several insurrections, and forebodings of war had been excited by repeated cruelties and oppressions. Most of the nations that bordered on the empire had revered the name of Constantine, but they could not continue their respect for a line of princes, of whose follies, incapacity, or crimes, they were incessantly the witnesses, often the victims. The measures pursued by the imperial court to defeat these impending dangers, fully shew the guilty policy by which it was governed; and have left an indelible stain on the ministers that could advise, and the princes that could adopt, them. The following instances are a sufficient illustration of this truth. Two princes, a king of Armenia, and a king of [61] the Quadi, were both, within a few years of each other, under the vague pretence that their fidelity was suspected, murdered at interviews to which they had been treacherously invited; and, in both cases, was the unguarded hour of the hospitable banquet chosen for the perpetration of this work of blood. Valentinian, the successor of Jovian, is accused of the one; his brother Valens, to whom he had resigned the eastern throne, stands charged with the guilt of the other.

The Huns attack the Gothic settlements.

Valens soon after received the merited reward of his perfidious counsels. The Huns, a new tribe of Barbarians [62], from the north-east extremities of Asia, in manners and aspect more horrid than any that had hitherto appeared on the Roman frontier, attacked the Gothic settlements on the further side of the Danube. The affrighted Goths implored the protection of Valens, and were permitted to take refuge within

[61] A Gothic nation.

[62] Ammian. Marc. L. xxix.

his

his dominions. The peaceful habits of a settled home had already considerably diminished the native ferocity of these Gothic tribes; and under the mild government of equal laws, and in possession of an established property, they might without much difficulty have been improved into useful subjects. Valens had not the wisdom to avail himself of this valuable encrease of population. Seduced by the fears of his ministers, and perhaps not less by his own, he repented of what he had done; he had promised these strangers a supply of provisions, and he violated his promise. They complained; their complaints were disregarded; neglect was aggravated by insult; insult by violence. The Goths, naturally haughty and impatient, were exasperated; they flew to arms; and a long, fierce, and destructive war ensued, which in the course of it proved fatal to Valens himself. After having seen the total discomfiture of his army under the walls of Hadrianople, he was burned alive in a cottage, where he had taken refuge from the victorious and pursuing enemy[63].

Valens's perfidious treatment of the Goths; his defeat and death.

THE calamities of the times raised Theodosius to the imperial throne. Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, the nephew and now the heir to Valens, was ill able to sustain the weight of two empires, one of them over-run by a revengeful and victorious enemy: he therefore consigned the precarious empire of the east to the valour of Theodosius; in whose history is seen one of those signal revolutions, that is sometimes to be met with in the fortunes of this world. His father, of the same name, was of all Valentinian's generals the ablest and most faithful. In Britain he had checked the in-

Gratian in possession of the whole empire; shares it with Theodosius.

63 See Ammian. Marc. L. xxxi. c. 12, 13.

roads of the Caledonians; he had repulsed the Germans from the Gallic frontier; and he had reduced the insurgents of Africa. These several exploits had raised him in the eyes of a sordid court to a dangerous pre-eminence. Valentinian was dead, and his son Gratian, as yet a youth, was under the control of a vicious ministry, who pretended that Theodosius entertained ambitious views, and sacrificed his life to their suspicious jealousy. For some years the young Theodosius had served with glory under his illustrious father, and had shewn himself already emulous of his noble example. But every aspiring hope being thus blasted by his father's death, he withdrew from a court which he must have held in abhorrence, and was cultivating the virtues of retirement on his paternal estate, in an obscure corner of Galicia, when the commands of Gratian called him forth to the public service.

Theodosius's domestic history,

Theodosius, with considerable abilities, had also many amiable qualities. But the licentiousness of a dissolute age often disappointed the *one*; and the baneful influence of despotic power sometimes contributed to obscure the *other*. No sooner was he placed at the head of the armies of the east, than he discovered, with equal amazement and regret, that the boasted strength of the Roman legions had ceased to exist. Corrupted by the example of the times, by the insolent dominion they had usurped over the throne, by the profuse donatives they extorted from the transient objects of their favour, by the indulgences they obtained from the fears or the ambition of their leaders, the legionary troops had become strangers to that frugal life, that patience of toil, and observance of discipline, which had triumphed over the successors of Alexander, and had laid Carthage in the dust. The

character,

and difficulties;

ponderous helmet and maſſy ſhield were caſt aſide; and the effeminate ſoldier choſe rather to expoſe himſelf defenceleſs to the weapons of the foe, than to ſubmit to the oppreſſive weight of an armour, which his gallant anceſtor deemed his ornament. Even the neceſſary work of entrenching a camp, which the companions of Caeſar, and the partners of his glory, did not diſdain to execute with their own hands, had become the ſcorn of a delicate and indolent ſoldiery[64]. One reſource remained to Theodoſius, and he adopted it. Thoſe Goths, whom, after a four-years war, and many a bloody conflict, he found it impracticable to exterminate, he reſolved to tempt with offers of amity and confidence; he received them into the imperial ſervice, intruſted their leaders with important commands, and aſſigned them emoluments, honours, poſſeſſions; flattering himſelf that he ſhould thus convert enemies into friends, and that the late ravagers of the Roman territories would now become the defenders of a country in which they had acquired rank and property. This expedient, the reſult probably not of choice but of neceſſity, proved however a ruinous meaſure. Acquainted with the legionary arms, and inſtructed in the Roman diſcipline, the Goths no longer felt that inferiority in war, which was owing to the want of military ſcience; they ſaw, and deſpiſed, a weakneſs, which they were called to protect; the Danube, no longer guarded by a reſpectable barrier, ſupplied them with continual recruits from that variety of barbarian tribes, which, though divided againſt each other by internal feuds, yet always ſhewed the utmoſt cordiality in their attacks upon the Roman empire; and theſe new confe-

dangerous expedient he had recourſe to;

64 See Veget. de re militari, L. i. c. 20.

derates

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

derates of Theodosius soon learned to control a government, whose existence or dissolution was totally in their power.

dreadful instance of his vindictive spirit;

But if all the ruinous consequences of this fatal expedient are not to be imputed to Theodosius, he must surely bear the whole guilt of the massacre at Thessalonica[65]. An insurrection had broken out in this part of Greece; and in the madness of popular fury an imperial officer had been torn in pieces. Such an insult to sovereign power was not, it seems, to be expiated but with the extermination of the Thessalonians. A body of troops marched into Thessalonica, with orders to put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of guilt or innocence, of age, sex, or condition. These orders were executed in their fullest extent. And to cruelty was added perfidiousness. Care was taken to remove all apprehension of danger from these devoted victims; and when the whole city, fully assured of the emperor's clemency, had assembled in the circus to enjoy a festive spectacle, these military ruffians were let loose on the unsuspecting multitude. According to some writers, upwards of fifteen thousand persons perished in this massacre. Such a violation of all the laws of justice and humanity would at one time have armed more than one half of Greece against the tyrant that durst attempt it; but, such is the subduing power of despotism, it now served only to add to the terrors, and confirm the servitude of this abject people; and the episcopal reproof of Ambrose bishop of Milan was the only opposition Theodosius had to encounter. A penance of eight months, to which the emperor piously submitted, was sup-

[65] Soz. L. vii. c. 25. Ru. Hist. c. 18. See Gibbon, c. 27.

posed

posed to have atoned for all this bloodshed. At the time Theodosius reigned in the east, Gratian held his imperial seat at Treves; Gaul, Spain, and the British isles were subject to his sway, while Valentinian, the youngest son of the late emperor Valentinian the second, reigned in Italy. But Maximus of Britain having revolted against Gratian, and deprived him of empire and life, and Valentinian having fallen by domestic treachery, Theodosius, after revenging both their deaths, remained in possession of all the Roman dominions.

Book VIII. Sect. 3.

gets possession of the whole empire;

FROM the abilities and personal valour of Theodosius, the empire, during his reign, maintained an appearance of vigour; the reign of his sons revealed the fatal secret of the public debility. Warped by the fond partiality of a parent, he divided his dominions between them; to the eldest, Arcadius, a youth of eighteen, he bequeathed the throne of the east; to the youngest, Honorius, aged only eleven, the western empire[66]; an appointment as unhappy to themselves, as it was unfortunate to their people. With a natural imbecillity of mind, in which their ripening years made little alteration, and brought up in the bosom of a luxurious palace, they both sunk into a slothful inactivity, the easy dupes of every minister, who had the boldness or the art to seize the reins of government, which fell from their feeble hands. The fatal partition of the imperial dominions brought on an encrease of calamities. The empire was weak before; divided, it was weaker. A longer line of frontier was now to be defended; and the means of defence were lessened. Instead of the whole strength of the empire acting in concert, an

divides it between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius;

consequences of this appointment.

[66] A. D. 395.

opposition

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

opposition of interests and councils took place. Jealous of the sovereign of the west, the court of Constantinople saw with unconcern, and even with pleasure, the bordering nations pour the war on the western provinces, and enjoyed a distress, in which their own territories were soon to be involved; whilst the barbarian leaders, seated in the heart of the empire, many of them invested with offices of trust and dignity, and in full possession of the opportunity of marking and encouraging every internal mischief, profited by the follies of these nominal princes, and on the ruins of the imperial power planned an empire of their own. A detail of the disastrous events that ensued, belongs to another history. Here it is sufficient to observe, that the Roman empire in the west closed with the ignoble reign of Honorius. In less than twenty-five years after the death of Theodosius, Alaric, the Gothic chief, who in the days of that emperor deemed it his glory to follow the imperial banners, after having spread the ravages of war throughout Italy, compelled Rome to submit to his victorious arms, and saw himself the uncontrolled arbiter of the throne of the Caesars.

Rome taken by the Goths under the command of Alaric.

ROME, long the haughty tyrant of the world, was now made to feel, what she had often imposed, the humiliation of servitude. The eastern empire, mean while, had not escaped. Previous to his irruption into Italy, Alaric, at the head of his fierce bands, had attempted the dominions of the east, and Greece, which seldom failed to share largely in the adverse fortunes of her imperial masters, was again made the scene of devastation[67]. History has charged Rufinus, by whom

Alaric invades Greece.

[67] A. D. 396.

the

the councils of Arcadius were then directed, with the guilt of having opened Greece to the ravagers; for, if we are to believe the united teſtimony of all the writers of thoſe days, never did a more flagitious miniſter diſgrace the confidence of his ſovereign. It may however be a queſtion, whether the abandoning of Greece to the barbarians was not rather his policy than his crime. Had this impetuous torrent of war ruſhed with unſpent fury againſt the capital of the empire, the iſſue might have been doubtful. And it was poſſibly to ſave Conſtantinople, that Rufinus gave up Greece.

State of Greece from this period.

A CALAMITY ſo great completed the deſolation of this unhappy country. Whatever the cruelty, the avarice, the luſt, of an inſolent and brutal conqueror could inflict, Greece now experienced. Her magnificent cities became a maſs of ruins, her numerous towns were levelled with the ground, and thoſe monuments of her glory, which had hitherto been preſerved from violation, were all defaced and overthrown; while the inhabitants, either ſlaughtered by the barbarian ſword, or dragged from their homes to a life of ſlavery, left this once-populous and well-cultivated country a lonely waſte. Where every ſcience and every art had, during a long ſucceſſion of ages, eſtabliſhed their abode, there now reigned a melancholy ſilence; the voice of the rural pipe was no longer heard on the hills of Arcadia; and of all the noble ſtructures, which the piety, the gratitude, or the pride of ancient ages had erected, only mouldering palaces, deſolated temples, defaced inſcriptions, and mutilated ſtatues, remained, at once the objects of regret and of admiration. In this humbled ſtate, with very little variation, Greece continued from the Gothic invaſion to the final

4 X

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

final overthrow of the throne of Constantine's successors; her principal inhabitants being the few families, who having escaped to the mountains during the late inundation of the barbarians, had afterwards taken up their dwelling amidst these sequestered ruins, and whose only wealth was the produce of their hives and of the silk-worm[68]. Some of the emperors seem indeed to have remembered what Greece had been, and to have wished to raise her again to an happier fortune. But the embarrassments of a declining empire still defeated the visionary plan. Constantinople herself, during the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more than a faint shadow of imperial greatness. Governed mostly by weak or oppressive princes, distracted by domestic factions, and, what is worse, by endless controversies, which were disgraced by all the virulence of religious disputation, this empress-city sunk by degrees into contempt with every people around her. Having neither security at home, nor strength abroad, she was often compelled to purchase, at the price of her fairest possessions, a temporary peace from the barbarian tribes by whom she was encompassed; who, making use of the very concessions they extorted from the fears of one prince to exact larger concessions from his successor, reduced at length the extensive dominions of this mighty empire to the narrow compass of a few provinces.

Decline of Constantinople;

[68] The silk-worm is said to have been brought from India to Constantinople about the year 550. The artificers, who introduced the culture of silk into Sicily, from whence it passed into Italy, were brought from Greece by Roger the first king of Sicily, in 1130. The slow progress of this art may serve as a proof of the low state of industry, and the difficulties of intercourse and communication during that period.

At

At the ſame time, a general profligacy of manners had prevailed. Private luxury and magnificence advancing as the public fortune declined, the people, with an unfeeling levity, indulged in all the gay diſſipations of the higheſt proſperity, in the midſt of the miſeries of their country. In addition to theſe menacing appearances, the throne itſelf, always inſecure when founded in deſpotiſm, was become more precarious than ever, ſtained not unfrequently with the blood of the ſhort-lived poſſeſſor, and but too often the reward of the ſucceſsful crime of the rebel, the traitor, the ruffian; ſo that Porphyrogeneta, *of imperial birth*[69], came to be the diſtinguiſhing appellation of thoſe few emperors, who could boaſt ſo illuſtrious a parentage. Such is the melancholy ſummary of the Byzantine hiſtory, till, in the year 1453, the Othman arms put an end to this phantom of an empire. taken by the Othmans.

Of the ſhock of the various revolutions, which, during this bloody period, began, advanced, and at length effected the final overthrow of the imperial throne, Greece however appears to have felt little, probably from the obſcurity of her condition. Too inſignificant to be the object of ambition, thoſe who had in view the diſmembering of the eaſtern empire, paſſed her by; beholding with indifference a land without inhabitants or cultivation; and leaving the poſſeſſion of it to any of the rovers of thoſe days, who were inclined to attempt a temporary ſettlement in that deſolated country. For ſome centuries Greece even ſeems to have been altogether forgotten; or if remembered, was only conſidered as over- Greece neglected and forgotten;

[69] See Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, Ch. 21.

 ſpread

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

ſpread with heaps of ruins, in which human induſtry might in vain ſeek to trace any of thoſe venerable ſcenes recorded in antient ſtory. The tale of the traveller, who talked of having diſcovered the ſite of Athens, and made his way to the remains of that illuſtrious city, was heard at firſt with amazement, if not with incredulity. The report, that amidſt this rubbiſh of ages many veſtiges of the arts of antient Greece were ſtill to be deſcried, induced others to viſit this long-neglected tract; and numbers of adventurers from different countries, but eſpecially from the Italian cities, formed eſtabliſhments on various parts of the Grecian coaſt.

is viſited by different adventurers;

By degrees the modern Conſtantinople, now the capital of the Turkiſh empire, has once more reaſſumed a dominion over the Grecian territory. Muſtapha the ſecond colonized anew ſeveral diſtricts of it. And at this day Greece, with her adjacent iſles, acknowledges ſubjection to the throne of the Othmans.

now ſubject to the throne of the Othmans;

her preſent inhabitants.

The preſent Greeks appear to be a mixed race, of whom few, if any, are of the antient Grecian lineage. Moſt of them have been tranſplanted into this country from different parts, and at different periods, by thoſe who were attracted by curioſity, or views of gain. In addition to theſe partial colonizations, the Othman princes have, from their firſt invaſion of Greece, at different times thrown in a conſiderable encreaſe of inhabitants. Theſe coloniſts, of every deſcription, the Turks only excepted, have long ſince coaleſced into one people, who, unmindful of their original extraction, ſeem to regard Greece as their parent-ſoil. And it is worthy of remark, that the Greeks of this day, whether from the influ-

ence

ence of climate, or from having fallen into an early imitation of the manners, which on their arrival they found here eſtabliſhed, bear in ſeveral particulars a ſtriking reſemblance to the antient inhabitants. Even now, inſtruments of muſic are to be met with in every hamlet, and ſong and dance are ſtill the delight of the Grecian peaſant. The Boeotians are remarked for credulity and ignorance. And among the Greeks of Attica, low as their ſtate of literature now is, we find a conſiderable ſhare of that vivacity and acuteneſs, by which the Athenians of antient times were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. More ſtrongly ſtill does their ſpeech exhibit this affinity to the Greeks of old, of whoſe language the modern Greek is a manifeſt corruption. The Turks ſtill remain diſtinguiſhed from the other inhabitants, perſevering with a lordly inflexibility in their national dreſs, language, and mode of living; in obedience poſſibly to the law of their Koran, but more probably from a contempt for the manners of a people whom they equally deſpiſe and oppreſs.

The ſtate of Chriſtianity in Greece.

THE Goſpel was known early in Greece. Before the middle of the firſt century, Athens, Corinth, with moſt of Achaia, and many parts of Macedon, Theſſalonica, Beroea, Philippi, had been enlightened by the labours of the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles. A ſpecies of Chriſtianity[70] Greece ſtill retains, but ſuch as would move the indignation of that excellent Apoſtle[71], not leſs than did formerly the

[70] See Spon. Voy. de la Grece; Tournefort Voyage du Levant, Lettre iii; and Dr. Chandler's Travels into Greece, ch. 28.

[71] See Acts of the Ap. xvii. 16.

 ſuperſtitious

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

superstitious excesses of idolatrous Athens. A number of absurd observances, a paltry display of the figures of saints and martyrs in their places of worship, a profound reverence for the Panagia or *mother of God*, as they still blasphemously style the Blessed Virgin, an obstinate adherence to every opinion said to have been held by their Christian ancestors, and a loquacious zeal in defending these opinions, as far as their scanty portion of learning will permit them, make up nearly the whole of what is dignified with the name of Christianity by this ignorant and degraded people.

The present Greeks grossly ignorant.

In the several arts, once the boast of Greece, they are equally uninstructed; and, for the most part, seem hardly conscious of the former glories of their country. What a Solon taught, or a Themistocles atchieved, Athens herself has long since ceased to remember. And those precious monuments of the power and wisdom of antient days, which might inrich the cabinets of princes, are now suffered to be spurned by the insolent foot of the illiterate Janizary, or perhaps employed, like vulgar materials, in fencing an inclosure, or in repairing the dwelling of some turbaned exactor. The cunning and interested Greek may sometimes be found to set an high value on the sculptured fragment he possesses; but what taste might be supposed to do in another, is in him the effect of avarice; he only seeks to enhance the price of what he wishes to part with; and, from the earnestness of the curious traveller, he judges of that which he would otherwise want the skill to estimate.

Remarkable revolution in the history of mankind.

Of how uncertain a tenure are even the advantages of human genius! Greece, famed for arts and arms, from whose

 horizon

horizon beamed forth thofe rays of fcience, which have gradually illumined our European world, now ftands in need of the inftruction fhe was wont to give. From thofe nations, whom fhe held moft in contempt, fhe is at this day to learn what Greece once was. And were it not for the learned refearches of the defcendants of thofe very barbarians, whom in her age of glory fhe had deemed it a reproach to have numbered among her denizens, the fierce German, the unlettered Caledonian, the barbarous Briton, the rude Gaul [72], many of her moft highly-valued marble records had remained unread, and fome of her nobleft memorials had been buried in oblivion.

72 It were fuperfluous, and indeed fcarcely poffible, to mention here all the illuftrious perfonages of thefe nations, to whofe munificence and labours thefe later ages owe the many inftructive monuments we poffefs of the atchievements and arts of antient days. To Britain's glory be it however remembered, that among her fons antient literature has found a greater number of bountiful patrons, than any other country has to boaft of; and that at this very time there exifts in the midft of her a fociety of perfons, not lefs diftinguifhed by their tafte and public fpirit, than by their opulence and noble birth, (The Dilettanti) who are employed in the generous plan of animating the ftudies and promoting the information of the rifing generation. See Chandler's Travels, and the Ionian Antiquities, for which we are indebted to this refpectable Society.

THE END.

E R R A T A.

Page 44. Line 1. from the bottom, for *usian*, read *Pelusian*.
p. 47. l. 11. from the top, for *Tircus*, read *Tireus*.
p. 48. margin, for *emoved*, read *removed*.
p. 57. l. 6. from the bottom, for *Macedonians*, read *Macedonian*.
p. 64. in the note, l. 6. from the bottom, for *Zadracanta*, read *Zadracarta*.
p. 77. l. 11. from the top, for *Aristarchus*, read *Anaxarchus*.
p. 110. l. 3. from the top, for *Arxines*, read *Orxines*.
p. 213. l. 6. from the top, for *Theotei*, read *Theoroi*.
p. 241. l. 3. from the bottom, for *Arcus*, read *Areus*.
p. 256. l. 20. from the top, for *Gonatus*, read *Gonatas*.
p. 257. l. 13. from the top, for *A species of power less odious and equally effectual, than if he had held them in immediate and avowed subjection*, read *A species of power less odious than if he had held them in avowed subjection, and not less effectual.*
p. 284. l. 20. from the top, for *sentiment*, read *act*.
p. 311. l. 10. from the top, for *Esa*, read *Eva*.
p. 335. l. 7. from the bottom, for *these martial exploits*, read *his martial exploits*.
p. 418. in the note, l. 2. from the bottom, for *Dion. Italian.* read *Dion. Halicarn.*
p. 434. l. 22. from the top, for *unjust*, read *utter*.
p. 441. l. 13. from the top, for *four thousand men was*, read *four thousand men were*.
p. 537. l. 7. from the top, for *his year*, read *this year*.
p. 572. l. 12. from the top, for *where*, read *were*.
p. 609. in the note, l. 13. from the bottom, delete these words, *See also this transaction fully set forth in the ninth book of this work.*

*** If there are any other mistakes of the press in this volume, the impartial reader will be so kind as to excuse them, and to accept it as a sufficient apology for the Author, that he was at a great distance from London, where his book was printed.